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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

AND

RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

13391

Vol. XXII. 1933-34.

EDITED BY

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DELHI: MANAGER OF PUBLICATIONS

1938

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„ 31.	„ „ „ „ „ (VI)	„ „	250 & 251
„ 32.	„ „ „ „ „ (VII)	„ „	252 & 253
„ 33.	The Smaller Leiden Plates of Kulottunga I	„ „	276 & 277

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- Page 2, text l. 1.—*For Mahāmatan read Mahāmatana.*
- „ 4, para. 1, l. 4.—*For uptil read up till.*
- „ 4, para. 2, l. 3.—*For Ouadheid° read Oudheid°.*
- „ 4, para. 2, l. 3.—*For Nederlandisch-Indie read Nederlandsch-Indië.*
- „ 4, text l. 2.—*For °varmaṇaḥ read varmmaṇaḥ.*
- „ 5, l. 6.—*For Pushkaraādi read Pushkarasādi.*
- „ 5, para. 4, l. 2.—*For king read king.*
- „ 5, para. 4, l. 4.—*For yaḥ purā Tārūmay(ā)m read yaḥ purā [Tā]ṛu)māyā[m].*
- „ 7, f. n. 4, l. 2.—*For Mārāñja° read Mārāñja°.*
- „ 9, text l. 8.—*For [ni] read ñi. (K. V. S. A.).*
- „ 9, text l. 16.—*For kiṛadu read kiṇru. (K. V. S. A.).*
- „ 10, text l. 50.—*For eṇṇapperā° read eṇṇapperā°. (K. V. S. A.).*
- „ 13, l. 30.—*For i-troke read i-stroke.*
- „ 14, last para. l. 2.—*For III read II.*
- „ 16, l. 29.—*For Vājasanēyin read Vājasanēyī.*
- „ 17, l. 33.—*For Pṛithivishēṇa read Pṛithivishēṇa.*
- „ 18, f. n. 4.—*For (619-26 A. D.) read (A. D. 629-30).*
- „ 20, l. 10.—*For Taittiriya read Taittiriya.*
- „ 21, f. n. 1.—*For Pulombūru read Pulombūru.*
- „ 22, para. 3, l. 10.—*For Tundra read Tuṇḍra.*
- „ 23, f. n. 13.—*For उत्कीर्ण read उत्कीर्ण*
- „ 24, para. 2, l. 8.—*For Sēnānīr- read Sēnānīr=.*
- „ 26, f. n. 2.—*For द्वित्रिंश read द्वित्रिंश*
- „ 29, text l. 28.—*For नल° read नळ° and for उळ्ळळ° read उळ्ळळ°.*
- „ 31, l. 16.—*For ārūmanḥ read arāmanḥ.*
- „ 33, l. 29.—*For irrefragible read irrefragable.*
- „ 34, l. 14.—*For Vaiśyāṇām read Vaiśyānām.*
- „ 34, l. 15.—*For Kshatriyāṇām read Kshatriyāṇām.*
- „ 40, l. 10.—*For yu read yun.*
- „ 44, l. 1.—*For route read rout.*
- „ 44, l. 24.—*For shows read show.*
- „ 45, l. 1.—*For Kaḍava read Kāḍava.*
- „ 50, f. n. 7.—*For Mīmāṃsā, and read Mīmāṃsā, Pāñcharātra, and*
- „ 50, f. n. 8.—*For Shadja read Shāḍja.*
- „ 50, f. n. 8.—*For Daivata read Dhaivata.*
- „ 51, l. 20.—*For extacy read ecstasy.*
- „ 51, f. n. 5.—*For note 14 on p. 10 read note 24 on p. 48.*
- „ 55, l. 2.—*For prose read verse*
- „ 56, f. n. 9.—*For Forbe's read Forbes,.*
- „ 58, f. n. 3.—*For king Dhārā read king Dhārā(varsha).*
- „ 60, text l. 13.—*For °यन्त्रद read °यन्त्र(सु)द.*
- „ 61, text l. 20.—*For °खाद्यापि read °खद्यापि.*
- „ 61, text l. 24.—*For दीघवाङ् read दीघवा(जा)ङ्*

- Page 61, text l. 24.—For व्युह read व्यूह — ८.
 „ 61, text l. 27.—For निम्वा read निम्वा(म्वा)°.
 „ 63, l. 40.—For forec read force.
 „ 64, para. 5, l. 3.—For -mutās-cha read -mutāsā.
 „ 64, para. 5, l. 3.—For -sutās-cha read -sutās=chu.
 „ 64, para. 5, l. 5.—For -chudh- read -chuddh-.
 „ 65, l. 33.—For Śatakratu read śatrur=.
 „ 65, l. 36.—For l. 24. read l. 23.
 „ 65, l. 38.—For -bhūt read =bhūt.
 „ 65, f. n. 2.—For 169 read 199.
 „ 66, l. 1.—For l. 62 read l. 61.
 „ 66, l. 4.—For l. 71 read ll. 68-69.
 „ 66, l. 13.—For °rājō read °rāja.
 „ 66, l. 43.—For Farrukkābād read Farrukhābād.
 „ 71, l. 8.—For Pūrāvī read Pūrāvī.
 „ 71, l. 8.—For Padhama° read Paḍhama°.
 „ 71, text l. 4.—For (त्वम्) read (त्त्वम्).
 „ 72, text l. 6.—For (त्स) read (तत्स).
 „ 72, text l. 10.—For तस्मिन्दिवं read तस्मिन्दिवं.
 „ 72, f. n. 3.—For कृष्णाराजं read कृष्णराजं.
 „ 73, text l. 27.—For (प्र) read (प्रु).
 „ 75, f. n. 1.—For भगवदुद्गा read भगवदुद्गा°.
 „ 75, f. n. 2.—For विनम्य read विनम्य.
 „ 76, f. n. 5.—For षष्ठि read षष्टि.
 „ 77, para. 2, l. 1.—Omit of after are.
 „ 77, para. 3, l. 1.—For guttural read guttural.
 „ 77, para. 3, l. 2.—For to s read into upadhmānīya.
 „ 77, para. 4, l. 3.—For Nābaḍa read Nāvāḍa.
 „ 78, l. 2. and l. 5.—Insert the before Māhi.
 „ 78, f. n. 9.—For निजवाहुबलेन read निजवा(वा)हुव(न)लेन.
 „ 79, f. n. 3, l. 6.—For Pūrāvī read Pūrāvī.
 „ 80, l. 3.—For villages read the village.
 „ 80, para. 2, l. 5.—Insert with after Bhārthāṇaka.
 „ 80, para. 2, l. 6.—Insert with after Dhāhadva.
 „ 80, para. 3, ll. 2, 4, and 8.—For Kāsthā° read Kāsthā°.
 „ 80, text l. 1.—For °ऊङ्गत् read °लङ्गत्.
 „ 80, f. n. 2.—For Kāthiā° read Kāthiā°.
 „ 81, text l. 7.—For अत read अत.
 „ 81, text l. 10.—For काराटक read कारा(म्वा)टकं.
 „ 81, text l. 15.—It may be noted that the word श्री is superfluous considering the metre.
 „ 81, f. n. right-hand side.—For 3 read 2.
 „ 81, f. n. 2.—For -āchatāt read -āchalāt.
 „ 83, text l. 36.—For बह्वो read बह्वो(व).
 „ 84, text l. 57.—For प्रतिवद् read प्रतिव(व)द्.
 „ 84, text l. 57.—For °यामो read °यामो(म).
 „ 87, l. 9.—Insert From before the record.
 „ 87, l. 10.—For attempts read attempts.

- Page 88, f. n. 4.—For 1175-1182 A. D. read 1175 to 1182 A. D.
- „ 91, text l. 38.—For 1 read 7.
- „ 91, translation, l. 3.—For °naḍaigaḷ read °ṇaḍigaḷ.
- „ 92, l. 24.—For °ṭṭai- read °ṭṭai-.
- „ 94, l. 6.—For svarggē read svargē.
- „ 94, f. n. 2, l. 3.—For ehose read these.
- „ 95, f. n. 16.—For स्थतिना read ब्रह्मस्थतिना.
- „ 99, l. 32.—For dōṅgarikā read dōṅgarikā.
- „ 99, l. 46.—For Kōlēpadra read Kōlāpadra.
- „ 100, l. 30.—For Gōsvāmīnī read Gōsvāmīnī.
- „ 101, l. 27.—For prayato read prayatō.
- „ 102, l. 12.—For his read this.
- „ 102, l. 32.—For प्रवर्धं read प्रवर्द्धं.
- „ 102, l. 33.—For तापः[*] read °ताप [*].
- „ 102, l. 34.—For सुत read सुतः.
- „ 103, l. 15.—For tasy-ānujaḥ read tasy-ānujaḥ.
- „ 106, text l. 23.—For द्विजा° read द्विजा°.
- „ 108, text l. 42.—For सवध्य° read सवध्य°.
- „ 108, text l. 48.—For केल° read कोला°.
- „ 108, f. n. 12.—For dōṅgarikā read dōṅgarikā.
- „ 109, text l. 56.—For °ह्यासिधे read °ह्यासिधे.
- „ 109, text l. 65.—Insert ¹³ after °त्मनीन.
- „ 109, f. n. 3.—For सहायज्ञा° read °वातिथिपञ्चमहायज्ञी°.
- „ 110, f. n. 2.—For ḷa° read ḷa°.
- „ 113, f. n. 1.—For Māmadī read Māmadī.
- „ 116, text l. 5.—For °śān-ati° read °śān=ati°.
- „ 116, text l. 10.—For śobhā read śobhā, and for maṇḍal-āgra read maṇḍalāgra.
- „ 116, text l. 13.—For °liasha° read °lasha°.
- „ 117, text l. 26.—For °ttam-[ā*] read °ttama(mā)°, and for chchūdā read chchū(chū)dā.
- „ 117, text l. 27.—For =anga-ja° read =angaja°.
- „ 117, text l. 28.—For °sy=aiva read °sy=ai(sy=ē)va.
- „ 118, text l. 31.—For maṇḍal-āgram read maṇḍalāgram.
- „ 118, text l. 32.—For °bhāshita- read °bhashi(si)ta-.
- „ 118, text l. 33.—For °san=nava- read °san=nava-.
- „ 118, text l. 42.—For °bhogā° read °bhōgā°.
- „ 118, text l. 43.—For °leya-ki read °lēyaki°.
- „ 118, f. n. 1.—For °han-dhṛi° read °han=dhṛi°.
- „ 119, text l. 50.—For sāgara° read sagara°.
- „ 122, text l. 2.—Insert nati- after mukta-
- „ 123, text l. 5.—For °mānāḥ read °mānāḥ.
- „ 124, text l. 17.—For chakr-āhva read chakrāhva.
- „ 124, text l. 18.—For sutō-bhūd read sutō=bhūd.
- „ 124, text l. 20.—For rūpam read rūpaṁ.
- „ 131, text l. 20.—For Tivr-āmsōr=amśu read Tivrāmsōr=amśu.
- „ 131, text l. 33.—For Ēṇ-ānka read Ēṇānka.
- „ 132, f. n. 1.—For -ēsō read -ēsō.
- „ 138, f. n. 2.—For Yāḥ kāñchanaḥ read yāḥ kāñchanaḥ=.

- Page 144, f. n. 9.—For °*kshurāmē* read °*kshārāmē*.
 „ 161, l. 11.—For *Kārtika* read *Kārttika*.
 „ 168, l. 9.—For *dattā[m*]* read *dattām=*.
 „ 168, l. 25.—For *aklipt-* read *sa-klipt-*.
 „ 172, f. n. 11.—For *पृथिवीविणस्य* read *पृथिविविणस्य*.
 „ 172, f. n. 20.—For *अस्मिन्* l. 28 and *साव्वत्तरे* *वाद्दस्सा* read *अस्मिन्* l. 26 and *साव्वत्तरे* and *वाद्दस्सा*.
 „ 174, text l. 31.—The figure 7 should be placed over the *daṇḍa* after *तयोवीरे* and the figure 8 should come after *वाद्दस्सा*.
 „ 174, text l. 32.—For *राजा°* read *राज्या°*. (V. V. M.)
 „ 176, l. 14.—Insert in the twenty-third year after *Māgha*.
 „ 177, l. 11.—For *saṃkḥo°* read *saṃksho°*.
 „ 183, text l. 24.—For *सदाजा* read *सदाजौ*.
 „ 185, text l. 41.—For °*भट्ट* read °*भ[ट्ट]*.
 „ 189, l. 14.—For *kumbha* read *kumbha*.
 „ 189, l. 15.—For *Gaṅgala* read *Gaṅgala*.
 „ 190, text l. 11.—For *कुमाजिसिंघ* read *कुमारजिसिंघ*.
 „ 191, text l. 33.—For *प्रसाध्यः* read *प्रसाध्यः(ः)*.
 „ 192, para. 6, l. 9.—For *Bhisana* read *Bhisana*.
 „ 194, f. n. 6.—For *लक्ष्मीशला* read *लक्ष्मीशला*.
 „ 195, f. n. 7.—For *राजगुरु* read *राजगुरु*.
 „ 213, last l.—For *śrēṇi* read *śrēṇi* (C. R. K.).
 „ 214, l. 23.—For *had* read *have*.
 „ 216, f. n. 6.—For *Sibi* read *Śibi*.
 „ 219, l. 30.—For *Simha°* read *Simha°*.
 „ 221, column 1.—For *Amarabujaṅga* read *Amarabhujaṅga*.
 „ 222, last l.—For *indentical* read *identical*.
 „ 230, l. 34.—For *ommission* read *omission*.
 „ 232, l. 31.—For *Paḷaṇ-* read *Pāḷaṇ-*.
 „ 234, l. 35.—For paleographical indications noted on page 17 read chronological indications noted on page 228.
 „ 237, column 1.—Insert 1a after 1.
 „ 237, column 1, No. 14.—For *Tirutti* read *Tiritti*.
 „ 240, text l. 37.—For *trē-āgni* read *trēt-āgni*.
 „ 241, text l. 75.—For *puñjarikṛita* read *piñjarikṛita*.
 „ 243, text l. 101.—For *śāsanam* read *śāsanam*.
 „ 243, f. n. 6.—For *eads* read *reads*.
 „ 244, f. n. 3.—For *erasur* read *erasure*.
 „ 253, text l. 279.—For *ivv-ūr=kkaraṇāttāṇ* read *ivv-ūr-ūr=kkaraṇāttāṇ*.
 „ 254, text l. 310.—For °*purattu* read *purattu*.
 „ 259, l. 7.—For *varippottagam* read *varippottagam*.
 „ 271, l. 1.—For *son* read *younger brother*.
 „ 274, l. 11.—For *village* read *villages*.
 „ 281, f. n. 1.—For *Nilaiyūāiya* read *Nilaiyūḍiya*.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XXII.

No. 1.—THE TEXT OF THE SOHGAURA PLATE.

BY K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, PATNA.

1. The Sohgaurā plate¹ discovered in 1894 in the district of Gorakhpur and presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Dr. Hoey, is one of the undoubted pre-Aśōkan documents. Fleet, R. D. Banerji, and myself have had occasions to comment on the age of the writing.² In Dr. Fleet's opinion, it could even be placed earlier than 320 B.C. :

"The standard of the Brāhmī characters of the inscription refers it to at any rate an early date in the Maurya period, B. C. 320 to about 180; and the method of spelling presented in it, along with the use of those characters and the general style of the record, would justify our placing it even before that time."

—*JRAS.* 1907, p. 509.

2. The inscription, however, has not been solved. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar impressed on me the necessity of giving my attention to it. The discovery of the Mahāsthān stone which has now been edited in this journal (above, Vol. XXI, pp. 83 ff.), made it necessary to refer to this document. It seems that the reading can be made out now with some certainty.

3. The illustrations are in *JRAS.* 1907, plate facing p. 510—the Asiatic Society's photograph and Sir George Grierson's electrotype copy. It will be seen that the small-sized *k*'s on the Mahāsthān stone and those in our plate agree in shape; and so do the peculiar *m* forms (Mahāsthān, line 2) which are not found in Aśōka inscriptions. This *m* is also found on a Patna glass seal.³ Both Sohgaurā and Mahāsthān records have as their subject-matter *koṭhāgāla* (*kōśhāgāra*) which is used in the Kauṭaliya Arthaśāstra as a technical term for state store-houses for keeping *dravya* and grains (*Aś.*, chs. 36, 37; pp. 93, 99, 1st ed.) and refer to *ātyayika* [distress].

4. The Sohgaurā plate was cast into several copies and is a public placard issued by the Council of Ministers of Śrāvastī, and is a document, relating to famine relief measures. It reads :

¹ *References* : 1894, *Bengal Asiatic Society's Proceedings*, pp. 84 ff. (V. Smith and Hörnle); 1896, *Ind. Ant.*, 261 (Bühler); 1907, *JRAS.*, 509 (Fleet).

² *JBORS.*, VI, 203. The date assigned there is c. 300 B.C.

³ *JBORS.*, X, 189, 192.

TEXT.

- 1 Savastiyāna¹ Mahāmatan sasane Manavasiti- ka-
- 2 dā² (.) s[i] li-māte³ usāgame 'va ete dave koṭhāgalāni.
- 3 Ti[ya]vṇi-Māthula- Chañchu- Mōdāma- Bhalakāna cḥha-
- 4 li-kayiyati (;) atiyāyikāya no gahimtavayo (.)

TRANSLATION.

The order of the **Mahāmātras** of **Śrāvastī** (issued) from the **Manavasiti** camp.

Only to the tenants, only on the advent of drought, these (the) *dravya* store-houses of **Trivēṇī**, **Mathurā**, **Chañchu**, **Mōdāma**⁴, and **Bhadra** are to be distributed (discharged); in case of distress they are not to be withheld.

COMMENTS ON THE TEXT.

Line 1. The third character is a ligature. There is a defect in the surface which produces a cut in the loop of the *s* and the leg of the *t* above it (see the first photograph). The ligature is indicated by breaking off the perpendicular line before joining to it the legs of the *s*, which may be compared with the normal *s* of lines 1 and 2.

Mahāmatana.—The long *ā* mark to the *h* is in the middle of the perpendicular line. The *t* is of the stunted variety, with a suggestion of a projecting bar, just as in the *t* of the last line in *gahimtavayo*.

Sasane. There is probably a suggestion of a long *mātrā* to the first *s* in the electrotpe.

Line 2. For the long vowel in *dā* of *Manavasiti-kaḍā* see the electrotpe.

Sīmāte. *Silī* stands for Sanskrit *sirīn*; *sīra*, 'plough'; Hindī *sir*, 'cultivation'; *sirīn* 'a tenant' 'a cultivator.' *Māte*=*mātre*.

Us-āgame: the *e*-mark to *m* is absolutely certain; and the *ā*-force to *s* (in the middle of the bar) is also certain in the electroplate. The expression stands for *uss-āgame*= Sanskrit *ushmā-gamē*.

Dave: the lower limb of *d* is blurred. As the store-houses were evidently more than two, it is not advisable to read the word as *duva*. It seems to be connected with the technical term of the Maurya period *dravya* in connection with Government Stores, e.g., *dravya-pāla* (*Artha-śāstra*, ch. 38).

Line 3. *Tiyaveni* is a clear reading. The photograph shows *Māthule*, but the electrotpe, *Māthula*. The long vowel to *k* in *Bhalakāna* can be seen in the photograph, though it is faint.

Line 4. The *i*-mark to *l* in *cḥhali*, is faint. *Cḥhali*=Sanskrit *ksharī*⁵; *cḥhali-kayiyati*, 'to be spent', 'to be discharged'. *Cḥha* was misread by Fleet as *va*. There is a straight bisecting line in the circle. Bühler read it correctly.

LOCALITIES.

Trivēṇī, *Mathurā*, *Chañchu*, *Mōdāma* and *Bhadra* must have been in the Kōsala Province, of which *Śrāvastī* was the capital. This *Mathurā*, therefore, is not the Mathurā of the Śūrasēnas but a town or village somewhere in Oudh, Gorakhpur or Champaran. We have an important village *Mathuliyā* in Champaran. *Chañchu* (Ghāzipur)⁶ could be within the jurisdiction of the

¹ Ligature *stī*: the right leg of *t* touches the bar of *yā*.

² *ā*-vowel-mark is traceable in both photographs.

³ There seems to be a long *i* to *s*, and to *l*. See electrotpe.


⁴ If it be taken as an adjectival form like *Māthula*, the place-name would be *Mudāma*.

⁵ *Kshar* (क्षर), to pour out, to flow, to dissolve or dissipate.

⁶ *JRAS.*, 1907, 525.

provincial government of Śrāvastī, as the district of Gorakhpur was; but more likely it was another place between *Trivēṇī* (*ghāt*) and *Bhadra*—between the districts of Gorakhpur and Champaran or thereabout. Nothing is known about *Mōdāma* or *Mudāma*. *Bhadra* (Bhalla) was a common name. *Manavasiti* (Mānavaśīti) is to be looked for in the Tarāi. Its name shows that it was a cool resort.

THE SOHGAURA AND KUMHRAR PILLAR SYMBOLS.

Amongst the symbols the moon (*Chandra*) placed on a hill-like combination and next to it the large *Mo* (like the *ms* in the inscription—in two separate parts) denote an imperial monogram for **Chandra**[gupta]**M**[aurya]. We have the same moon symbol on the Kumhrar pillar [*ASR.*, 1912-13, p. 78, pl. XLIX] where it certainly means '*Chandragupta*'. The hill-like combination stands for **gutta** ; the upper loop is *g* and the lower loops are *tta*, and on the top of the combination stands *chanda* or *chandra*. This monogrammatic method of writing is what is called *Śilpa-lipi* (i.e., *art-writing*) in the text cited by Dr. Hirananda Sastri (*Proceedings and Transactions of the 6th Indian Oriental Conference*, p. 11). It will be seen from the plate published in the *A.S.R.* that in the centre, by the side of the central dot, there is the symbol for **Chandagutta**, then there is an abrasion in the stone (which I have examined and seen on the actual stone), then opposite there is in a somewhat cursive hand three letters—reading from right to left—'*Moriya*'. This along with the symbol reads: '**Moriya-Chandagutta**.' That Chandragupta Maurya had his royal monogram is clear from the Kauṭaliya *Arthasā-*, ch. 50, p. 129 [*'rājāṅka*' branded on royal animals] and ch. 93, p. 249 [*'narēndrāṅka*' engraved on weapons and armours for the use of soldiers].¹

The *Mo* on the Sohgaura plate is to the right of the monogram. For the full form of the *o*-force, see electrottype.

The two trees probably signify the drought stage from leafsome to leafless, and the houses for stores.

THE DATE.

Apart from the monogram, the date is to be gathered from certain circumstances. At the time, Śrāvastī was under a Council of Mahāmātras. This will be true of the Nanda and Maurya times when Kōsala was reduced to the position of a province of the Magadhan empire. The lettering will show an age about a century before Aśōka. The document indicates that extensive measures were adopted by the State to meet threatened or repeated droughts, and the measures were largely advertised for the information of the public. This and the Māhāsthān tablet seem to be contemporary documents of the reign of **Chandra-gupta Maurya** when repeated droughts occurred, according to the Jaina theological history. Both Sohgaura and Māhāsthān inscriptions refer to '*atīyāyika*' circumstances.

¹ I reserve a fuller discussion on the Kumhrar pillar for a separate paper. It is sufficient to note here that the circles denote the plan of this pillar. My brother Mr. U. S. Jayaswal, who is an engineer by profession, without knowing anything of the actual position of the pillar said that it should be the 8th pillar in the third row according to these 'erection marks'. This agrees to the letter on Dr. Spooner's plan (XLI, p. 69). The sectional plan to the right on the pillar and its circles for the pillars and three lines before the letter *mū* constitute a copy of Dr. Spooner's plan of a group of 8 pillars on the site, reckoning it facing south where the main gate stood. What Dr. Spooner took to be Persian symbols are simply the direction for erection, noting '*mūkha*' 'face' — 'gate'. *Mū* and *kha* (or, *kho*) cover the whole of the sectional plan. The letters by the circles read (left to right) "*thabbha* ; 3 ; 3."

No. 2.—SHELL CHARACTER ROCK INSCRIPTION AT CI-ARUTÖN (JAVA).

By K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, PATNA.

A cursive and florid writing has been found in various places in India. I have seen it in the rock-cut cave-house at Khandgiri in the so-called Lalāṭa Kēsari Gūmṡhā; at the door of the Gupta or pre-Gupta temple standing at Tigawān; at Rājgir; at Patna, etc.; and one text repeated several times at Rāmtek (Nagpur) has been brought to light by Dr. Turner¹. Uptil now it has been called "Shell characters" or Śāṅkha writing owing to the cursive forms of letters which resemble a conch-shell.²

Lately I had to study the "box-headed" writing of the Javanese inscriptions which have been edited by Dr. Vogel under the title *The Earliest Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java in Publicaties van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandisch-Indie*, Deel I (Wetevreden, 1925). A Shell inscription is engraved at Ci-Arutön below the foot-prints of King Pūrṇavarman. The toes of the king are represented to have had lotus-marks, the auspicious *lakṣhaṇa* (marks), which have been taken by several Dutch scholars to be a representation of "spiders". The whole purpose of the inscription is to emphasise this *sāṃudrika lakṣhaṇa*.

The main inscription is in box-headed letters of the Vākātaka type, which has been accurately read by Dr. Vogel (p. 22) as follows :—

- 1 Vikkrāntasy=āvanipatēḥ
- 2 Śrīmataḥ Pūrṇavarmanāḥ
- 3 Tārūma-nagar-ēndrasya
- 4 Viṣṇōr=iva pada-dvayam.

Plate 28 of Dr. Vogel's book which is reproduced here gives the facsimile of the foot-prints and the inscriptions in shell and box-headed letters.

It is evident that the two inscriptions are contemporary with the foot-prints (*pāḍukā*). It was to record the description of the foot-marks that the inscriptions were engraved. The shell writing was drawn first and then the "box-headed" one. This is apparent from the position of the two inscriptions. The loop of the first letter of the shell line caused a little slanting of the box-headed lines. The shell line is just below the *pāḍukā* and occupies a more prominent position.

On the evening of the 14th April (1933) I placed the plate before my learned friend Dr. Hirananda Sastri with my view that here was a bi-scriptory writing, and that it was possible to solve the shell record with the help of the box-headed record which gives the purpose of the inscription. Dr. Hirananda Sastri³ agreed with that view. I now place my reading before scholars.

The line opens with Śrī, placed just between the two large toes, and reads ŚRĪ PŪRṆA-VARMAṆAH. It may be noticed that three ṇs are the same in shape.

The writing is very likely the *Paushkarasāḍiṇyā*, one of the three main *lipis* of Northern India mentioned in Buddhist books (Bühler, *Indische Palaeographie*, p. 2). The shell writing

¹ *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1933, Dec. issue.

² Cunningham finding it mostly on Gupta monuments thought that the writing arose in Gupta times (*R.*, VIII, p. 129). But this is disproved by Silaharā cave inscriptions (of Rewah) where it is associated with contemporary writing of C. 100 A. D.—*A. S. R.*, 1927-28, p. 138. I have examined the latter, and one of them seems to give the same donor's name as the Brāhmī lines.

³ [Mr. Jayaswal's reading seems to be plausible, but till we have examined all the known inscriptions in this curious script we should treat it as a working hypothesis—H. S.]

Rock Inscription at Cġ-Arūtōn (Java).



REPRODUCED FROM DR. J. PH. VOGEL'S EARLIEST SANSKRIT
INSCRIPTIONS OF JAVA.

MR. K. P. JAYASWAL'S CHART.

FROM PHOTOGRAPH.	FROM ESTAMPAGE.	VALUES.
		ś
		pūr
		n
		na, nah
		va
		rma

has been always found in Northern India, and its present instances are found on certainly Guptan monuments; the Rājgir writings on the road may be much earlier. Its cursive form shows that it was a non-monumental, i.e., book writing. The *virāma* sign below *ṇ* in our inscription has its descent in the modern Nāgarī and Bengali scripts. The system is purely Hindu; the forms, though different, have basic unity with Brāhmī forms. It seems that Pushkaraādi with whose personal name the system is associated, invented the system from Brāhmī. A modern example of a similar type of invention is Gurumukhī. The head of each letter in our inscription is headed with a line as in Nāgarī, Bengali and other modern Aryan scripts of the north. This would have arisen in book-writing with pen-and-ink, to keep a straight line in view. The flourishes of long looped vowel-signs and rounded forms of the letters also point to the system of pen-and-ink.

The *v* in our inscription is almost identical with the Brāhmī letter; *p* has a loop to the left instead of to the right, which would denote an earlier origin when *p* was written both ways. The superscript *i* vowel-mark is doubled to denote a long sound. The *m* here has only one arm of the Brāhmī *m* instead of two. The *ṇ* form is entirely unconnected. The *ś* is somewhat unconnected, it resembles remotely the Brāhmī form turned upside down. The superscript and subscript *r* has the same form as in Brāhmī. The double *i* mark resembles the Brāhmī system of the fourth century A.D. The mark for *visarga* on the top of the last *ṇa* resembles a half form of the *jihvāmūliya* sign of the Brāhmī. The origin of the script would go back to B.C. centuries owing to the forms of *p* and *ś* and the unconnected form of *ṇ*. The *mātrās* would have been influenced in their development by the general system which we find in Brāhmī.

A NOTE ON PĀDUKĀS.

The custom of giving *pādukās* still survives in India. The Jainas have throughout set up *pādukās* to their Āchāryas. Sannyāsin *maṭhas* still make such memorials to their Mahants. In every case they are memorials to dead personages. The custom survives among Bengal Hindus, where the dead *guru-jana*'s foot-prints are taken on a piece of paper after besmearing the soles with lac-dye (*āltā*—Skt. *alakṭa*), whereby actual prints are reproduced. These prints are preserved.

Pūrṇavarman's foot-prints have given rise to various speculations amongst the Dutch scholars. Dr. Vogel has rightly pointed out (p. 25) that the other foot-prints of the king at Jambu were engraved on the place of cremation. The wording of the inscription indicates that the foot-prints were engraved after the king's death (*yaḥ purā Tārumay(ā)m nāmnā śrī-Pūrṇavarmanmā*). Similarly the Ci-Arutön inscription is to be taken as an after-death memorial, engraved probably at the place of the Śrāddha. There is no justification in the text to regard it as a dedication to a living man as taken by the Dutch scholars. It was not for worship, and it was not worshipped in his life-time.¹

No. 3.—MANUR INSCRIPTION OF MARANJADAIYAN.

BY PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A., MADRAS.

Māṇūr is a village in the Tinnevely district about nine miles from Tinnevely on the road to Śaṅkaranayinārkōyil. On one of the pillars in the Ambalavāṇasvāmin temple of this village is

¹ The foot-prints of his elephant (p. 27) Jayaviśāla (which is the name of the animal) is a memorial to his favourite *vāhana*, and must have been engraved after its death.

found engraved the following inscription¹ of the reign of **Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ**, which I edit from a set of excellent ink-impressions received from the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras. The inscription has been noticed briefly by the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1907, and its contents were summarised by the late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri in the *Annual Report* for 1913.²

The record occupies a space of about 7' × 1' 2" and consists of sixty-four lines of equal length. It is incomplete, a few words being wanting at its end. Line 21 has not come out clearly in the impression; but the words in this line can be easily supplied from the context on the analogy of ll. 27-9 which seem to repeat the phrasing employed here. Otherwise the inscription is very well preserved.

The alphabet employed is Vaṭṭeḷuttu with an admixture of Grantha letters especially for ligatures, such as *kshai*, *sva*, *sta*, *sti*, *srī*, *hma*, *bra*, *pra*, *ddha*, *vya*, *vri*, *tta*, and for some words like *sabhāi*, *vēda*, *dharmma* and *strīdhana*. In Grantha letters, the length of the medial *i* is marked by the sign of a medial *ā* attached to the right of the letter in *srī* in lines 1 and 10; the sign representing a medial *ā* is itself a plain short horizontal stroke from the right end of which hangs a vertical one—see *brā* in lines 17 and 23, and *srā* in line 29. The Vaṭṭeḷuttu letters resemble in general appearance those of the Ambāsamudram inscription of Varaguṇa-Pāṇḍya.³ The size of the letters is larger in the first five lines than in the following. The letter *ka*, however, resembles more the *ka* of the Ānaimalai inscription⁴ than that of the Ambāsamudram record. The medial *ū* is marked by a loop below the letter *ṇ* in ll. 4 and 19, and the short *u* by a single vertical stroke below the same letter in line 13. The *puḷḷi* is clearly marked in some cases as in *paṇṇu* (l. 14), *pugavum* (l. 34) and *paṇikkavum* (ll. 34-5); but is not so clear elsewhere⁵. One and the same letter is found written in slightly different forms, and different letters sometimes look so alike that we have to depend on the context for their proper identification. As an example of the former tendency the vowel *i* at the beginning of line 25 may be compared with the same letter in lines 5, 11, 26 and elsewhere in the inscription. Compare also, in this connection, the letter *lu* in ll. 27 and 28 with *lu* in l. 29 and *lū* in l. 8; and *yō* in lines 9 and 12. Instances of the latter are furnished by *pa* and *tu* occurring twice in line 5; by the very slight difference between *tu* in this line and *ṭu* at the end of the preceding one, distinguished from the former by a slight hook at the top of its left arm; and by the letters *pa* and *ṇ* in line 14. It may also be noted that in line 35, *rā* and *ka* look alike, the stroke indicating medial *ā* in the former having crossed the vertical of the main letter, whereas the distinction between the two letters is clearly maintained elsewhere *e.g.*, in l. 54. 'These peculiarities only go to confirm the correctness of the view that "the Vaṭṭeḷuttu may be described as a cursive script which bears the same relation to the Tamil as the modern northern alphabets of the clerks and merchants to their originals, *e.g.*, the *Mōḍi* of the Marāṭhās to the *Bālbodh*."⁶

The vowel *ai* occurs once in line 58. The letter *ya* is uniseptate and looks much simpler than in the Ambāsamudram inscription and closely resembles the form of the letter in the Vēlvikuḍi grant. The sign for the medial *i* is invariably attached as in the Vēlvikuḍi grant to the right

¹ No. 423 of 1906 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

² Part II, paragraph 23.

³ *Ante*, Vol. IX plate opposite page 90.

⁴ *Ante*, Vol. VIII, plate opposite page 320.

⁵ [Nowhere else in the record is the *puḷḷi* marked and it is therefore doubtful if it is marked in the instances noted here. The marks looking like *puḷḷi* on the impression may be due to the roughness of the stone.—Ed.]

⁶ Bühler—*Indian Palaeography* ed. Fleet, p. 75.

side of the letter, and never, as invariably in the Āṇaimalai and sometimes in the Ambāsamudram inscriptions, placed at the top of the letter.

Palaeographically, this inscription belongs to the same group as the Āṇaimalai and Ambāsamudram inscriptions and the Vēlvikuḍi and the Madras Museum grants of Jaṭilavarman. To the same group may be assigned the Tirupparaṅṅaṁ and the Trivandrum Museum stone inscriptions.¹ Slight differences as in the formation of the letter *ya*, the disposition of the medial *i* symbol, and the general appearance, sloping (Āṇaimalai and Vēlvikuḍi) or vertical (Madras Museum, and Ambāsamudram), of the letters in an inscription do not, in the case of Vaṭṭeḷuttu records, furnish any reliable criteria for a close determination of their exact age.² It seems to me therefore that the Māṇūr inscription of Māraṇjadaiyaṇ is also a record of the reign of the celebrated donor of the Vēlvikuḍi grant and the Madras Museum plates.

It must be observed, however, that the high regnal years in this and in some other inscriptions of Māraṇjadaiyaṇ have been considered to be an obstacle in the way of accepting this conclusion.³ I have pointed out elsewhere what appears to me the proper method of reconciling these high regnal years with the historical data furnished by the Vēlvikuḍi and the larger Śiṅṅamaṇūr grants,⁴ and I need not repeat the arguments here. I have also examined elsewhere the views recently expressed by Mr. K. V. Subramania Aiyar on some inscriptions of Māraṇjadaiyaṇ and on the date of the accession of Varaguna-Mahārāja.⁵

The language of the inscription is Tamil, but Sanskrit words are also employed wherever necessary. The rules of *sandhi* are sometimes observed, as in *nūrraru* (l. 4), but more often not—*pattu oṇbadu* (l. 5), *kūḍi irundu ivvūr* (ll. 11-12) and so on. The letter *v* is needlessly duplicated in two places—*maṇṇāḍuvadāgavvum* (ll. 45-6) and *seyvradāga* (l. 61). The grammatical construction of the sentence at the beginning of the *vyavasthai* (ll. 14-20) is peculiar, but might be heard to-day from the mouth of any Sanskrit Pandit in South India. Some words are used in peculiar senses now obsolete; examples are *maṇṇāḍutal* in the sense of 'to discuss or deliberate' more generally, 'to take part in the proceedings (of an assembly)'; and *śrāvaṇai*, a word unknown to literature, and apparently closely allied in meaning to *paṅgu*,⁶ as can be seen from the general sense of lines 31-34 read along with ll. 18-19. *Śrāvaṇai* and *āvaṇam* are doubtless two forms of the same word—cf. *Śramaṇa*, *amaṇa*; and *Śrāvaṇa*, *Āvaṇi*. And the old Tamil lexicon

¹ Cf. Venkayya at *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. xxii, p. 68 and *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1907, Part II, p. 20, as modified by 1908, II, 36; and above, Vol. IX, p. 86, n. 13. [Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar thinks that it is wrong to group together the Āṇaimalai, Ambāsamudram, Vēlvikuḍi, Madras Museum, Tirupparaṅṅaṁ and Trivandrum Museum inscriptions as belonging to the same period. He suggests that the letters of the Māṇūr record which do not exhibit the older forms of *r*, *ṇ* and *ṟ* can favourably be compared with the writing in inscriptions of Māraṇjadaiyaṇ (*Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. IV, p. 119), Śaḍaiyamāraṇ (*ibid.*, pp. 121-122) and Vira-Pāṇḍya (*ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 69 and 72).—Ed.]

² Cf. Krishna Sastri's remarks above, Vol. XVII, p. 292 and *South-Indian Inscriptions*, III, p. 442.

³ *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1907, II, 21, is tentative on the point; 1929, II, 8, is more decisive.

⁴ *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, Chap. IV and pp. 253-5. [Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar is of opinion that the Māṇūr inscription must be attributed, palaeographically, to a later Māraṇjadaiyaṇ, probably Parāntaka-Viraṇārāyaṇa Śaḍaiyaṇ, the brother of Varagunavarman of A.D. 862. He also considers that a few records of Māraṇjadaiyaṇ which cite high regnal years, viz., Nos. 298 of 1916 (35th year), 431 of 1914 (35th +*), 12 of 1928-29 (35+6th year), 863 of 1917 (35+7th year), 605 of 1915 (43rd year) and 104 of 1905 (29th year), all of the Madras Epigraphical collection, are palaeographically similar to the Māṇūr record and may have to be ascribed to the king named above.—Ed.]

⁵ Above, Vol. XX, pp. 46-54; Early Pāṇḍyan Chronology—*Journal of Indian History* 1932 April.

⁶ In No. 64 of 1898 we have the phrase: *maṇaiyūm śrāvaṇaiyūm uḷḷiṭṭa oru paṅgu*. Here *śrāvaṇai* would seem to be a unit of land other than a house-site. The word is evidently used in the sense of document or title-deed in an inscription (323 of 1910) of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I in the phrases: *vilai śrāvaṇai-ppaḍiyūm* and *ṭrai-yili-śrāvaṇai-ppaḍiyūm*, with which cf. *vilai-āvaṇam* (sale-deed).

Piṅgalam gives for the word *āvaṇam* the meaning of 'right (to property).' Speaking generally, *śrāvaṇai* like *āvaṇam* may be taken to denote right to property, and '*śrāvaṇai pugu*' to mean, 'to enter upon and exercise the right of ownership'. The words *kachcham*¹ (agreement) and *kuttukkāl* (obstruction) may also be noted as perhaps interesting colloquialisms of the time.

The object of the inscription is to record a resolution of the *sabhā* of *Māṇailainallūr*. The resolution is called *vyavasthai* in Sanskrit, and *kachcham* in Tamil. The resolution fixed the procedure to be followed in future meetings of the *sabhā* by laying down the minimum qualifications in terms of property, education and character, that would entitle persons to take part in the work of the *sabhā*. It also stated that no kind of *vāriyam* was to be assigned to a person who did not possess a full share in the lands of the village. This is one of the earliest uses of the term *vāriyam* known to South Indian Epigraphy. The *Ambāsamudram* inscription of the sixteenth year of Varaguṇa-Mahārāja mentions the *vāriyar* of the *sabhā* of *ḷaṅgōkkudi*. It is not easy to decide if these terms in these Pāṇḍya records refer to committees of the assembly in the same manner as the *Uttaramērūr* inscriptions of Chōḷa Parāntaka I belonging to a later century and another part of the country. It is not improbable that the earlier records only imply the choice of particular individuals for the performance of specified tasks, and that the *vāriyar* were individual officers carrying out the orders of the *sabhā* rather than an executive committee with wide discretionary powers such as the committees of *Uttaramērūr* undoubtedly were.² However that may be, it is clear that the present resolution of the *sabhā* of *Māṇailainallūr* forbade any responsible executive duties being entrusted in the future to persons who did not satisfy a minimum property qualification. Lastly, the resolution lays down the penalty of a fine of five *kāṣus* per head for failure to observe its terms and for wilful obstruction, and avers that, even after the penalty is enforced, the original terms of the resolution shall be acted upon.

This inscription is unique in the insight it gives into the actual working of the autonomous village assembly in *brahmadēya* villages under the early Pāṇḍyas. The existence of such *sabhās* is known from other records of the time like the *Ambāsamudram* inscription mentioned above, and an inscription from *Tiruchchendūr*.³ But the inscription edited here is the only early Pāṇḍya inscription giving particulars of the constitution and working of the *sabhā*. A meeting of the general body is summoned by the beating of a large drum—*peruṇḡuṛi śārri* (ll. 9-10)⁴. The assembly, *mahāsabhā*, met at the stated hour in a public place fixed beforehand,—here it was *Gōvardhana*,⁵ apparently signifying a Vishṇu temple of which there seem to be almost no traces left at present.⁶ The rules made on this occasion by this *sabhā* show that while in the assembly, generally speaking, all land-owners were represented, still an active part in the deliberations of the assembly was allowed only to those persons the extent of whose property did not fall below a prescribed minimum and who, in addition, had attained a certain standard of education and possessed good character. The work of the assembly when it was not in session, including the carrying out of its decisions in particular matters, was apparently entrusted to *vāriyar* of its choice. Of the number and duties of the *vāriyar*, we derive no knowledge from the inscriptions of the time.

¹ Kittel notes in his *Kanarese-English Dictionary* that Kan. *kajja* is a derivative of Skt. *kārya*, and our *kachcham* may be the same word in another form. The expression *vilai-pramāṇak-kachchatta* occurs in *South-Indian Inscriptions* Vol. I, No. 52, l. 4.

² See my *Studies in Cōḷa History and Administration*, pp. 82-3; 133-134.

³ No. 26 of 1912 and No. 156 of 1903 of the *Madras Epigraphical collection*.

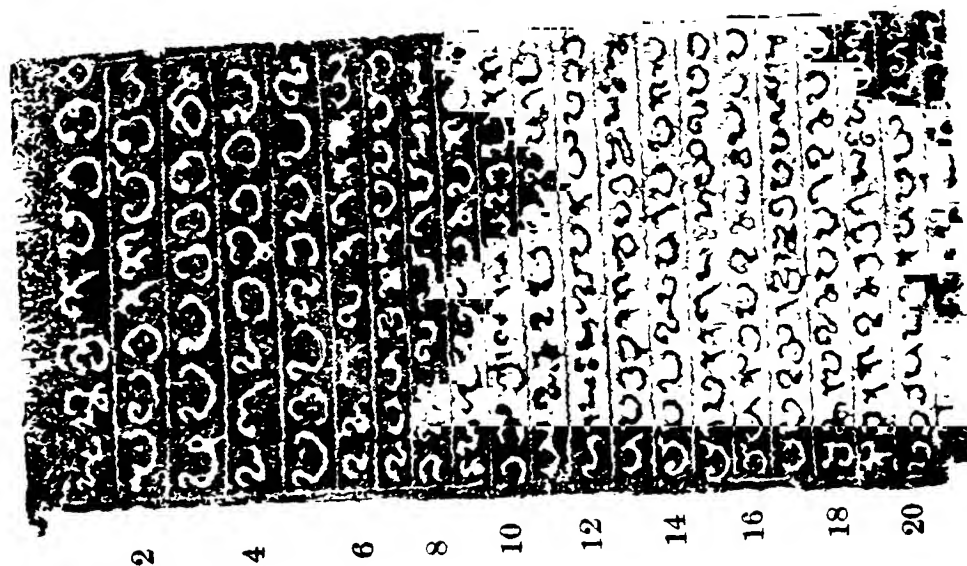
⁴ A Chōḷa inscription (103 of 1897) has the phrase: *dharmi-yūḍip-peruṇḡuṛi koḷḷi*.

⁵ Cf. 64 of 1898 from *Uttaramērūr* saying: *emmūr śrī-gōvardhanattu Mahāvishṇukkaḷukku*.

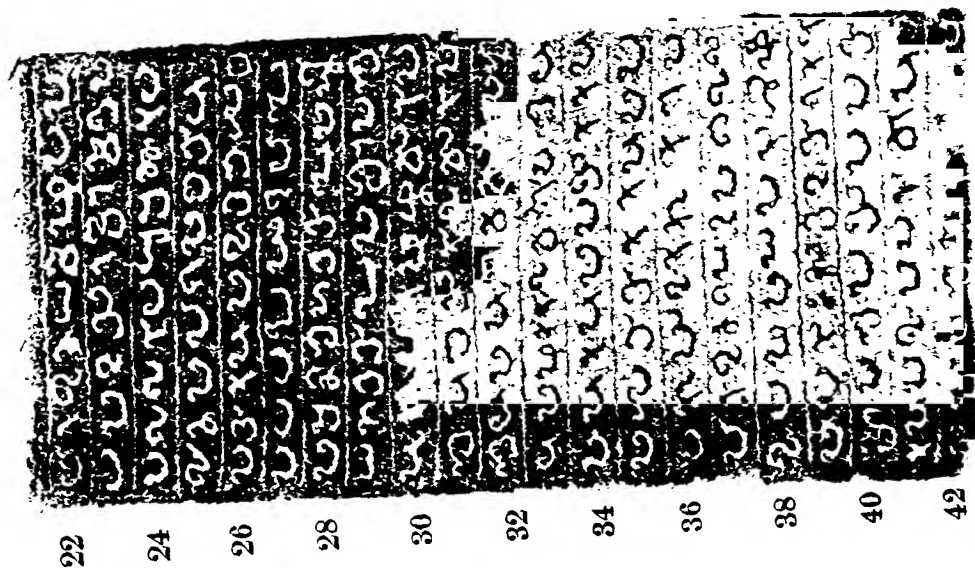
⁶ "The foundations of a few old buildings may be traced in the paddy fields to the west of the village, but it is now impossible to account for the 1008 Brahman houses which, according to a local belief, once existed on the site."—*Tinnevely Gazetteer*, p. 476.

MANUR INSCRIPTION OF MARANJADAIYAN.

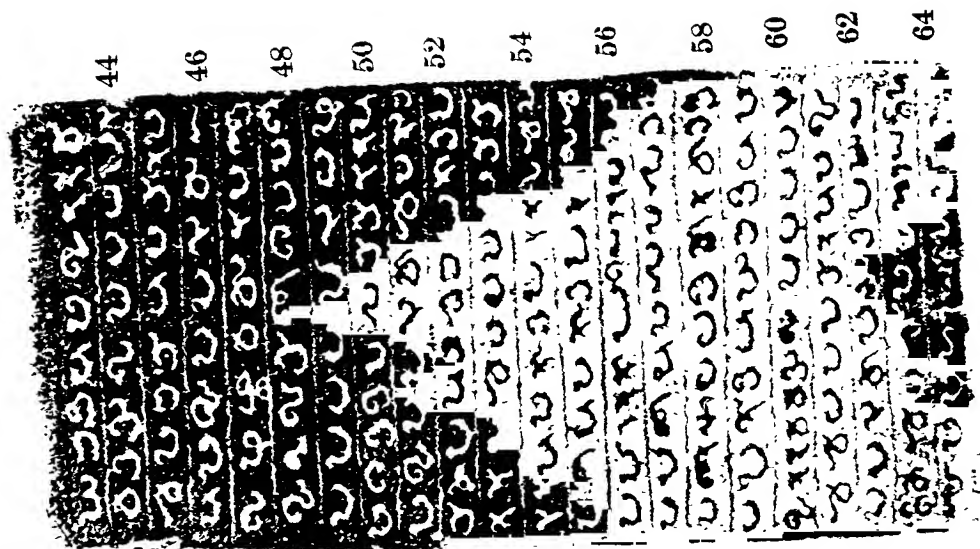
First Side.



Second Side.



Third Side.



SCALE: ONE-SIXTH.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Of the geographical data supplied by the inscription, **Māṇanilainallūr** is obviously the present Mānūr. The *nāḍu* in which this place was located bore the name **Kaḷakkūḍi**. Other places in Kaḷakkūḍi-nāḍu mentioned in the inscriptions are Karuvāṇallūr,¹ seven miles to the north of Śaṅkaranayinārkōyil, and Karavandapuram,² which seems to have had the alternative name of Kaḷakkūḍi as can be inferred from the Āṇaimalai inscriptions.³ It has been suggested that Kaḷakkūḍi might be identical with the modern village of Kaḷakkāḍu in the Nāṅgunēri Tāluk⁴. Considering that the *nāḍu* extended to the north beyond Śaṅkaranayinārkōyil, it may be doubted if Kaḷakkūḍi-Karavandapura could be the same as Kaḷakkāḍu, too far south in the Nāṅgunēri Tāluk. Ambāsamudram and Sērmādēvi to the north of Kaḷakkāḍu were part of Muḷli-nāḍu, and Kaḷakkāḍu is itself said to have been in the Vānavaṇ-nāḍu, in a record of a later date.⁵ There is a village called Kaḷakkūḍi in the Tinnevely Taluk itself, which may possibly have been the headquarters of the *nāḍu*.

TEXT.

First side.

- 1 Svasti śrī || Kō Māraṇja-
- 2 ḍaiyaṇṇkku yāṇḍu
- 3 muppattaṇḍu
- 4 nāl nāṇ-ṇūṇṇ-aṇu-
- 5 pattu-oṇḍadu i-
- 6 n-nālāl Kaḷak[ku]ḍi-
- 7 nāṭṭu brahmadēyam Māṇa-
- 8 [ni]lainallūr māhāsa-⁶
- 9 bhaiyōm peruṇḡuṇi śā-
- 10 ṇṇi śrī-Gōva[r*]ddhanattu-kkū-
- 11 ḍi irundu ivv=ūr mā-⁶
- 12 hāsabhaiyōm kuḍi⁷ maṇṇā-
- 13 ḍuvadaṇṇukku śeyda vyavastai-
- 14 y=āvadu ivv=ur⁸ paṇḡḍai-
- 15 yār makkaḷ sabhaiyil maṇ-
- 16 ṇḍukiradu oru dha[r*]ma[m*]-uṭpa-
- 17 ḍa Mantirabrāhmaṇam vallār su-
- 18 vṇittar=āy irappārē oru paṇ-
- 19 giṇṇukku⁹ oruttarē sabhaiyil
- 20 maṇṇāḍuvadāgavum vilaiyum
- 21 [pratigrahaṇam strī-dhanamum-uḍai-]¹⁰

Second side.

- 22 yār oru dhanmam=uppa¹¹
- 23 ḍa Mantirabrāhmaṇam

¹ No. 424 of 1906 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

² No. 418 of 1906 of the same collection.

³ *Ante*, Vol. VIII, p. 318 and n. 8.

⁴ No. 130 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁵ Read *kūḍi*. The suggestion may be made that *kuḍi-maṇṇāḍu* means: 'deliberate on the affairs of the village'; but there is no other instance of such usage.

⁶ Read: *ivv-ūr*.

⁷ Read *ṇukku*.

⁸ Conjectural reading based on l. 28 below.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Read *māhā*.

¹¹ Read *uṭpaḍa*.

- 24 vallaṛ=āy suvri(ri)ttar=āy
 25 iruppārē maṇṇāḍu-
 26 vadāgavum idaṇ=mēr¹-
 27 paṭṭadu vilaiyālu-
 28 m pratigrahattālum sti-²
 29 dhanattālum śrāvaṇai
 30 puguvār muḷu śīrāva-
 31 nai aṇṇi kāl śīrāva-
 32 ṇaiyum araich=chirāvaṇai-
 33 yum mukkal śīrāvaṇaiyu-
 34 m pugavum paṇikkavu-
 35 m peṇādā[r=ā]gavum pa-
 36 ṇgu vilaiḱku kolpa-
 37 vār³ oru vēdam ell[ā]
 38 iḍamum sa-pariśiś[ṭ]a-
 39 m parikshai tandārkkē
 40 śrāvaṇai paṇippadā-
 41 gavum ip=pariśu aṇ-
 42 ri śrāvaṇai pukkāraiym

Third side.

- 43 piṇṇaiyum ik=kach-
 44 chattil paṭṭa-pari-
 45 śē maṇṇāḍuvadāga(v)-
 46 vum ip=pariśiṇā-
 47 l muḷuch=chirāvaṇai
 48 illādārai evvagai-
 49 ppaṭṭa vāriyam-
 50 m ēṇṇapperādār⁴=āgavu-
 51 m ip=pariśu śeygiṇ-
 52 ṇārum aṇṇēṇru kuttu-
 53 kkāl śeyyapperādā⁵-
 54 r=āgavum kuttukkāl śey-
 55 vāraiym kuttukkāl śe-
 56 vvārkkū⁶ uṇavāyudani⁷-
 57 ppāraiym vevvēṇru-
 58 vagai aiyyaṇṇu k[ā]śu taṇ-
 59 ḍaṇ-gonḍu piṇṇaiyum
 60 ik=kachcha[t*]til paṭṭa-pari-
 61 śē śeyv(v)adāgavum i-
 62 p=pariśu paṇittu vyava-

¹ r looks like ṇ.² Read *stri*.³ Read *var*. [The impression reads *ko(v)vār*—Ed.]⁴ *ṇṇa* looks like *ṇṇa*; cf. *ṇa* in *māṇu* in l. 1. Likewise *ṇā* and *dā* look much alike.⁵ *ṇā* and *dā* look alike.⁶ Read *śeyvārkkū*.⁷ This reading is doubtful. Mr. G. R. Krishnamachari suggests that it may be read as *upō[kam]*—in the sense of *upōha*; and that *upōham-nippār* may be rendered as those standing by or near, i.e., abettors.

63 stai śeydōm mahāsabhai-
64 yōm mahāsabhaiyār [pa]¹

TRANSLATION.

Lines 1-14. Hail ! Prosperity ! the year thirty-five, and day four hundred and sixty-nine of (the reign of) King Mārañjadaiyaṇ,—on this day, we, (the members of) the mahāsabhā of Māpanilainallūr, a brahmadēya in Kaḷakkudi-nāḍu, having proclaimed a general body meeting by beat of drum ; and, having assembled in the sacred Gōvardhana, made the following resolution (vyavasthai) for conducting deliberations in the meetings of the mahāsabhā of this village :

Ll. 14-20. In the matter of the share-holders of this village taking part in the deliberations of the assembly, only those who are conversant with Mantra-brāhmaṇa inclusive of one Dharma and are of good conduct shall take part in the discussions of the sabhā, only one person (representing) a share ;

Ll. 20-26. of those who own (shares) by purchase gift or dowry, only such as are conversant with Mantra-brāhmaṇa inclusive of one Dharma and are of good conduct shall take part in the deliberations ;

Ll. 26-35. in the future, those who exercise their right of property (śrāvāṇai-puguvār) (acquired) by purchase, gift or dowry, shall not, except by (possessing) full śrāvāṇai, exercise their right and vote² (merely) in virtue of a quarter, half or three-quarters of a śrāvāṇai ;

Ll. 35-45. among those who acquire shares by purchase, the śrāvāṇai shall be awarded only to such as have passed an examination in an entire Vēda together with the Parīśiṣṭa ; and those who enter upon a śrāvāṇai, by means other than the above, shall take part in the discussions only in accordance with the terms of this settlement (kachcham) ;

Ll. 46-51. in virtue of this arrangement, those who do not possess a full śrāvāṇai shall not be selected to any kind of vāriyam ;

Ll. 51-61. those who abide³ by this agreement shall not say ' nay ' and cause any obstruction (to this arrangement) ; those who cause obstruction and those who abet the obstructionists⁴ shall be fined five kāsus each, and even thereafter, the terms of this resolution (kachcham) shall be strictly observed.

Ll. 61-64. We, the members of the mahāsabhā ordered in this wise and made this settlement. The members of the mahāsabhā.....

No. 4 KHAROSHTHI INSCRIPTION ON A BEGRAM BAS-RELIEF.

BY STEN KONOW, PH.D., OSLO.

Bēgrām, on the confluence of the Ghorband and Panjshīr rivers, has been identified with ancient Kāpiśi.⁵ The site has been explored by French archæologists, and M. Barthou has, *inter alia*, unearthed a damaged sculpture in bas-relief,⁶ which has been interpreted as representing the Buddha's first interview with Bimbisāra or the invitation to preach addressed to Bhagavat by Brahmā and Indra. Gotama, with a moustache, is seated on a throne, raising the right hand in the varada-mudrā and resting the left, which is mutilated, on the lap. To the right stands

¹ The continuation on the fourth face seems to be built in.

² The word *paṇikkavum* in the context is not easy. I have taken it to mean ' declare one's opinion.' ' vote.'

³ The expression *ipparīṣu śeygiṇṇārūm* (ll. 51-2) is vague, but obviously it must refer to the persons who enter on śrāvāṇai in an irregular manner, without passing the examination, and are left out of account for the vāriyam

⁴ Lit. " Stand in intimate relation with those who cause obstruction."

⁵ Cf. A. Foucher, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, VI, pp. 341 ff.

⁶ J. Hackin, *La sculpture indienne et tibétaine au musée Guimet*, Paris 1931, Pl. XI.

a person in royal attire, raising his hands in supplication, and to the left a somewhat defaced figure, in the same attitude, but apparently not a royal personage. In the background we see a Vajrapāṇi to the left, and another person to the right, and outside the group, to the right, is still another person, according to M. Hackin perhaps a monk. The height of the sculpture is 14½ inches.

Under the sculpture is an inscription in Kharōshthī letters. The right-hand portion of the base is abraded, and the beginning of the record is therefore irreparably lost. If the whole base was utilized, we may reckon that approximately twenty *aksharas* have disappeared.

What has been preserved covers a space 10½ inches long, with twenty-four letters, each about ¾ inches high. Professor Thomas has published his reading of the record from M. Hackin's plate, where, however, the last *aksharas* are defaced.¹

I am indebted to M. Hackin for graciously allowing me to publish the inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*, and to the authorities of the musée Guimet for kindly providing me with excellent photographs, from which the plate accompanying this article has been prepared.

Our inscription is the first Kharōshthī record which has been found in, or in the neighbourhood of, ancient Kāpiśī. The excellent execution of the characters, however, shows that they are due to an experienced engraver, and we have no reason for doubting that Kharōshthī was in common use in Kāpiśī and in the other towns along the old highroad to India, *via* Nagarahāra and Pushkarāvati.

According to M. Hackin, Professor Mironov has examined the Bēgrām epigraph and come to the result that certain cursive and late characters remind us of the Kharōshthī documents from Niya, and that we must, consequently, think of a date towards the end of the Kushāṇa period, at least not earlier than Huvishka. This estimate cannot be far from the truth, though I cannot see any special resemblance to the Niya alphabet.

A priori we should be inclined to look for parallels to the characters of our record in inscriptions from places such as Wardak, Bīmarān, Haḍḍā and ancient Pushkarāvati, and though the materials at our disposal are limited, our search will not be quite in vain. The *ma*, with the tops bent slightly inwards, has its parallel on the Hashtnagar pedestal, where we also find forms of *da* and *pa* of the same kind as in our record. The angular *e*, with the *e*-stroke at the bottom, has exact parallels in Wardak, and also in Ārā, Naugrām, and Jauliā. *Ta* has an ancient shape, but the long *tu* reminds us of Wardak. *Ya* has its parallels on the Kanishka and Kurram caskets, and *ha* has the same shape as in Wardak. *Ṣa* is peculiar, the right-hand bar being shortened and bent backwards. Generally speaking, however, the characters make the impression of being traditional and little characteristic. They are perhaps somewhat later than the Haḍḍā inscription of the year 28, and earlier than the Mamāne Dheri pedestal of the year 89, though the highly cursive ductus of the last-mentioned epigraph makes it difficult to make any use of it for chronological purposes.

One of the characters occurring in our record is peculiar. The last word but one is evidently meant to be *pituno*. The first syllable is not, however, written in the usual way. Instead of the ordinary *pa* with the *i*-stroke we have *pa* with a St. Andrew's cross at the end of the stem.

The same sign has been found by Professor Rapson² in some few instances in the Kharōshthī documents recovered at Niya in Chinese Turkestan, where it is used in words such as *alpa*, *śilpa*,

¹ *J. R. A. S.*, 1933, p. 415.

² *Kharōshthī Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*. Transcribed and edited by A. M. Boyer, E. J. Rapson, and E. Senart, Oxford 1920-29, p. 316.

śilpiḡa, and accordingly seems to stand for *lp*. Another compound *lp*, formed in the usual way by placing *l* above *p*, is stated to occur in *[ka]lpitāmī*, where the *i*-stroke has been added, but hardly anywhere to denote *lpa*.

Professor Rapson further draws attention to the fact that the St. Andrew's cross is used in a similar way in the coin legends of Wima Kadphises. In an earlier publication¹ he proposed to read the compound letter as *thph*, but now he prefers to read *[Ka]lpī(śa)*.

We should then have to draw the inference that the writer of our inscription had misunderstood the compound and wrongly used it for *pi*. But we should fail to understand why he did so. *A priori* we would be inclined to think that he knew it from words where it was actually pronounced *pi*.

The oldest known occurrence of the compound *akshara* containing the St. Andrew's cross is in the coin legends mentioned above. The name or title in which it is used is applied to two different rulers, whose names are best known in the forms Kujūla and Wima Kadphises. The word is known both from the Greek and from the Kharōshthī legends, and further from Chinese renderings.

In the case of Kujūla, the Chinese transcript points to *Kapa*; the Greek legends give *Kadaphes* and *Kadphises*, and in Kharōshthī we find *Kadapha*, *Kaphsa*, *Kasa*², etc. For Wima we have Chinese *Kāu-t'ien*; Greek *Kadphises*, and in Kharōshthī the form here discussed. There is nowhere any trace of a *l*, but several writings which point to a dental, and probably to a voiced dental fricative, a *ḍ*. And in this connection it should be borne in mind that the Kharōshthī *akshara* which most closely resembles the St. Andrew's cross is the dental *th*. *A priori*, therefore, Professor Rapson's old explanation would seem to be more likely than the new one.

We do not know the derivation or etymological explanation of the word. Professor Lévi³ has maintained that it means 'ruler of Kapiśā'. Whether he is right or not, it is highly probable that it was thus understood in Kapiśā itself, where it was perhaps also used about the successors of the two first Kushāṇas. And in Kapiśā it could then hardly be pronounced otherwise than *Kāpiśa* or *Kappiśa*. Some of the coin legends also point to disappearance of the sound preceding *p* (*ph*). The writer of our inscription, which has been found in ancient Kāpiśī, would therefore be familiar with the use of the compound *akshara* as a rendering of the sound *pi*, and it is not to be wondered at that he took the St. Andrew's cross to be the sign of *i*, leaving out the *i*-stroke itself.

The result would be the same even if the cross originally stood for *l*. For it is almost certain that old *lp* became *pp* in the North-Western Prākṛit. There are not, it is true, any instances of old *lp* in later Indian Kharōshthī inscriptions. But both Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā have *apa*, *kapa* for Sanskrit *alpa*, *kalpa*, respectively, and the Dutreuil du Rhins manuscript gives *apa* for *alpa* and *sagapa* for *saṃkalpa*. Moreover we find *atapī* for Sanskrit *akalpika*, side by side with 'Sanskrit' forms such as *kalpa*, *kalpī* in Saka, which language has been influenced by the North-Western Prākṛit.

This state of things leads us to question the interpretation of our sign as *lp* in the Niya documents. The forms transliterated *alpa*, *śilpa*, *śilpiḡa* by Professor Rapson were pronounced *appa*, *šippa*, *šippiḡa*, respectively, in the dialect, and we may reasonably draw the inference that the other sign, *ī* written above *p*, was used where a Sanskrit loanword was pronounced as in Sanskrit e.g., in *(ka)lpitāmī*.

¹ *Acies du XIV^e Congrès des Orientalistes*, i, p. 219.

² I abstract from the form *Kassa* which Professor Rapson, *Kharōshthī Inscriptions*, p. 312, proposes to read on a copper coin, because the actual reading is not certain. To me it looks like *Katša*.

³ *J. A.*, cciii, 1923, p. 52=Sylvain Lévi, Jean Przyluski and Jules Bloch, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*. Translated by Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, Calcutta 1929, p. 120.

So far as I can see, our only key to the pronunciation of the compound *akshara* are the coin legends of Wima Kadphises. And we have no reason for assuming a pronunciation *lp* in them. If the letter was originally devised for writing foreign, *e.g.*, Iranian, words containing the consonantal compound *ḍp*, which does not occur in Indian dialects, it is conceivable that it was locally pronounced *lp*.¹ But it is hardly necessary to resort to such an assumption in order to explain the Niya writings. And in our record, at all events, the compound is meant to render *pi*.

With regard to **orthography** and **grammar**, we may note that no distinction has been made between the dental and the cerebral *n*. Thus we have *imeṇa kuśalamuleṇa*, but *pituno, danam-muhe*. The last mentioned word illustrates the well-known tendency to nasalize a vowel before a nasal, and also shows that the nominative of *a*-bases ended in *e* and not in *o*, as is the rule in the western part of the territory in which the North-Western Prākṛit was in use. The dialect used in our inscription is, as might be expected, the same as in other Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions.

As has already been remarked, the beginning of the record, probably about twenty *aksharas*, has disappeared. It probably contained a date, either in the old Saka or in the Kanishka era.

The inscription opens with a damaged *ya*, or apparently rather *ye*. It is evidently the termination of a feminine noun, in the genitive or in the locative. This word cannot be restored with any approach to certainty. If it was the last word of the date portion, we might think of *purvaye*, as in the Taxila Plate. Other dated inscriptions from Afghanistan, however, use *kshunammi* and not *purvaye* after the date. Moreover, the ensuing dative *pujae* makes it probable that we should expect *purvae* and not *purvaye*. The same consideration may be urged against restoring words such as *bharyaye* or *upasikaye*. We might think of *kuṭimbiniye* or of *kapiṣiye*, but we cannot say anything for certain.

The first complete word is *atariye*, which Professor Thomas is no doubt right in restoring as *Antariye*, the genitive of an elsewhere unknown name *Antarī*. It is evidently the name of the donor of the sculpture, and dependent on the following *danam-muhe*, gift.

The remaining words do not present any difficulty. They are : *imeṇa kuśalamuleṇa* [*pi*] *tuno pujae*. We might expect a *bhavatu* to follow, and there are perhaps some faint traces of three *aksharas*, which might be read *bhavatu*, above the line, after *pujae*. My reading and translation are therefore :

TEXT.

. . . y[e] A[m]tariye danam-muhe imeṇa kuśalamuleṇa pituno pujae [bhavatu]

TRANSLATION.

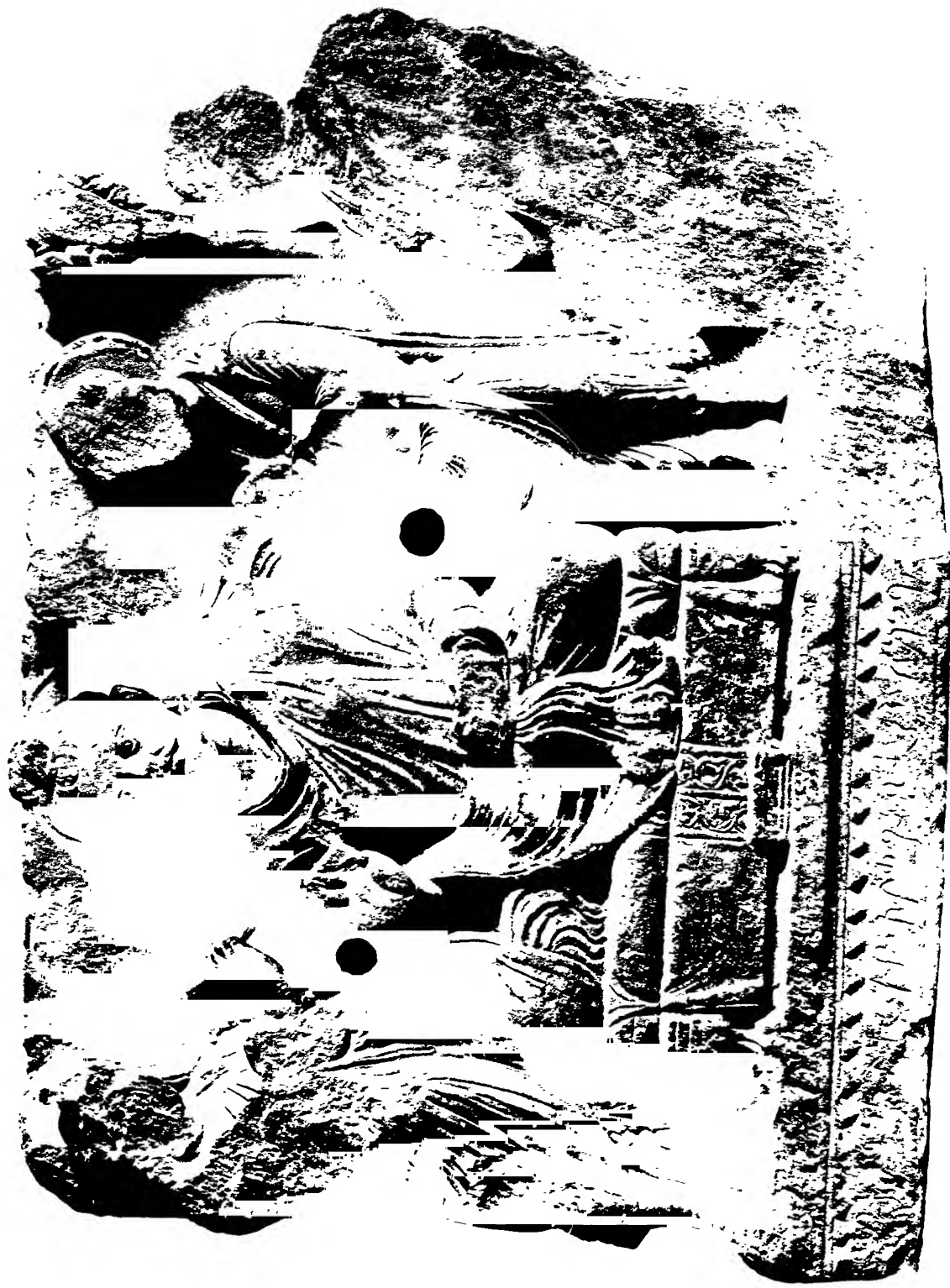
. . . gift of Antarī ; through this root of bliss (may it be) for the worship of [her] father.

✓ No. 5.—A NOTE ON THE MAMANE DHERI INSCRIPTION.

BY STEN KONOW, PH.D., OSLO.

The Mamāne Dherī inscription of the year 89 of the Kanishka era was published by me in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, i, pp. 171 ff. A small portion of the record is so defaced that I could not make it out from the photograph and estampages at my disposal. I tentatively read the last word of this part as *puyae*. In the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1928-29, p. 142, Mr. M. Delawar Khan has contributed a note on the record, and a new

¹ Cf. *l* < *ḍ* in Pashto γ *l*, Avestan *gaḍa* ; *l* *ḍ* m Avestan *duma*, and vice versa, Sogdian *ḍykh*, Sanskrit *lākha* ; *ḍukh*, Sanskrit *lōka* ; *kḍp*, Sanskrit *kalpa*, etc.





From a photograph.

reproduction will be found on Plate LVIIIc. We are informed of the fact that Mr. N. G. Majumdar proposes to read *arogadakshinae* instead of *puyae*, and a careful comparison of the new reproduction with my plate shows that he is certainly right. With the exception of the initial *a*, all the *aksharas* can be traced. It is further possible to see that *arogadakshinae* was preceded by a word of three *aksharas*, the first of which must be *pi*, so that we can confidently restore *piduno* or *pituno*. This completes the record, which should accordingly be read :

Sam 20 20 20 20 4 4 1 margasiras(r)a masi 4 1 ise khsunami
niryaide ime deyadharme Dharmapriena shamanena piduno arogadakshi-
nae upajayasa Budhapriasa puyae samanuyayana arogadakshinae.

No. 6—THAKURDIYA PLATES OF MAHA-PRAVARARAJA.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

These plates were discovered in November 1931 at **Thākurdiyā**, a village six miles from Sāraṅgarh, the chief town of a feudatory state of the same name in Chhattisgarh, C. P. They were kindly sent to me in January 1933, by Mr. R. D. Naik, B.A., LL.B., the Diwān of Sāraṅgarh at the instance of Mr. L. P. Pandeya, Honorary Secretary of the Mahākōsala Historical Society. They are now in the possession of the Chief of Sāraṅgarh, who has kindly permitted me to edit them.

They are **three copper-plates** each measuring 3·6" by 7·1". The first and the third are inscribed on one side only, while the second, which is somewhat thicker, is inscribed on both the sides. The edges of the plates are neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. About 1" from the middle of the proper right margin each plate has a roundish hole about $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter for the ring on which the plates are strung. The ends of this ring, which is 8" in thickness and 3·2" in diameter, were secured in a circular seal of bronze 3·2" in diameter. About a quarter of the lower portion of the seal is broken off, but the emblem and the legend on it are intact. The ring was not cut when the plates were sent to me. The weight of the three plates is 70 *tolas* and that of the seal with the ring is 49 *tolas*.

The plates were much corroded when first found, but have since been cleaned by the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The text of this inscription is, with a few exceptions, practically identical with that of the other inscriptions of the dynasty and there is no uncertainty in its reading. The symbol on the seal also closely resembles that on the other seals of the dynasty. It has already been described by Dr. Fleet¹ and Dr. Sten Konow². The concave and slightly countersunk surface of the seal is divided by two horizontal parallel lines into two equal parts. The upper half contains in relief the figure of **Lakshmi** with a halo surrounding her face, standing on a lotus and facing full front. She holds a lotus in her right hand and something circular in her left. On each side of her there is an elephant standing on a lotus, and holding a pot in his uplifted trunk to pour water on the head of the goddess. In the right as well as the left corner there is a water lily.³ The lower half of the seal contains the **legend** in verse deciphered below.

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet as found in the copper-plates of Mahā-Jayarāja and Mahā-Sudēvarāja and also in the silver coin of Prasan-

¹ C. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 191 and 196.

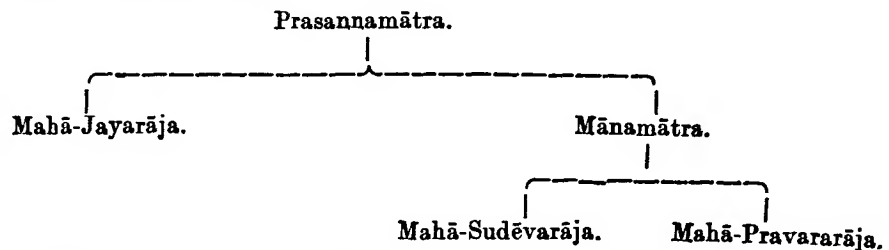
² Above, Vol. IX, p. 171.

³ In the seals described by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Konow there is a *śankha* in the proper left corner.

namātra. They resemble in general the characters of the Rithapur plates of Bhavattavarman¹ and are somewhat more elongated and angular than those of the Siwani² and Riddhapur³ plates of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna II. As in the Ārang plates⁴ of Mahā-Jayarāja, in medial *i* the length is denoted by a dot in the middle of the circle which indicates its short form. The medial *ū* is denoted in two ways—the usual one of indicating length by a short stroke to the right as in *bhū* and *sū* (cf. *bhūtva* l. 11 and *sūrya* l. 16) and the other in *chū* (cf. *chūdamani* l. 1) and *yū* (cf. *yūyam* l. 10). The medial *ri* is denoted by a flourish to the left; the medial *au* is tripartite (cf. *dhau* of *dhauta* l. 2). The sign for the cerebral *ḍ* occurs twice in *chūdamani* l. 1 and *Tuḍārāsh-ṭriya* l. 4. The *gh*, *p*, *s*, and *sh* are open at the top. The right arm of *l* goes over the letter in the form of a curve and appears as a vertical stroke to the left; *m* appears in its angular form, *n* with a loop and *t* without it. The loop of *kh* is larger than its hook. The final *t* as in *dadyāt* l. 17 and *vasēt* l. 19 is denoted by two vertical strokes on the top. The loop of *y* is complete in *Vājasanēyinē* l. 9 and *dviyāya* l. 13 and contains a dot in *sūryyasutās-cha* l. 16. The final pause is denoted by two vertical lines, the first of which has a hook at the top. The numerical symbols for 3 and 2 occur in lines 22 and 23 respectively.

The language is Sanskrit. Except the legend on the seal and the usual imprecatory verses at the end, the whole inscription is in prose. As regards orthography, we have to note the reduplication of the consonant which follows *r* in *sarva* l. 8, *dharmmam* l. 13, *svarggē* l. 18, etc. *V* appears doubled after *anusvāra* in *paradattā[m*]vā* l. 20 and *saṁvatsara* l. 22. *B* is distinguished from *v* as in *sēk-āmbu* l. 2 and *bahubhir-* l. 19. *Ri* is used instead of the vowel *ri* in *sriṣṭaḥ* l. 10 and for the *rēpha* in *darīṣayati* l. 12 and *variṣa* l. 17. The palatal *ś* wrongly appears for the lingual *sh* in *śashṭi* and *variṣa* l. 17 and the dental *s* for the palatal *ś* in *śasi* l. 6. The *visarga* appears superfluous after its change to *s* in *grāmaḥ stridaśa* l. 5; so also the *anusvāra* after its change to a nasal in *bhavamnti* l. 17 and *śimamnta* l. 2, etc. One *d* is wrongly dropped in *tasmādvijāya* l. 13.

The plates were issued from Śrīpura by Mahā-Pravararāja on the second day of Mārgaśīrsha in the third year of his increasingly victorious reign. They record the donation of a village *Aśhāḍhaka* in the *rāshṭra* or sub-division named *Tuḍā*⁵ to a Brāhman named Purandara of the *Parāśara-gōtra* of the *Vājasanēyin* (Śākha of the *Yajurveda*). The importance of our inscription lies in this that it has brought to light the name of a new prince Mahā-Pravararāja in the dynasty of the so-called “Kings of Śarabhapura”. Again, unlike the charters of the other kings of this dynasty, these plates have been issued from Śrīpura and not from Śarabhapura. From several plates of Mahā-Jayarāja and Mahā-Sudēvarāja, which have been published, we can make out the following genealogy:—



It appears that Mahā-Jayarāja was the elder son of Prasannamātra. He seems to have died without issue and was succeeded by his nephew Mahā-Sudēva. All the copper-plates of Mahā-Jayarāja and Mahā-Sudēvarāja are issued from Śarabhapura. This town has not been identified

¹ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 100.

² *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XX, pp. 58 ff.

³ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 243.

⁴ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 191.

⁵ [See p. 22 n. 1.—Ed.]

but Mr. L. P. Pandeya's suggestion¹ that it is represented by modern Śarabharāh, the chief town of a big zamindari of the same name in the Gāngpur feudatory state in Orissa appears plausible. The town seems to have been founded by a king named Śarabharāja, just as Pravarapura was founded by King Pravaraśēna II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. It is not known when this Śarabharāja flourished. He may be identical with Śarabharāja whose daughter's son Gōparāja fell in a fierce battle at Eran in the Saugor district of C. P., in which he assisted Bhānugupta as recorded in an inscription² at Eran dated G. E. 191 (510 A.D.). In that case he may have flourished in the latter half of the fifth century. Prasannamātra and his descendants were evidently born in the family of Śarabharāja and may not have been separated from him by many generations; for, as stated above, the characters of their charters closely resemble those of the Rithapur plates of Bhavattavarman which have been referred to the latter half of the fifth and first half of the sixth century A.D. The present plates seem to indicate that Mahā-Pravararāja, who evidently succeeded his elder brother Mahā-Sudēvarāja, removed the capital from Śarabhapura to Śrīpura which he himself may have founded.³ The town is not known to have been in existence before the fifth or sixth Century A.D. It is named after Śrī or Lakṣmī who figures on all the seals of "the Kings of Śarabhapura". In the legend on the seal of the present charter Pravararāja is said to have won the earth with his arms. Such an expression does not occur in the legends on the seals of his brother and uncle. It seems, therefore, that Pravararāja extended his kingdom in the west and must have, therefore, felt the need of shifting his capital to a more centrally situated place like Śrīpura.

It seems that the dynasty came to an end soon after Mahā-Pravararāja; for no descendant of either Mahā-Sudēvarāja or Mahā-Pravararāja is known. By his conquests in the west Mahā-Pravararāja seems to have come into conflict with the Sōmavaṃśī kings of Bhāṇḍak and though he succeeded for a while, his dynasty seems ultimately to have been overthrown by some Sōmavaṃśī king, probably Tivaradēva whose Rājim and Balodā plates are issued from Śrīpura; for he is the first king of the Sōmavaṃśī dynasty whose inscriptions are connected with that town. Besides, he describes himself as the lord of the entire Kōśala country⁴ in the Balodā plates and such a title he could have assumed only after conquering the territory now known as Chhattīsgarh, where Mahā-Pravararāja and his ancestors were ruling. Tivaradēva's Rājim and Balodā plates are inscribed in box-headed characters which appear to be later⁵ than those of the "Kings of Śarabhapura". None of the inscriptions of his predecessors at Bhāṇḍak or his successors at Śrīpura is in box-headed characters. It seems that these characters were in use in Kōśala owing to the influence of the Vākāṭakas; for from the Bālāghāt plates of Prithvīśēna we learn that the king of Kōśala, who was probably one of "the Kings of Śarabhapura", was a feudatory of his father Narēndrasēna. When Tivaradēva conquered the territory he also at first adopted

¹ L. P. Pandeya—A Silver coin of Prasannamātra—*Proceedings of the Fifth Oriental Conference*, p. 461. [Dr. Sten Konow thinks that Śarabhapura may be identical with the present Śarabhavaram twenty miles north-west from Rajahmundry in the Godāvāri district of the Madras Presidency or one of the few other villages with a similar name in the neighbourhood (above, Vol. XIII, p. 108).—Ed.]

² C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 91.

³ R. B. Hiralal who places Śarabhapur kings after the Sōmavaṃśī kings of Śrīpura identifies Śarabhapura with Śrīpura. He says "It (Śarabhapura) may perhaps have been a new name imposed on the conquered city of Śrīpura by the victor from the fabulous animal of that name who is believed to be a match for a lion with reference to the claim of the Sirpur dynasty to be Kēsari" (Above, Vol. XI, p. 186 footnote). This conjecture is rendered impossible by the discovery of the present plates; for, herein we find the city named as Śrīpura even by the last prince of the Śarabhapura dynasty. Secondly Tivaradēva and his successors who reigned at Śrīpura are not known to have ever assumed the title of Kēsarin.

⁴ Cf. 'prāpta-sakala-Kōśal-ādhipatyāḥ' above, Vol. VII, p. 105.

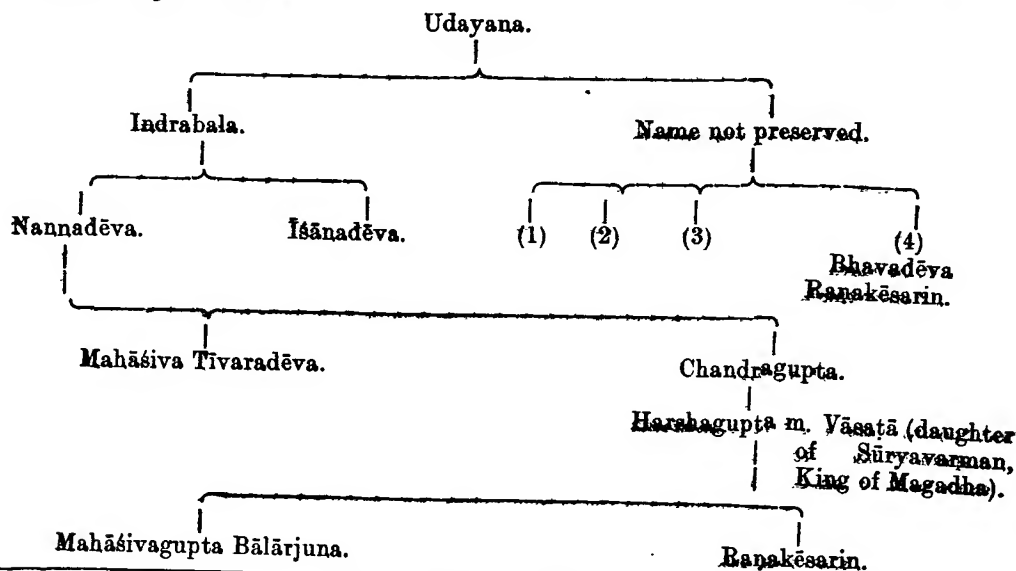
⁵ They are more elongated and angular in appearance than those in the charters of Śarabhapura kings. Again the passage यावद्विशिष्टाकारिणश्चप्रतिष्ठतधीरास्वकारं जगद्वतिष्ठते तावदुपभोग्यः which regularly occurs in the grants of Śarabhapura kings seems to have been borrowed in the Rājim and Balodā plates of Tivaradēva.

the same characters in incising his charters. His successors, however, seem to have reverted to the nail-headed characters which their ancestors were using at Bhāṇḍak.

It is necessary to discuss the question of the date of Tivaradēva at some length in order to fix the date of the present plates. While editing the Kudopali plates of Mahābhavagupta II, Prof. Kielhorn remarked : "The Rājim copper-plate inscription of Mahāśiva Tivaradēva undoubtedly belongs to about the middle of the eighth century"¹. As he remarked elsewhere, this view was based on the evidence of palaeography, language and style. None of these grounds can, however, be regarded *now* as decisive. As stated above, both the Rājim² and Balodā³ plates of Tivaradēva are inscribed in box-headed characters resembling those used in the charters of the Vākātaka kings. When Prof. Kielhorn wrote, the relation of the Vākātaka and Gupta kings was not known. He, therefore, accepted Dr. Fleet's identification of *Mahārājādhirāja* Dēvagupta, the maternal grand-father of the Vākātaka king Pravarasēna II, with Dēvagupta of Magadha, the son of Ādityasēna, mentioned in the Deo Bārnār inscription and assigned the Dudia plates of Pravarasēna II to the beginning of the 8th Century and the Rājim plates of Tivaradēva to the second half of the same century. Since then the Poona and Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatiguptā have definitely proved that *Mahārājādhirāja* Dēvagupta was none other than Chandragupta II. The Vākātakas were, thus, contemporaries of the Early Gupta Kings and their records must, therefore, be referred to the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era. As stated above, they are inscribed in box-headed characters. The plates of Tivaradēva, which are also incised in similar characters, can no longer be referred to the 8th Century on palaeographic grounds.

Nor is the evidence of language and style in favour of the late date. The charters of Tivaradēva are, indeed, composed in a style of high flourish, full of long compounds and puns ; but so are those of many kings of Valabhī who flourished in the sixth and seventh century A.D.⁴. We must, therefore, look elsewhere for a more reliable evidence for fixing the date of Tivaradēva.

From several inscriptions found at Bhāṇḍak and Śīrpur, we get the following genealogy of the Sōmavarṃśī kings of Kōśala⁵ :—



¹ Above, Vol. IV, p. 258.

² C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 291.

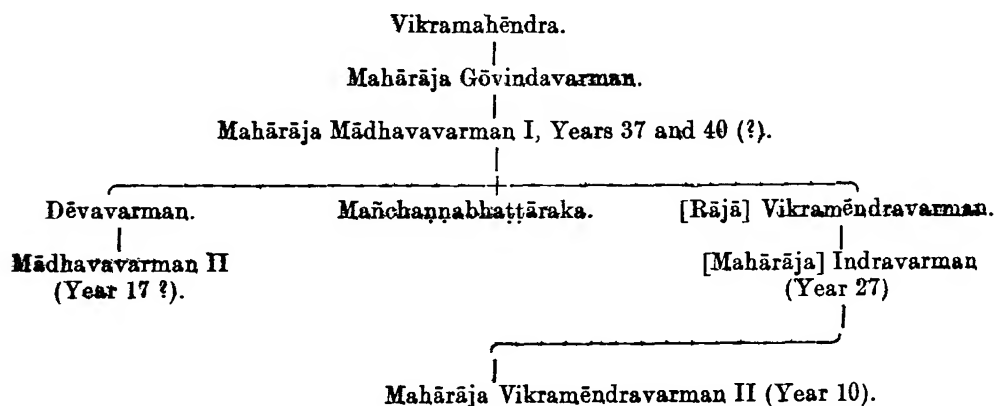
³ Above, Vol. VII, p. 102.

⁴ Cf. for instance, the description of Dhruvasēna II of Valabhī in the Botad plates of G. E. 310 (610-20 A.D.).

⁵ R. B. Hiralal—*Descriptive list of inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, second edition, p. 103.

From the Sirpur stone inscription of the time of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna, we learn that Bālārjuna's mother Vāsatā was the daughter of Sūryavarman "who was born in the family of the Varman kings, great on account of their supremacy over Magadha"¹. There is no king of this name in the dynasties of Magadha except the Maukhari prince Sūryavarman whose Harāhā stone inscription² incised in the reign of his father Īśānavarman, is dated (Mālava) Samvat 611 (555 A.D.). The name of this prince is not known from other records of the Maukharis. As Sūryavarman is called King in the Sirpur stone inscription above referred to, he may have succeeded his father and ruled for a short time, though, being a collateral, his name is not mentioned in the records of his brother or his descendants. Chandragupta, the grand-father of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna was thus a contemporary of Sūryavarman and flourished probably from 550 to 570 A.D. and his elder brother Tivradēva from 530 to 550 A.D.

The date thus arrived at for Tivradēva is corroborated by the evidence afforded by the records of the Vishnukundin kings. After examining all the available charters of these kings Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sarcar has given the following genealogy³ :—



Māhārāja Mādhavavarman I was the most powerful king of the dynasty. He is described in his as well as his successors' records as one who had performed a thousand (*Agnishlōma*) sacrifices and eleven *Āśvamēdhas* (horse-sacrifices). He is also described in his plates as "*Trivara-nagara-bhavana-gata-parama-yuvati-jana-viharaṇa-ratiḥ*"⁴ or as "*Trivara-nagara-bhavana-gata-yuvati-hridaya-nandanah*"⁵ i.e., as one who sported in company of (or delighted the hearts of) the best ladies in the mansions of the city of Trivara. This expression has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Dr. Hultzsch took it to mean that Mādhavavarman I lived at Trivaranagara, but he could not identify the city. It seems clear, however, that Trivaranagara means 'the city of Trivara', i.e., Tivradēva, King of Mahākōśala. But then what does the above expression signify? It cannot mean that Mādhavavarman married a lady from the family of Tivradēva; for the expression refers to a number of ladies (*yuvati-jana*) in the mansions of the city of Trivara, whom he delighted. We must, therefore, take the expression to refer to Mādhavavarman's victory over Tivradēva. Tivradēva was a powerful king. As stated above, he claims in his

¹ निषङ्गे सप्तषड्पत्यमहतां जातः कुले वंशेषां पुण्याभिः कृतिभिः कृतौ कृतमनःकम्पः सुधाभोजिनाम् ।
वामासाय अतां हिमाचल इव शौर्यवर्षां वृषः प्राप प्राक्पस्मेन्नरश्चयुतानवोनिस्सर्वं पदम् ॥

² Above, Vol. XIV, p. 115.

³ *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Vol. IX, p. 278.

⁴ Pulombūru plates of Mādhavavarman, *Jour. Andhra Hist. Res. Society*, Vol. VI, p. 20.

⁵ *Ipūr plates of Mādhavavarman*, above, Vol. XVII, p. 336.

charters to have attained suzerainty over the whole Kōsala country. A victory over such a great king must be a source of pride to Mādhavarman. Hence we find it referred to in both his inscriptions. The idea that a victorious king captivates the hearts of young ladies of the enemy's city—nay even of the enemy's family—occurs sometimes in Sanskrit and Prākṛit literature¹. It would not, therefore, be wrong to suppose that Mādhavarman I vanquished Tivaradēva. In any case, he was his contemporary.

When did this Mādhavarman flourish? His Pulombūru plates² record that when he crossed the Gōdāvarī to conquer the eastern region he donated the village Pulombūru in the Guḍḍavāḍi *vishaya* to Śivaśarman, the son of Dāmaśarman and grandson of Rudraśarman of the Gautama-gōtra and Taittiriya-śākhā, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse which occurred on the full moon day of *Phālguṇa*. Again the Pulombūru plates³ of the Eastern Chālukya King Jayasimha I, which were discovered along with the above plates of Mādhavarman, record the grant of the same village to Rudraśarman, the son of Śivaśarman and grandson of Dāmaśarman of the Gōtama-gōtra and Taittiriya-śākhā. From the details given above it is quite clear that Śivaśarman, the donee of Mādhavarman's plates, was the father of Rudraśarman who received the village from Jayasimha I. It seems that Rudraśarman who is called *pūrv-āgrahārika* (former owner of the donated village) lost possession of the village in troublous times due to the invasions of Pulakēśin II in the beginning of the seventh century A.D. He, therefore, seems to have made representations to Jayasimha I some-time after peace and order had been established in the kingdom and received the *āgrahāra* village again from him.

If we calculate the interval between the reigns of Mādhavarman I and Jayasimha I, we find that some 60 or 70 years must have elapsed between these two rulers. Mādhavarman's Pulombūru plates are dated in the 40th year of his reign⁴. They were, therefore, issued towards the close of his reign. He seems to have ruled over an extensive empire; for he performed as many as eleven *Aśvamedhas*. Three of his sons are known from inscriptions—(1) Dēvarman (2) Mañchannabhaṭṭāraka⁵ and (3) Vikramēndravarman. As Mādhavarman had a long reign of more than forty years, none of his sons seems to have succeeded him. In any case, we do not know of any plates issued by them.⁶ Mādhavarman II, the grandson of Mādhavarman I, who calls himself the lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya mountains, seems to have held possession of the western provinces after the death of Mādhavarman I, while another grandson, Indravarman, seems to have succeeded him in the east. His plates are dated in the 27th regnal year. He is not likely to have reigned much longer, for his son Vikramēndravarman is said to have come to the throne when he was a mere boy.⁷ Vikramēndravarman's plates were issued in his tenth regnal year. The reigns of Indravarman and his son thus cover a little more than 37 years. As no successor of Vikramēndravarman is known, he seems to have been dethroned by Pulakēśin II, who placed his brother Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana in charge of the Eastern province, who reigned

¹ Cf. Rājasekhara's *Viddhasūlabhañjikā*, IV, 8 and *Gaṇḍavaho* (V. 1069).

² *Jour. Andhra. Hist. Res. Society*, Vol. VI, p. 17.

³ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 254.

⁴ I have accepted the view of Mr. D. C. Sircar, *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Vol. IX, p. 275.

⁵ The name of this prince occurs towards the end of the Ipūr plates (First set). Above, Vol. XVII, p. 334. None of his descendants are known.

⁶ It is noteworthy that no royal titles are prefixed to their names even in the records of their sons. [That no plates of these rulers have yet been found may not be taken as a proof that they did not rule. In the Rāmātirtham plates, Vikramēndravarman also bears the title of *rājā* like his son Indravarman who was the ruler and the donor of the grant.—Ed.]

⁷ परममाह्वरस्य महाराजस्य श्रीइन्द्रमहाराजकवचम्बः प्रियज्येष्ठपुत्री मरिचः ज्ञेय एव सकलपुत्राणाञ्जितस्य सत्यगन्धारीपितृसकलराज्यभारः परममाह्वरी महाराजः श्रीमान् विक्रमेन्द्रवर्मा एकमात्रापत्यति.

for about 18 years (615-633 A.D.). As the Pulombūru plates of Jayasimha referred to above are dated in the fifth¹ regnal year, we can calculate the interval between the dates of the two sets of Pulombūru plates as follows² :—

	Years.
Indravarman	27
Vikramēndravarman	10
Vishṇuvardhana	18
Jayasimha	5
Total	60

As Mādhavarman I, Indravarman and Vikramēndravarman may have continued to reign for some years after their respective plates were issued, this figure may have to be increased by about ten years, i.e., a period of about seventy years may have elapsed between the gifts of Mādhavarman I and Jayasimha³. It appears that Śivaśarman was a young man of 25 to 30 years when he met Mādhavarman I in his expedition to the east, while his son was an old man of 50 to 60 years of age when he regained the lost *agrahāra* village from Jayasimha. Now Jayasimha issued his plates in *circa* 638 A.D. Deducting 70 years from this, we get c. 568 A.D. as the approximate date of Mādhavarman's plates. We find that there was a lunar eclipse in the month of *Phālguna* in 565 A.D. This may, therefore, be accepted as the date of Mādhavarman's plates. As these plates were issued in his 40th regnal year, we may accept 525-568 as the probable duration of Mādhavarman's reign⁴. We have fixed above 530 to 550 A.D. as the date of Tivaradēva on the evidence of the Śirpur inscription, which we thus find corroborated by the date of Mādhavarman I, who, as described in his charters, was a contemporary of Tivaradēva.⁵

¹ Agreeing with Mr. Somasekhara Sarma (*Jour. Andhra. Hist. Res. Society*. Vol. V, p. 183) I read the numerical symbol in Jayasimha's Pulombūru plates as 5.

² The years of Mādhavarman II's reign are not included here, as he was ruling in the west contemporaneously with Indravarman. [But cf. Dr. Hultsch's view, above, Vol. XVII, p. 338.—Ed.]

³ [The argument does not appear to me as very convincing. If we have to allow other rulers between Mādhavarman I and Indravarman or even another ruler, viz., Vikramēndra, who also bears the title of *rājā*, the situation would become worse. It is very doubtful if Mādhavarman I could be so far removed from Jaysimha even if he was not actually the predecessor of the latter in time as Prof. Bhandarkar thinks. See his *List of Northern Inscriptions*, p. 291, n. 3. Moreover, there were other lunar eclipses in *Phālguna* between 565 and 638 A. D.—Ed.]

⁴ Agreeing with Mr. D. C. Sircar, I have identified Mādhavarman of Pulombūru plates with Mādhavarman I mentioned in the Chikkulla and Īpūr plates (First set) on the ground of similarity of description. Mr. J. Dubreuil, who distinguishes between them, places Mādhavarman I about 450 A.D. The tradition in the *Sihālamāhātmya* of Śrī-Parvata on which he relies (*Ancient Hist. of the Deccan*, p. 73) is worthless for historical purposes. Prabhāvatiguptā was not known as Chandrāvatī and was, moreover, a devotee of Viṣṇu and not of Śiva. See her Riddhapur plates. If Mādhavarman I owed his throne to a Vākāṭaka prince, it must be to Harishēpa (C. 500-530 A.D.) who conquered the Āndhra country. The Vākāṭaka princess whom he married was probably Harishēpa's own daughter.

⁵ The late Dr. Hiralal accepting Kielhorn's date for Tivaradēva placed the Śirpur Lakshmaṇa temple inscription of Tivaradēva's grand nephew in the eighth or ninth century A.D. (Above, Vol. XI, p. 184). But the characters of the inscription which closely resemble those in the Ganjam plates of the time of Saśāṅka (619-620 A.D.) are decidedly earlier. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's identification of Chandragupta mentioned in the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsha I (Śaka Samvat 793) with Tivaradēva's brother (Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 240) cannot be accepted; for that Chandragupta, who is mentioned with Nāgabhaṭa in the inscription was probably a king of Central India, and not of Kōśala. It is noteworthy in this connection that Kōśala is mentioned subsequently in the description of the later conquests of Gōvinda III. Trivara who is mentioned in the Kondedda, Nivina and Puri plates as defeated by the Śailōdbhava king Dharmarāja *alias* Mānabhīta was probably a descendant of the earlier Tivaradēva who issued Rājim and Balodā plates. We know of several instances of such repetition of names in the dynasty of the Sōmavamśī kings of Kōśala and Orissa to which Tivaradēva belonged.

We have shown above that Tivaradēva flourished later than the "Kings of Śarabhapura" and was probably responsible for their overthrow. Mahā-Pravararāja, the donor of the present plates, is the last known king of the 'Śarabhapura dynasty'. He seems, therefore, to have flourished in the beginning of the sixth century (*circa* 515 to 535 A.D.).

The overthrow of the kings of Śarabhapura by Tivaradēva accounts for the war between Mādhavavarman I and Tivaradēva. As we have seen the kings of Śarabhapura were probably feudatories of the Vākātakas. In the beginning of the sixth century the power of the Vākātakas was declining. The reign of Harishēṇa the last known Vākātika king came to an end about 530 A.D. Mādhavavarman I who is known to have married a Vākātika princess, probably a daughter of Harishēṇa, seems to have taken vengeance for the destruction of the kings of Śarabhapura by invading the kingdom of Tivaradēva and occupying his capital for a while as suggested in his Pulombūru and Īpūr plates.

As for the geographical names occurring in these plates Śrīpura is modern Śirpur in the Raipūr District of C. P. Tuḍā¹ which gave its name to the district in which the donated village was situated, may be identified with one of the villages named Tuṇḍa, Tuṇḍra, Tundri or Tuṇḍra-gaon in the vicinity of Seorinārāyan about 25 to 30 miles from Thākurdīyā. It may be noted in this connection that the Tuṇḍāraka-*bhukti* mentioned in the Śāraṅgaḍh plates of Mahā-Sudēva has been identified by R. B. Dr. Hiralal with Tundra 6 miles south of Seorinārāyan. The village Chullaṇḍāraka granted in that charter may be identified with Childa 82-31' and 21-30'. The village Āshāṭhaka granted in the present plates may be represented by modern Asoud 82-54' and 21-45', about two miles to the north of the Mahānadi, which is within a distance of fifteen to twenty miles from the villages Tuṇḍa, Tundra, etc., mentioned above.

I edit the inscription from the original plates.²

TEXT.

The Seal.

- 1 मानमात्र[सु]त[स्ये]दं स्व[भु]जीषाज्जितचिते: [1*]
- 2 [ओ]ममवरराजस्य आसन[—*] शत्रुशासन [—*] [1*]³

First Plate.

- 1 ओ⁴ स्वस्ति [1*] ओपुरादिकमोपनतसाम⁵न्तमकुटचूडा⁶मणिप्रभाप-
- 2 सेका⁷म्बुधौतपादयुगलो रिपुविलासिनोसीम⁸स्तोदरणहेतुः⁹-
- 3 र्वसुवसुधागोप्रदः¹⁰ परमभागवतो मां¹¹तापितुपादानुध्यातः
- 4 ओमहाप्रवरराजः तुङ्गराष्ट्रि¹²याषाढके प्रतिवासिनः समान्ना-
- 5 पयति [1*] विदितमस्तु वो यथास्माभिरयं ग्रामः¹³स्त्रिदशपतिसदन-
- 6 सुखप्रतिष्ठाकरो यावद्रविशसि¹⁴ताराकिरणप्रतिहतघोराभ्यका-

¹ [Correct reading appears to be *Tuṇḍa*.—Ed.]

² The excellent facsimiles, which accompany this article, were kindly supplied by Mr. K. N. Dikshit, M. A., Superintendent, Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

³ Metre : *A nushṭubh*.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ The *ānustāra* is superfluous.

⁶ The engraver first wrote *ghā* but afterwards corrected it as *ghā*.

⁷ The *visarga* is superfluous.

⁸ दः which was first omitted is written below the line.

⁹ Read माता¹⁰

¹⁰ [Reading is तुङ्गराष्ट्रि.—Ed.]

¹¹ Read त्रि¹²

Second Plate: First Side.

Second Plate: Second Side.

Reg. No. 3321 E'34-480.

Third Plate.

20 နိဗ္ဗာန်ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသုတ္တံတွင် နိဗ္ဗာန်ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသုတ္တံတွင် နိဗ္ဗာန်ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသုတ္တံတွင်
 20 နိဗ္ဗာန်ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသုတ္တံတွင် နိဗ္ဗာန်ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသုတ္တံတွင် နိဗ္ဗာန်ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသုတ္တံတွင်
 22 နိဗ္ဗာန်ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသုတ္တံတွင် နိဗ္ဗာန်ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသုတ္တံတွင် နိဗ္ဗာန်ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသုတ္တံတွင်
 22 နိဗ္ဗာန်ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသုတ္တံတွင် နိဗ္ဗာန်ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသုတ္တံတွင် နိဗ္ဗာန်ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသုတ္တံတွင်

SEAL.



(From a photograph).

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 7 (रं) जगदवतिष्ठते तावदुपभोग्यः सनिधिः सोपनिधिरचाटभटप्रावे-
 8 स्सः सर्वकर्मसिद्धिः मातापित्रोरामनस्य पुन्या(स्या)भित्तये पराश-
 9 रसगोत्राय वाजसनेयिने भट्टकपुरन्दरस्वामिने ताम्र'शा-
 10 सनेनालिखितः [1*] ते यूयमेवमुपलभ्य आन्नाश्वणविधेया
 11 भूत्वा यद्योचितं भोगभागमुपलभ्य सुखं प्रतिवत्स्यथ [1*] भविष्यतश्च भू-
 12 सिपालाननुदरिग्रयति [1*] दानाद्विशिष्टमनुपालनं पुराणा

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 13 धर्मेषु चिन्तितधियः प्रवदन्ति धर्मं [1*] तस्माद्विजायं सुविशदकु-
 14 लयुताय दत्तां भुवं भवतु वो मतिरेव गोप्तुं [11*]⁶ तन्नवद्विरप्येषा दत्ति-
 15 रक्षुपालयितव्या [1*] व्यासगोतांश्च शोकानुदाहरन्ति [1*] अग्नेरपत्वं प्र-
 16 यमं सुवर्णं भूर्ध्वेष्वी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः [1*] दत्तस्त्रयस्ते-
 17 न भवन्ति⁷ लोका यः काश्चनं याश्च महीश्च दद्यात् [1*] शष्टी वरिग्रस-⁸
 18 इन्द्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता⁷ च तान्येव नर-

Third Plate.

- 19 के वसेत् [1*] बहुभिर्नृपुधा दत्ता राजभिः [1*] सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य य-
 20 स्स यदा भूमित(स्त)स्य तस्य वदा फलं [1*] स्वदत्तां परदत्ताणां⁹ यद्वा-
 21 द्रव्यं युधिष्ठिर [1*] महो¹⁰ महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपाल-
 22 नमिति [1*] ¹¹समुखाय प्रवर्धमानविजयसंख्य¹² स्वर ३ मार्ग-
 23 शीर्ष दि २ उक्थि¹³ शीलसिद्धे¹⁴ ।

¹ Read दासं² Read ० छट्³ Read मुपलभ्यः⁴ Read सन्निधि⁵ Read द्विजाय⁶ Make : Yashanatilakā.⁷ The answer is superfluous.⁸ Read वष्टि वष्टं⁹ Read परदत्तां वा¹⁰ Read महो.¹¹ Read समुखाय.¹² Read संख्य.¹³ Read उक्थि.¹⁴ [Plate shows Gāle.—Ed.]

No. 7.—DAYYAMDINNE PLATES OF VINAYADITYA-SATYASRAYA ; SAKA 614.

By R. S. PANCHAMUKHI, M.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined inscription¹ is engraved on three copper-plates discovered at Dayyamdinne a village in the Adoni taluk of the Bellary District. It is noticed in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1916 and described as follows : "The ends of the ring are fixed into the bottom of an almost circular seal, one inch in diameter, bearing on its counter-sunk surface the crude figure of a standing boar facing the proper right, as in the case of the Harihar Grant of Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya published in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII, pages 300 ff. The plates measure between 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " and 9" in breadth and between 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ " and 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ " in height. The ring, which is oval in shape, measures 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ " and 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and is about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick. The plates and the seal weigh 112 *tolas*". The inscription is edited below for the first time from the ink-impressions prepared in the office of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent (now Superintendent) for Epigraphy, Madras.

The inscription is in a fairly good state of preservation though some letters in the second plate are damaged and rendered indistinct. Only one side of the first and last plates bears writing. The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets and resemble closely those of the Sorab and Harihar grants, which belong, like the present one, to the Chālukya king Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya. The language is Sanskrit. Excepting the invocatory verse at the beginning and benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is throughout in prose. In respect of orthography it may be remarked that the consonants *ṇ*, *t*, *d*, *n* and *v* are doubled after *r* as in °*ārṇṇavam* (l. 1), *kīrtti* (l. 14), *Sēnānīr-ddaitya-balam* (l. 19), etc. The rules of *sandhi* are not strictly observed, as for instance in *pañchāsād-nivartana* (ll. 29-31). There are numerous clerical mistakes in the record owing to the carelessness of the engraver.

The object of the record is to register the grant of fifty *nivartanas* of land each, to Dūsaśarman and Kappasārman of the Kauśika-gōtra, and Sarvasārman of the Ātrēya-gōtra, in the eastern quarter of the village Uḷchal in Naḷavāḍi-vishaya, and fifty *nivartanas*, to Sarvasārman of the Gārgyāyana-gōtra, in the southern quarter of the same village, made by the Western Chālukya king Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya who was encamped at Taḷayakhēḍa-grāma near the northern bank of the Tagara river. The grant was made at the request of a certain Marddakārī, on the full-moon day of Āshāḍha in *Dakṣiṇāyana-kāla* falling in the twelfth year of Vinayāditya's reign, when six-hundred and fourteen Śaka years had expired. The record was composed by Śrī-Rāmapuṇyavallabha who also wrote the other charters of this king.

The details of date given in the present record have been calculated by the late Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai² whose remarks on them run as follows : "If the reference were to Śaka 614 (expired)...the Āshāḍha full-moon would be that which fell on June 4 (Adhika-Āshāḍha)..... or that which fell on July 4 (Nija-Āshāḍha).... Neither day would be the summer solstice whether of the tropical or sidereal sun. But if we took Śaka 614 as referring to the current Śaka year, i.e., to A.D. 691-92, then Āshāḍha full-moon would have been on June 16, A.D. 692³ which would be.....very near the tropical summer solstice". It is proved in the sequel that the intended date of the record must be July 4, A.D. 692, and that *Dakṣiṇāyana-kāla*

¹ C. P. No. 7 of 1915-16.

² M. E. R. 1916, App. G, p. 102. *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 35.

³ It ought to be A.D. 691, since the commencement of the year (*Chaitra*, *su.* 1) fell in March A.D. 691.

cited in the record must be taken to mean a day in *Dakṣiṇāyana*¹ and not a day of *Dakṣiṇāyana-saṅkrānti*. It may be noted that the record does not mention the *Dakṣiṇāyana-saṅkrānti* as such but specifies the day as falling in *Dakṣiṇāyana* only.

The charter is important as it helps us in determining the date of accession of Vinayāditya with greater certitude than hitherto. So far six² dated records of the king have come to light. But owing to the irreconcilable regnal years given in them it has not been possible to ascertain his initial year definitely. In this set of six are included the Jejūri copper-plates recently published in this journal³ whose date has added further difficulties in solving the problem. But if we study all the dates of Vinayāditya with reference to the details contained in the Dayyamdinne plates, we arrive at a definite result, as shown below, viz., some day between *Āshāḍha* *śu.* 2 and *Āshāḍha* *śu.* 15 of Śaka-Samvat 603 expired, i.e., between 22nd June and 4th July of A.D. 681 for the commencement of the first current year of the king.

According to the Sorab grant,⁴ Śaka 614 expired, *Dakṣiṇāyana-saṅkrānti*, Rōhiṇī, Saturday fell in the 11th regnal year of the king. This date corresponded to Saturday, 22nd June, A.D. 692, on which day the *tithi* was *Niṣa-Āshāḍha* *śu.* 2. The present charter bears the same Śaka date and was issued on the full-moon day of *Āshāḍha* in *Dakṣiṇāyana* which, however, is stated to have fallen in his 12th regnal year. Of the two alternative equivalents for the *Adhika-* and *Niṣa-Āshāḍha* in that year, viz., 4th June and 4th July A.D. 692, the latter has to be accepted since 4th June would neither be a day of *Dakṣiṇāyana-saṅkrānti* nor a day in *Dakṣiṇāyana*; for *Dakṣiṇāyana-saṅkrānti* took place, as stated above, only on the 22nd day of that month. Further, 4th June could not have fallen in his 12th year since his 11th year lasted till at least 22nd June. Thus the dates of these two grants, combined, yield the initial date to fall sometime between 22nd June and 4th July A.D. 681. This starting point of Vinayāditya's reign agrees perfectly well with the dates given in his Lakshmēśvara inscription,⁵ and the Karnūl⁶ and Harihar⁷ grants. The Togarchēḍu⁸ grant and the Jejūri plates, however, point to some day between 18th October A.D. 678 and 2nd July A.D. 679 for the first year of the king. This day probably marks the time of Vinayāditya's nomination to the throne during the lifetime of his father.⁹ It may be remarked that the Śaka years quoted in the Lakshmēśvara inscription and the Togarchēḍu grant must be considered as referring to the current years and not expired ones. Dr. Kielhorn¹⁰ is inclined to take this view in regard to the former record. These

¹ Such citations are not rare in inscriptions. See for example App. G to *M. E. R.* for 1916, p. 101, No. 561 of 1915. The gift in the present case might have been actually made on the day of *Dakṣiṇāyana-saṅkrānti* and issued on the date recorded in the plates. See also above, Vol. XV, p. 253.

² There are two forged grants of the same king which are noticed in *M. E. R.* for 1906, No. 12 of App. A and *ibid.*, for 1917-18, No. 3 of App. A. In *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 240, is noticed the Paṭṭā grant of this king dated Śaka 617 corresponding to his 14th regnal year.

³ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 62.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 149.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 112.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 89.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 300.

⁸ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 242.

⁹ See below, p. 29.

¹⁰ Kielhorn's *List of Southern Inscriptions*, App. II, p. 2.

results will become clear from the following classified table of dated records of Vinayāditya in which the corresponding initial years also are shown :

Inscription.	Regnal year.	Details of date.	Approximate English equivalent.	Initial day of the first current year.
1. Jejūri Plates . .	9	Saka 609 (expired), Āshāḍha, śu. 15.	2nd July, A.D. 687	(I) Between 18th October, A.D. 678, and 2nd July, A.D. 679.
2. Togarchēḍu grant . .	10	Saka 611 (expired), Kārttika, śu. 15.	18th October, A.D. 688. (Fleet; 3rd November, A.D. 689). ¹	
3. Lakshmēśvara inscription	5	Saka 608 (expired), Māgha, śu. 15.	20th January, A.D. 686. (Fleet; 3rd February, A.D. 687). ¹	(II) Between 22nd June and 4th July, A.D. 681.
4. Karnūl grant . .	11	Saka 613 (expired), Māgha, śu. 15.	10th January, A.D. 692.	
5. Sorab grant . .	11	Saka 614 (expired), Dakṣiṇāyana- saṅkrānti, Satur- day, Rōhiṇī.	22nd June, A.D. 692	
6. Dayyamdinne plates . .	12	Saka 614 (expired), Āshāḍha, śu. 15, Dakṣiṇāyana-kāla.	4th July, A.D. 692	
7. Harihar grant . .	14	Saka 616 (expired), Kārttika, śu. 15.	9th October, A.D. 694.	

The record is interesting in other respects also. While recounting the achievements of Vikramāditya the present inscription, like all the other records of Vinayāditya, states that he captured Kāñchīpura after defeating the Pallava king who had become the cause of disgrace to his family, subdued the three kings (*dharaṇīdharatraya*¹) Pāṇḍya, Chōla and Kēraḷa and made the inexorable Pallava bow to his feet. Vikramāditya's own records,² however, are unanimous in proclaiming that he acquired for himself the fortune of his father which had been concealed by (the confederacy of) three kings (*avanipatitraya*³) and defeated the enemy-kings in country after country. The Gadvāl plates⁴ of his 20th year (A. D. 674) add that he inflicted a crushing defeat on Pallava Narasimhavarman, Mahēndravarman and Išvarapōtavarman and seized their capital Kāñchīpura. Thus, the defeat of the Pallavas and the capture of Kāñchīpura being common in both the accounts, the confederacy of three kings mentioned in the epigraphs of Vikramāditya must evidently refer to the Pāṇḍya, Chōla and Kēraḷa given in his son's records. Fleet's opinion that the three princes were Pallava Narasimhavarman, Mahēndravarman and Išvarapōtavarman is untenable. It is impossible in the scheme of Pallava chronology to suppose that Narasimhavarman and Mahēndravarman had died and Paramēśvaravarman's rule had already commenced by A.D. 655 in which year Vikramāditya had acquired his hereditary provinces after subduing the confederacy. For

¹ *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, pp. 368 and 369.

² According to Pāṇini द्विविधा तयसायज्वा ॥१॥१४३॥ the terminations तयप् and तयज् convey the same meaning. Hence the two expressions occurring in the two sets of inscriptions must be taken to give the same sense.

³ See for instance, above, Vol. IX, pp. 98 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. X, pp. 100 ff.

according to all authorities¹ on Pallava chronology Narasimhavarman's reign alone extended beyond A.D. 655. As stated above, Vikramāditya recovered his territory from the Pāṇḍya, Chōla and Kēraḷa kings, and not from the Pallavas, which fact leads us to suppose that the Chālukyan territory was not in the possession of the Pallavas in or immediately before A.D. 655. The Pallava grants,² however, assert that Narasimhavarman defeated Pulakēśin II in the battles of Pariyaḷa, Maṇimaṅgala and Sūramāra and destroyed Vātāpi. In some inscriptions³ he is given the epithet *Vātāpi-koṇḍa*. This is fully borne out by the existence of a rock-inscription at Bādāmi of this Pallava king, written in the Pallava-Grantha characters of the period.⁴ This event is supposed to have taken place after the visit of the Chinese pilgrim Hsien Tsiang to the court of Pulakēśin II i.e., in about A.D. 643. It is not, at present, possible to guess under what circumstances the Pallava hold was displaced and the three confederates occupied the Chālukyan country in the intervening period.⁵

Another noteworthy point in the present record is the expression *Trairājya-Pallava*. Vinayāditya is stated to have vanquished, at the command of his father, the over-grown army of Trairājya-Pallava and brought his country into a state of peace and quiet. Scholars are divided in their opinion regarding the significance of the term *Trairājya*. Fleet,⁶ Kielhorn⁷ and Krishna Sastri⁸ have taken it to refer to the three South-Indian powers, viz., Pāṇḍya, Chōla and Kēraḷa. Dr. Dubreuil⁹ has posited that the three kings who constituted *Trairājya* were the Pallava, the Pāṇḍya and Siṃhaḷa Mānavamma. Recently, an endeavour has been made by a writer to show that this term as well as the expression *avanipati-tritaya* refer to the three branches of the Pallava dynasty ruling over three different regions of their kingdom¹⁰. One of them ruled, according to him, over Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam and the Tamil country with its capital at Kāñchi, another governed the modern Guntur and Nellore districts and formerly issued its grants usually from Mēnamātura, Tāmbraṇa and Palakkada, and the third had under its control the modern Ceded Districts probably with the exception of Cuddapah. The views of either of the last two scholars are wholly untenable as they lack the support of historical facts of the period and of the proper interpretation of the texts of inscriptions in which the word occurs. This term is found used, besides in the Chālukya inscriptions, also in

¹ K. V. S. Aiyar's *Historical Sketches of the Ancient Dekhan*, p. 41; Dubreuil's *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 73.

² Kūram, Kāsākūḍi and Vēlūrpālaiyam grants. (*S. I. I.*, Vols. I, pp. 148 ff., II, No. 73, and p. 503).

³ *E.g. S. I. I.*, Vol. II, No. 73.

⁴ There are also some minor inscriptions at Bādāmi written in this script, see *e.g. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 61.

⁵ It is not impossible that soon after the occupation of Vātāpi by Narasimhavarman I after A.D. 642, the Pāṇḍya, Chōla, and Kēraḷa who were biding a favourable opportunity to avenge the defeat inflicted upon them by the Pallava monarch (see the Kūram plates), joined themselves into a confederacy and, after subduing the Pallavas whose resources had probably been exhausted in their conflicts with the Chālukyan army, marched as far north as Vātāpi, shattered the Pallava hold on it and finally took possession of the Chālukya territory. This supposition would explain the variant statements contained in the Chālukya as well as the Pallava epigraphs and the description of the Pallavas as the cause of disgrace and destruction of the lunar family of the Chālukyas would also be accounted for.

⁶ *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 368.

⁷ Above, Vol. V, p. 202 n.

⁸ Above, Vol. XI, p. 341 n. 1. See also Hultzsch, above, Vol. IX, p. 101 n. 5 and Pathak, *ibid.*, p. 205, n. 4.

⁹ *The Pallavas*, p. 44.

¹⁰ *The Madras Christian College Magazine*, January 1929, pp. 6 and 8. The author presumes that "the Chōlas did not exist as a political power during the seventh century A.D." (p. 4). This is wrong. They are referred to as an independent ruling family in almost all the records of Vinayāditya and his successors. There is nothing to indicate in the Gadvāl grant that the Chōlika-vishaya nad. been directly governed by the Pallavas of Kāñchi, as supposed by him.

the Malēpāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra (Cir. 8th century¹ A.D.), the Viṣṇupurāṇa² and Jinasēna's Ādipurāṇa³ (9th century A.D.). In the Viṣṇupurāṇa, the word occurs along with Mushika in the passage⁴ चैराज्यं मुषिकजनपदाङ्कनकाह्वयो भोज्यति । Fleet has identified Mushika with a part of the Malabar coast between Quilon and Cape Comorin.⁵ *Trairājya* should, therefore, be naturally located near it. Further the word is explained by the commentator of Jinasēna's Ādipurāṇa as referring to Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa. It is therefore reasonable to think that *Trairājya* of the Chālukya inscriptions refers to these three countries only. This view finds considerable support from the analogous expression राज्यत्रये occurring in Vikramāditya (I)'s records which in the context means the administration of the three kings (चवनिपतित्रितय), viz., Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Kēraḷa.

From the foregoing discussion it may be said that the constituents of *Trairājya* were not the Pallava, Pāṇḍya and Siṃhaḷa Mānavamma as postulated by Dr. Dubreuil. If the Ceylon king had actually joined the confederation, this remarkable event would have been mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* as an important achievement of Mānavamma.⁶ Further the Pallava could not have formed a member of the *Trairājya* since he is mentioned separately. The contention that the *Trairājya* was composed of three kings ruling over three different parts of the Pallava kingdom is similarly untenable⁷ for the above-mentioned reasons. According to this view, we ought to find the existence of the Pallava sway over the Nellore, Guntur and the Ceded Districts in and before A.D. 643 when the confederation is supposed to have temporarily subverted the Chālukya power. But this is not the case. The situation of stone inscriptions and of villages granted in copper-plate records⁸ of this early period would show clearly that parts of the Guntur, Nellore and the Ceded Districts had already been conquered by Pulakēśin II in his famous *dig-vijaya* and become subject to the Chālukya rule.

The defeat of the three powers, namely, the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Kēraḷa by Vinayāditya appears to have taken place after the date of the Gadvāl plates (A.D. 674) since it is not alluded to there. After the victorious campaign of the Chālukya king into the Pallava and Chōḷa countries in that year, the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman must have mustered his forces and sought the assistance of the Chōḷa and the other two powers of South India in order to give a crushing blow to their common enemy Vikramāditya. The combined forces of these four powers entered the Chālukyan territory and probably sacked and captured the 'city of Raṇarasika' on this

¹ Above, Vol. XI, p. 337.

² Chapter 4-24-67 of the Venkaṭeśvara Press edition.

³ Chapter XXX, verse 35. This reference was pointed out by Pathak above, Vol. IX, p. 205.

⁴ Mr. K. P. Jayaswal adds चैराज्यं to this in his quotation from the same Purāṇa (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIX, p. 129).

⁵ *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 281. See Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar in *J. R. A. S.* April 1922, p. 175 and also Nunda Lal Dey's *Geographical Dictionary of the Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 134. [*Musikanagara* is mentioned in the Hathī Gumpā Inscription of Khāravela, see above, Vol. XX, p. 77 and note 3.—Ed.]

⁶ Dubreuil does not discuss the composition of *avanipati-tritaya* which, as pointed out above, signifies the same three powers as *Trairājya*. It is impossible that the Siṃhaḷa king Mānavamma who ascended the throne in A.D. 668 (Hultzsch)—according to Dubreuil in A.D. 660 and A.D. 691 according to Wijesimha—could have entered the alliance as a crowned king and helped the Pallava Narasiṃhavarman I in defeating the Chālukyas in about A. D. 643.

⁷ Fleet originally held the same opinion but subsequently abandoned it (*Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 362 n.).

⁸ See, for instance, the Koppāram plates (above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 257 ff.), the Niḍuparra grant (*ibid.*, p. 55), the Chendalūr plates of Sarvalōkāśraya (*ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 238), the Annavaram inscription of Vikramāditya (*Nellore Inscriptions*, Darsi 2; and Dr. Venkatarāmanayya's *Trilōchana-Pallava and Karikāla-Chōḷa*, p. 16), the Gooty inscription and the Sorab grant of Vinayāditya, and Nos. 333, 343, 359 and 364 of 1920 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

occasion. They were routed by Vinayāditya probably in A. D. 678-79, when he was nominated to the throne as indicated by his Jejūri plates and the Togarchēdu grant.

Of the **geographical places** mentioned in the record **Taḷayakhēḍa-grāma** has been identified by the late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri with Thairkedḍa on the north bank of the river Tēr (Thairna).¹ Dr. Fleet has identified **Naḷavāḍi-vishaya** with portions of the Anantapur and Kurnool Districts.² **Uḷchal** which was situated in this *vishaya* is probably to be identified with **Uḷachāla**³ in the Kurnool taluk of the Kurnool district. If this is correct, Fleet's identification of the **Naḷavāḍi-vishaya** will be confirmed. Recently two inscriptions of the Nala dynasty have been obtained, viz., the Rithāpur⁴ plates of Bhavattavarman and the Poḍāgaḍh inscription⁵ of his son Skandavarman, which locate their kingdom somewhere in the Central Provinces on the side of Yeotmal, and Poḍāgaḍh in the Jeypore Agency. It is too premature to establish any connection between the **Naḷavāḍi-vishaya** and the Nala country since they are far removed from each other. The present record contains the second known reference to **Naḷavāḍi-vishaya**, the first being found in the Kurnool plates⁶ of Vikramāditya I.

TEXT.

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 22⁷विना(न)-
 23 यादित्यसत्याश्रयश्री[४*]यिवीवन्नभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभ-
 24 दारकस्रव्वानिवमाप्तापयति[१*] विदितमस्तु वोस्माभिः चतुर्हंशोत्तरषट्कते-
 25 षु शकवर्षेष्वतीतेषु प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यसंवत्सरे द्वादश(शे) वर्त्तमा-
 26 ने तगरनद्युत्तरसमीपे तक्रयखेडग्राममधिवसति विजय-
 27 स्वन्धावारे आषाढपौर्णिमास्यां दक्षिणायनकाले महंकारोविज्ञापनया

Third Plate : First Side.

- 28 नलवाडिविषये उक्त्वन्नामग्रामे कौशिकगोत्राय दूतशर्मणे पूर्वस्या-
 29 न्दिशि राजमानेन पञ्चाशद्वि(त्रि)वर्त्तनक्षेत्रं अपि च कौशिकगोत्राय कण्णश-
 30 भ(र्म)णे राजमानेन पञ्चाशद्वि(त्रि)वर्त्तनक्षेत्रं अपि च आत्रेयगोत्राय स-
 31 र्वशर्मणे राजमानेन पञ्चाशद्वि(त्रि)वर्त्तनक्षेत्रं अपि च गार्ग्यायणगोत्र-
 32 सव(र्व)शर्मणे दक्षिणस्यान्दिशि राजमानेन पञ्चाशद्वि(त्रि)वर्त्तनक्षेत्रं
 33 सर्वबाध(धा)परिहारं दत्ता(त्ता)नि [१*] वेदव्यासेन व्यासेनोक्त[म् १*]

अस्मदंश(श्ले)र-

34-36 Imprecatory verses.

- 37 क्रिमि[:*] श्रीरामपुण्यव[क्त]भसेना . राजन(जेन) लिखितं [१*]

¹ *M. E. R.*, 1916, p. 130.

² *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 363.

³ *Alphabetical List of Villages in the Madras Presidency*, Kurnool district, p. 5.

⁴ *Above*, Vol. XIX, p. 100.

⁵ *M. E. R.*, 1922, p. 80, No. 283; *above*, Vol. XXI, pp. 155 f.

⁶ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 225 ff. Since the Madakasira taluk now belongs to the Anantapur district, Anantapur should be substituted for Bellary in Fleet's identification of this *vishaya*.

⁷ Lines 1 to 22 are a reproduction of the first eighteen lines of the Jejūri plates (*above*, Vol. XIX, pp. 63-4).

No. 8.—SILAHARA CAVE INSCRIPTIONS.

By PROF. D. R. BHANDARKAR, Calcutta.

The inscriptions which are edited here for the first time were found in Caves at Silaharā in the Rewah State, Central India. More than twenty-five years ago a rubbing of one of these records was sent by a schoolmaster to Rai Bahadur Hiralal, the celebrated archæologist of C. P., who in his turn some time ago brought it to the notice of the Government Epigraphist, Dr. Hirananda Sastri. During the year 1927-28, the latter officer visited the caves and published an account of the same together with a summary of their inscriptions on pp. 136-8 of the *Archæol. Surv. Ind., An. Rep.*, of the same year. The estampages which he took during his official visit to the monuments were kindly made over to me for detailed treatment, and the present paper is the result of it.

The caves at Silaharā are about sixteen miles to the north-east of Jaithāri, a station on the Katni-Bilaspur Branch of the Bengal Nagpur Railway. It lies between Latitude 23° 2' North and Longitude 81° 50' East. They are a group of four artificial caves with traces of one more excavation and are situated on the east bank of a small river called the Kēvāñ, presenting a picturesque view. The name *Silaharā*, as suggested by Dr. Sastri, is probably a modern form of *Silāgrīha* which occurs as *silāgahā* in these inscriptions. Of these four monuments, only three, namely, the Sitāmāḍī, the Durvāsā and the Chēri-Gōdaḍī Caves are well preserved. The fourth has a hole in the roof of one of its cells. The first three caves only contain inscriptions, some of which are in the Brāhmī script, and some in the 'Shell' characters. Here, we are concerned only with the inscriptions in the Brāhmī script.

From the form of the letters all these inscriptions except one seem to belong to the first century A.D. What is palæographically worthy of note about them is that the characters *p* and *v* have occasionally flat and angular bases and that the base-line of *n* also is sometimes slightly curved. These peculiarities are first clearly noticeable in the cave inscriptions of Ushavadāta, which pertain to the beginning of the second century A.D. But there they appear as the permanent and not incidental forms of those letters. Moreover, besides *p* and *v*, the letters *kh*, *gh*, *j* and *m* are found in Ushavadāta's epigraphs invariably with flat and angular bases, which are not noticeable at all in our cave inscriptions. The inference is not unreasonable that our epigraphs are slightly earlier in date than those of Ushavadāta; and if the latter belong to the first quarter of the second century, we cannot be far from right if we assign the Silaharā inscriptions to about the middle of the first century A.D.

Other palæographic peculiarities also deserve to be noticed. Thus *d* consists of two curves,—one concave and one convex, joined in one way or the other and thus giving rise to two different forms of *d*. Similarly, the letter *t* appears in two different forms. The character *m* in *Sivamita* in No. 3, l. 3, is unlike *m* in other places in these inscriptions, and as such is worthy of note.

These are seven inscriptions. All of them except two bear more or less the same import. They are engraved in the inner walls of the caves, the Durvāsā containing one, and the Chēri-Gōdaḍī two and the Sitāmāḍī three. The last of these caves has one more inscription but incised on a pillar and with a different import. All these records are complete as far as they go, but the longest and most detailed of these is that engraved in the Durvāsā Cave. In the Sitāmāḍī Cave, however, while one inscription is complete, the other has apparently not been fully incised, supposing of course that the whole of it has been copied in the estampage before us. The object of the inscriptions is to record the excavation of caves by the *amātya* Maudgaliputra Mūladēva of the Vatsa-gōtra, while Svāmidatta was the ruler of the kingdom. Who this Svāmi-

datta was is not known. We know of only one Svāmidatta who according to the celebrated Allahābād Pillar Inscription was king of Kōṭṭūra in Dakṣiṇāpatha and was conquered by Samudragupta who flourished in the fourth century A.D. But the Svāmidatta of our inscriptions must have lived in the first century. And there is neither epigraphic nor numismatic evidence to point to any king of this name during this period.

As we have just seen, the caves were excavated, not by the king Svāmidatta, but by his minister Mūladēva, whose pedigree for three generations has been given. He was son of Sivamita (=Sivamitra), grandson of Sivadatta (=Sivadatta), and great grandson of Sivānamdi (=Sivānandī). It is worthy of note that the terms used for 'grandson' and 'great grandson' are *natika* (= *napṭṛika*) and *panatika* (= *pranapṭṛika*), but they are obviously used in the sense of *pautra* and *prapautra*. These last words no doubt generally occur in the inscriptions of Aśoka, but they are sometimes replaced by the other words also in some versions of his edicts (cf. e.g., the Girnār with the other copies of RE. IV.).

What the original object of these excavations was may be now briefly considered. The inscriptions found in the Chēri-Gōdaḍī and Sītāmāḍī Caves simply say that they were *silāgaḥā* or rock mansions, but that engraved in the Durvāsā Cave describes it as *ārāmaṃ pavate* or 'pleasure-house on the hill'. There can be little doubt that they were intended as dens for mirth and frolic. This inference is supported by Inscriptions Nos. 6—7 in the Sītāmāḍī Cave. They are no doubt engraved in characters of the second century A.D., and are thus one century posterior to the other epigraphs. Nevertheless, they are sufficiently close in time to the others. Now one inscription reads *Yuvati-māle* = *Yuvati-mālē*. *Mālaṃ* means "a high ground, rising or elevated ground". The word occurs in v. 16 of Kālidāsa's *Mēghadūta*, where the word is thus explained by Mallinātha: *śaila-prāyama=unnata-sthalaṃ*, 'an elevated hilly place.' Consequently *Yuvati-māle* is to be understood as denoting some hill place for meeting young women. The other inscription reads *Udaya-tārā*, 'the Rising Star', which apparently is the name of some female artiste. The Silaharā Caves thus seem to have been excavated for sportive and merry-making purposes and continued as such for at least a century more. All the caves except one that have so far been discovered were intended as religious edifices. If we take the Buddhist caves, they were either *chaityas*, 'worship halls' or *layanas* 'residences for monks'. If we take the Brahmanic or Jaina caves, they were cut to serve as temples or abode of ascetics. The only exception just referred to is the two caves of Rāmgarh, called Sītā-bhēṅgā and Jōgīmārā¹. The former of these was apparently an amphitheatre, and the latter a love den. Both have an inscription each. That in the first contains some verses in praise of poetry. That in the second purports to say that there was a *dēvadāsī*, Sutanukā by name, who was loved by Devadīna, native of Bārāṇasī and a banker (*rūpadakṣha*) by profession.² It appears that the Jōgīmārā Cave was excavated originally by Devadīna for gratifying his amorous propensities. The Silaharā Caves also were perhaps out for the same purpose, and served as pleasure retreats to Mūladēva, minister of Svāmidatta.

This Mūladēva, as stated above, has been described both as Vachha (=Vātsa) and Mogaliputa (=Maudgaliputra). The first is a patronymic and shows that he belonged to the Vatsa-gōtra, that, in other words, he was a Brāhmaṇ. The second is a metronymic and means "son of (a woman) of the Mudgala or Maudgala family". Mudgala is a section of both the Bharadvāja- and the Atri-gōtra.³ Maudgala again is a section not only of the Bharadvāja or the Vasishṭha, but also of the Bhṛigu-gōtra.⁴ The mother of Mūladēva may have belonged to any one of these

¹ A. S. I., An. Rep., 1903-04, pp. 74-5 and pp. 123 ff.

² Lüders, List of Brāhmī Inscr., No. 921, I, however, differ from the Professor in regard to the interpretation of *rūpadakṣha*. For this technical sense of the word *rūpa*, see my Carmichael Lectures, 1921, pp. 124 ff.

³ Gōtra-pravara-nibandha-kadambam, p. 63, l. 9 and p. 81, l. 5.

⁴ Ibid., p. 62, l. 5; p. 110, l. 14; and p. 37, l. 5.

gōtras except Bhṛigu. She could not have come of the Bhṛigu, because her husband, being a Vātsa, was a Bhṛigu.¹ Let us in this connection discuss the significance of the Vedic metronymics which occur in cave and such early inscriptions. Bühler says in one place that "numerous instances in the northern and southern inscriptions show that the queens and princesses were frequently called by the Vedic *gōtra*-names, such as the Gautamī, the Vātsī, the Vāsishthī, the Gārgī, etc."² The remark is true so far as it goes, but he forgets that the Brāhmaṇ women also had such *gōtra*-names. One such instance is of course furnished by our inscriptions which call Mūladēva's mother Maudgalī; another, by a Nāsik Cave record which speaks of a Brāhmaṇ Aśvibhūti as Vārāhiputra³; and a third by a Maṭavalli pillar inscription in Monumental Prākṛit which mentions the Brāhmaṇ grantee Nāgadatta as not only of the Kaundinya-*gōtra* but also as Kauśikīputra.⁴ Now, the first question that here arises is: what was the use of these metronymics at all? There can be but one reply. When and where polygamy is in vogue, it is absolutely necessary to distinguish the sons of one wife from those of another. The practice is still prevalent in Rājputānā. If a Rājput prince marries more than one princess, they are always distinguished one from the other, according as she is a Hāḍī-ji, Rāṇavat-ji and so forth. Such must have been the case in Ancient India also. Kings certainly married more than one queen who were therefore known by the family names of their fathers. But it is worthy of note that this polygamy was present in Ancient India not only among the Kshatriyas but also among the Brāhmaṇs as the three instances adduced above clearly show.

The second question that now arises is this. If the Brāhmaṇs have metronymics derived from the Vedic *Gōtras*, that is just what might be expected. But why should such *gōtras* be in vogue among the Kshatriyas, at any rate among the members of the ruling class? Let us take for example the Śātavāhana family, whose inscriptions have been found in the Nāsik, Kārle and Kanheri Caves. The earliest of them is called Gautamīputra; his son, Vāsishthīputra; and one of their successors, Māḍharīputra. These metronymics are clearly formed from the Brahmanic *gōtras*, and the wonder of it is how they are found in a ruling dynasty. In explanation of this fact it has been argued by some that the Śātavāhanas were of the Brāhmaṇ caste,⁵ and in support of this position our attention has been drawn to two passages from Nāsik Cave Inscription 2⁶. The first, which is from l. 5, is *khatiya-dapa-māna-mādanasa*, "of (Gautamīputra), who humbled the pride and arrogance of the Kshatriyas". From this it is inferred that Gautamīputra could not have been a Kshatriya. For, if he had been a Kshatriya, there would have been no propriety in his saying that he put down the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas. What was he then by caste? Is there anything in that inscription which throws light upon the subject? We are thus referred to a second passage in the Nāsik Inscription, namely, *ekabamhaṇasa*, which has been rendered by Senart as "the unique Brāhmaṇa". Some scholars are thus of opinion that the Śātavāhanas were undoubtedly Brāhmaṇ by caste. It is true that in this translation of the passage Senart practically follows Bühler, who renders it by "of him who alone (*was worthy of the name of*) a Brāhmaṇa"⁷. But it is forgotten that the word *bamhaṇa* of the Prākṛit original can be equated not only with the Sanskrit *Brāhmaṇa* as was done by Bühler and Senart but also with *brahmaṇya* as was first suggested by R. G. Bhandarkar, who

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 33, l. 10.

² Above, Vol. I, p. 394.

³ Lüders, *loc. cit.*, No. 1131.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 1196.

⁵ H. Raychaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 280-1.

⁶ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 60.

⁷ *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 110.

translates it by "the only supporter of Brāhmaṇs"¹. Bhagwanlal Indraji, however, takes *bamhana* as equivalent to *Brāhmaṇa*, but takes the expression to mean 'the only holy man'.² Personally I would prefer the first. But whatever interpretation is approved, this much is certain that *bamhana* need not necessarily be taken as equivalent to *Brāhmaṇa* and can also stand for *brahmaṇya*, and thus the prop in support of the Brāhmaṇ origin of the Śātavāhanas becomes feeble and shaky. How then, it may be asked, are we to explain the first of the passages which has been quoted from Nāsik Cave Inscription No. 2 and which represents Gautamīputra to have humbled the pride and arrogance of the Kshatriyas? Even if we take the word *Kshatriya* here in its usual sense, namely, the second of the four castes, the passage in question at the most would prove that Gautamīputra was a non-Kshatriya, but not necessarily that he was a Brāhmaṇ. Are we, however, compelled to take this word in this sense? Cannot *khatiya* (= *Kshatriya*) bear any other signification? In this connection we must remember that there was a tribe called Kshatriya or Kshattri, mentioned both by foreign writers and in Sanskrit literature. Thus Arrian who wrote an account of Alexander's invasion of India says that when this Macedonian emperor was in camp on the confluence of the Chenab and the Indus, he received deputies and presents from Xathroi (Khathroi), an independent tribe of Indians.³ The same tribe is apparently mentioned as Kshatriyas by Ptolemy.⁴ As has been pointed out by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal⁵, they appear to be mentioned by Kauṭilya along with the Kāmbojas and Surāshṭras as the Saṁghas subsisting both upon agriculture and arms. They are no doubt the Kshattri described in the *Manusmṛiti*, and the Kshatriyas of the later inscriptions (see e.g., the Lāḍnū Inscription of Sādhāraṇa⁶ who and his ancestors are spoken of as Kshatriyas of the Kāśyapa-gōtra). They appear to be represented by the Khatris of the modern day. Originally, however, they formed an independent tribe living not far from the confluence of the Chenab and the Indus. It will thus be seen that this tribe may very well have been the Kshatriyas whose pride and conceit Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi crushed down. If the latter went on conquering as far northwards as the Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas, there is nothing strange in his putting down the Kshatriyas who lived in their neighbourhood just as the Mahākshatrāpa Rudradāman is reputed to have exterminated the Yaudhēyas⁷. No irrefragible evidence is thus forthcoming from Nāsik Cave Inscription No. 2, or, for the matter of that, from any source, which demonstrates that the Śātavāhanas were Brāhmaṇs. On the other hand, there is a passage in the same Nāsik Cave Inscription which is worth considering here. It is the passage where Gautamī Balaśrī is called *rājarisi-vadhusadam akhilaṁ anuridhīyamānā*, "wholly conforming to the title 'wife of the Royal Sage'". It may be pertinently asked: what is meant by a *Rājarshi* (Royal Sage)? It may be contended that the term simply denotes 'a sage-like king', be he a Brāhmaṇ or a Kshatriya. But it has to be remembered that *Rājarshi* is always employed in contradistinction to Brahmarshi which unquestionably means 'a Brāhmaṇ Sage'. The use of the term *Rājarshi* is thus enough to show that the Śātavāhanas were not Brāhmaṇs.

Or we may set aside the Śātavāhanas for a while and consider the Ikshvākus of the south whose inscriptions have been found in the Āndhra country at Jaggayyapēṭa and Nāgārjunikonda. That the Ikshvākus were the Kshatriyas of the solar race is too well-known to be pointed

¹ *Trans. Inter. Cong. Ori., London, 1874*, pp. 310-11.

² *Bomb. Gazet.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 552 and 554.

³ McCrindle's *Ancient India: Its Invasion by Alexander the Great*, p. 156.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 360.

⁵ *Hindu Polity*, Pt. I, p. 60.

⁶ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 23 ff.

⁷ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 44, l. 12.

out. And yet we have in this dynasty three kings, two of whom bear the metronymic Vāsishṭhīputra and one Māṭharīputra.¹ Related to these Ikshvākus are personages holding titles of nobility such as Mahā-sēnāpati and Mahā-talavara. Even they bear such metronymics. If we turn westwards again and consider the cave inscriptions, we find that even there, feudatory chieftains styling themselves as Mahārāṭhi, Mahā-sēnāpati and Mahā-bhōja possess similar metronymics. The question therefore arises: how were these Vedic metronymics in vogue among the ruling classes most of which were presumably Kshatriya by caste? According to Bühler, "the explanation is no doubt that these *gōtras* originally were those of the Purōhitas of the royal or noble families, from which the queens were descended, and that the kings were affiliated to them for religious purposes, as the Śrautasūtras indicate".² But was it so really from 150 B.C. to 250 A.D.? Bühler is apparently taking his stand upon the Śrautasūtras. What the Śrautasūtras, however, lay down in the case of a Kshatriya or a Vaiśya is the adoption, not of the Gōtra but of the Pravaras of his Purōhita. Thus the Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra³ says: *Kshatriya-Vaiśyāṇām purōhita-pravarō bhavat=īti viññāyatē*. The Āpastamba⁴ has: *atha yēshām (=Kshatriyāṇām) mantrakṛitō na syuh sa-purōhita-pravarās=tē pravṛiṇīran*. From these quotations it is clear that what a Kshatriya borrowed from his Purōhita for religious purposes was, not his Gōtra, but his Pravaras. It may perhaps be argued that one set of Pravaras presupposes one specific Gōtra only, so that when that Gōtra name is pronounced, only that particular set of Pravaras is indicated. Nor is this argument well-founded. One instance will suffice for our purpose. Let us take the Māṭhara-gōtra from which the metronymic Māṭharīputra is derived. It has the three Pravaras: Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra and Naidhruva. But, these Pravaras, Māṭhara possesses in common with at least eighty other Gōtras, such as Kāśyapa, Chhāgari and so forth. There is no such thing as one set of Pravaras for one Gōtra and one Gōtra only. Even supposing that a Kshatriya affiliates himself to his Purōhita's Gōtra for religious purposes as Bühler supposes, why should that Gōtra be binding upon the Kshatriya for secular purposes, why in other words, should the Kshatriya avoid marriage, not in his proper exogamous group, but in the same Gōtra as that of his Purōhita, though the Gōtra is natural to a Brāhman but an extraneous something which is foisted upon him? Nowhere is it laid down in any Sūtra or similar writings, explicitly or implicitly, that a Kshatriya, like his Purōhita, shall not marry in the same Vedic Gōtra. Besides, it is not a fact that even in this period the member of a ruling family had a metronymic invariably derived from a Brahmanical Gōtra. Two instances will suffice to prove our point. There is an Amarāvati Buddhist sculpture, the inscription on which records the gift of an *upāsaka* Buddharakshita, who is therein called Gōmḍīputa.⁵ It is evident from this that his mother was Gōmḍī which no scholar has yet been able to explain. The term Gōmḍī indicates that she belonged to the Gūṇḍa family which, however, is not known to be any Vedic Gōtra. It may however be contended that this Buddharakshita originally was not a Brāhman or a Kshatriya, and so his metronymic has no bearing upon our discussion. Let us therefore take another, namely, Gotiputa, which, we find, was borne by persons of three different ranks, namely, by a king, a Mahārāṭhi and a goldsmith. Possibly this goldsmith also was neither a Brāhman nor a Kshatriya, and may therefore be set aside. But what about the king and the nobleman styling themselves Gotiputa which has been equated by scholars with Gaupṭiputa, son of a woman belonging to the Gupta race. Surely Gupta, Gota, or Guta has not yet been

¹ Above, Vol. XX, pp. 16 ff.

² Above, Vol. I, p. 394.

³ *Pravara-praśna*, 54.

⁴ *Pravara-khaṇḍa*, 15.

⁵ Lüders, *loc. cit.*, No. 1271.

shown to be the name of any Vedic Gōtra. This clearly shows that we have personages of the ruler or nobility class bearing a metronymic not connected with any Vedic Gōtra. Again, let us see who was this ruler that called himself Gotiputa. The inscription which makes mention of him is engraved on the pillar of a *tōraṇa* which was originally found at Bharaut but which is now exhibited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It records that the gateway was erected by Vātsīputra Dhanabhūti, son of Gotiputa Āgaraju (= Gaupīputra Āṅāradyut), and grandson of the king (*rājan*) Gārgīputra Viśvadēva, during the rule of the Śuṅgas.¹ As Viśvadēva is here called a *rājan*, there can be no doubt that his son and grandson pertained to a ruling family. And further it is worthy of note that whereas Viśvadēva and Dhanabhūti are styled Gārgīputra and Vātsīputra, showing that their mothers bore the Vedic Gōtra, Āṅāradyut alone is styled Gotiputa showing that his mother belonged to the Gupta family which was anything but a Vedic Gōtra. The other instance of the occurrence of Gotiputa as a metronymic is supplied by the epigraph on the lion column standing in front of the *chaitya* cave at Kārle. It says that the column was set up by one Agnimitraṇaka (Agnimitra) who was a Mahārāṭhi and a Gotiputra, which Prof. Lüders takes to mean 'son of a *Gaupī*'.² Mahārāṭhi denotes a feudatory rank. Agnimitra was thus a feudatory chief, and yet he bears a metronymic which is in no way derived from a Vedic Gōtra. A third non-Vedic metronymic which may be considered here is that furnished by an inscription on a relic casket found in Sonari Stūpa No. II near Bhilsā. It mentions the name of a Buddhist Missionary who is described as the teacher of all Himalayan countries. His personal name is not given, but he is called Kotiputa and Kāsapagota.³ His metronymic merits special notice as his original caste is here specified. For we have just seen that he is called Kāsapagota which means that his father was a Brāhmaṇ. But what was he from his mother's side? She was evidently a 'Koti' which is taken by Prof. Lüders as equivalent to Kauntī. But the Professor does not explain what he means by Kauntī. Kauntī, as it is, has to be derived from Kunta, but Kunta as the name of a family or a clan is unknown. The only clan name that approximates to it is Kuntī, a Yādava clan, whose ruler, Kuntibhōja, being childless, adopted Kuntī, the first wife of Pāṇḍu. It will thus be seen that the word Kuntī itself means "(a woman) descended from Kuntī". The Buddhist missionary Kāsapagota would thus have been called Kuntīputra, and not Kauntīputra, if his mother had pertained to the Kuntī lineage. Perhaps the best explanation of the metronymic Kotiputa is to say that his mother belonged not to the Kuntī, but to the Kota, clan. That Kota was the name of a ruling family is clear from the fact that their coins have been found round about Delhi and in Eastern Panjāb.⁴ Besides, the celebrated Allahābād Pillar Inscription speaks of Samudragupta as having captured a scion of the Kōta family.⁵ The Kotas and the Guptas thus were both ruling families in the fourth century A.D. And if they were so ruling side by side in that century, there is nothing unreasonable in supposing that both the clans were in existence about the beginning of the Christian era. The metronymic Kotiputa therefore had better be equated with Kautīputra and the inference drawn that the mother of the Buddhist teacher Kāsapagota came from the Kota family. But whatever the correct explanation of Kotiputa may be, this much is certain that the mother of the Buddhist missionary belonged to a non-Vedic Gōtra.

The above discussion is enough to convince any one that members of the ruling and nobility classes bore metronymics which were sometimes Vedic and sometimes non-Vedic. Similarly,

¹ *Ibid.*, No. 687.

² *Ibid.*, No. 1088.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 158.

⁴ Smith's *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, pp. 258 and 264.

⁵ Fleet's *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 6, l. 14.

we have just seen that the Buddhist saint who is described as the teacher of all Himalayan countries was born of a Brāhmaṇ father as his patronymic Kāśapagota shows, but that his mother was a Kshatriya woman as she was a Kota by extraction. The conclusion is therefore irresistible that in the ancient period ranging from circa 150 B.C. to circa 250 A.D. there were many inter-caste marriages, which were not only *anulōma* but also *pratilōma*. The history of the Ikshvākus of South India clearly shows that the Brāhmaṇs were ready to give their daughters in marriage to the Kshatriyas if they but belonged to the ruling family.

TEXT.

Inscription in the Duvāsū Cave.

No. 1.

- 1 Sāmi[da]te rajam kārayamtaṁmhi Sivānaṁdi-panati[k]ena
- 2 Sivadata-natik[e]na
- 3 Sivami[ta]-putena
- 4 [Vachhena] M[o]galiputena
- 5 [Mūla*]d[e*]v[e*]na arāmaṁ pavate ropāpita[m]

Inscriptions in the Chēri-Gōdaḍi Cave.

No. 2.

- 1 [Sivā][naṁd*]i-[pa*][na]t[i]k[e*][na]
- 2 Sivadata-natikena Si[vamita-putena*] [Vachhena*]
- 3 [Mo*][ga]liputena amache[na] Mūladevena si[lāga]hā [kā]ritā.

No. 3.

- 1 Sivānaṁdi-panatikena
- 2 Sivadata-natikena
- 3 Sivamita-[putena]*

Inscriptions in the Sūāmāḍi Cave.

No. 4.

- Sivānaṁdi-panatikena Sivadata-natikena Sivamita-putena Vachhena Mogaliputena
Mūladevena amachena silāgahā kāritā.

No. 5.

- Sivānaṁdi-panatikena Sivadata*

No. 6.

- Yuvati-māle*

No. 7.

- Udaya-tārā*

* This whole line has been faintly engraved.

* The remainder has not been either engraved in the Cave or copied in the estampage.

* On a pillar, in characters slightly later, probably of the second century A.D.

* On the east wall, in characters of the second century A.D.

SILAHARA CAVE INSCRIPTIONS.
Inscription in the Durvasa Cave.

No. 1.



Inscriptions in the Sitamadi Cave.

No. 4.—First Section.



No. 4.—Second Section.



No. 6.



No. 7.



come from Magadha or its neighbourhood in Eastern India. Udumapur is evidently the Uddandapura of inscriptions and Otantapuri of the Tibetan writers and is identified with the modern Bihār.¹

Bendall has already pointed out that this script has no connection with Nāgarī but is the immediate offspring of an ancient form of the Brāhmī. Devoid of the wedges it conforms, on the whole, to the script used in India during the 4th century A. D. but what seems strange is that it has so far been found usually in the dedicatory inscriptions engraved on statues coming from Eastern India which can only belong to the period between the 8th and the 12th centuries A. D. The main features of this script have already been discussed by Bendall and Bühler and the latter scholar has drawn attention to the characteristic points of this script which indicate its southern origin. Till we are in possession of further facts we cannot trace the gradual development of this script nor can we fix with certainty the date of its introduction. If the identification of this script with the *Bhaikshukī lipi* of Albīrūnī is correct then this script must have been used in Eastern India side by side with the Eastern Nāgarī which is the usual script found in the inscriptions of that period.

It may not be out of place here to point out a parallel instance that we find in the Śāradā script. Though a descendant of the Western Gupta alphabet it is found employed in Kashmir and in the north-eastern Punjab only from the 9th century A. D. In this case too we perceive that from the end of the 13th century to the 15th century Śāradā and Nāgarī were used simultaneously at least in the Kāngra² District. This fact, however, does not preclude the possibility that both the arrow-head and Śāradā scripts might have been used as literary scripts from an earlier period though they came to be employed as epigraphical scripts only at a later period.

I have already pointed out that the script of this inscription is very similar to that of the Gayā inscription referred to above and Bendall's general remarks on the palaeography of the latter will be applicable to the present inscription also. Here I shall notice only the points of difference found in the letters of these two inscriptions or those points which have not been dealt with by Bendall before. Thus *k* in the Gayā inscription is, as in the Kushāna and Gupta scripts, written with a curve at the lower end but in the present inscription this curve is differently shaped and the stroke to the right is not noticeable. *Ch* and *j* are more angular in this inscription than in the Nepalese manuscript while *ñ*, *r* and *n* have all curves at the lower end. *N* in the present inscription is more akin to the form found in the manuscript than to that in the Gayā inscription. *N* is as in the manuscript with no loop to the left. *P* has two forms: where it is joined with the vowel *ā* it is open to the right and is distinguishable from *d* only by a small cross stroke across the end of the hook to the right; in other cases it has a wedge to the left. *B* is similar to *p* in shape the only difference being that it is closed at the top. The loop in *m* is much bigger here than in the Gayā inscription. *L* is of the same type as we find in the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta and also in the Pāhārpur copper plate inscription.³ In conjunction with the vowel sign *ē* the consonants have usually a wedge to the right (cf. *dē*° in l. 3).

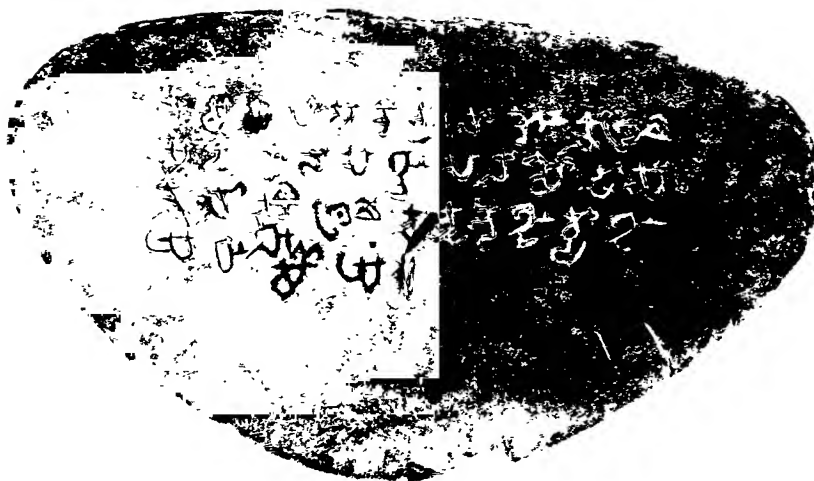
The inscription is written in correct Sanskrit and bears no date. It opens with an assertion of the impermanent nature of an individual being. Such an averment is quite in keeping

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVII, p. 110. According to the author of *Pag Sam Jon Zang* Otantapuri was the name of a great shrine situated in the neighbourhood of Nālandā. According to him *Otanta* means 'the soaring on high' (Skt. *udḍayan*?). This name was given to this shrine because of its loftiness—See *Pag Sam Jon Zang*, ed. S. C. Das, Index, p. clii.

² See Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part i (*A. S. I. New Imperial Series*, Vol. XXXVI), p. 44.

³ Above, Vol. XX, pp. 61 ff and Plate.

A BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION FROM KARA.



with the Buddhist doctrine according to which the realization of the impermanent nature of all things leads to the attainment of right knowledge. After this short introductory sentence, the inscription registers the gift of the queen¹ **Chandalladēvi** who was a lay worshipper and the wife of the *Rāṇaka* **Mahīpāla**. No further details of the donatrix or her husband are given in the inscription. We cannot trace this Mahīpāla in any other inscription known to us but the title *Rāṇaka* shows that he was at the most a feudatory of some paramount ruler. This title is found so far as the inscriptions of Bengal, Bihār and Orissa are concerned only from the 9th century onwards.² Till further evidence is forthcoming we cannot say definitely who was the overlord of this *Rāṇaka* Mahīpāla.

TEXT.

- 1 N[ā]ma-[rū]pam=anityam | Rāṇaka-śrī-
- 2 Mahīpāla-ba(va)dhū-paramōpāsi-
- 3 ka-rājñī-śrī-[Cha]ndalladēvyā dē-
- 4 ya-dharmō=yam||

TRANSLATION.

The individual being (lit. name and form) is impermanent. This is the religious gift of the queen (*Rājñī*) **Chandalladēvi**, a devout female lay worshipper and the wife of the *Rāṇaka*, the illustrious **Mahīpāla**.

No. 10.—TINNEVELLY INSCRIPTION OF MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I.

BY

K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., COIMBATORE.

The subjoined inscription of **Māravarmān Sundara-Pāṇḍya I** is engraved on the outside of the west wall of the second *prākāra* of the Nelliappar temple at **Tinnevely**. It was copied in 1894 by the Madras Epigraphical Department³ and the text of it is given in Tamil in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume V⁴. So far, no inscription of this king has been edited critically in the pages of this Journal or the *South-Indian Inscriptions*. For the highly interesting information which the record contains, both in its historical introduction and in its grant portion, it is taken up here for publication.

The inscription consists of 28 lines of writing. It is in **Tamil** prose and verse. Though the alphabet employed is Tamil, Grantha letters are used in writing Sanskrit words such as *svasti śrī* (l. 1), *āśrayalinga* (l. 21), *Rājarāja-chchaturvēdimāṅgalam* (ll. 22, 24), *viśēsha-pūjai* (l. 24), etc. The introductory portion alone runs from line 1 to line 20 and is composed in Tamil verse of *Agaval* metre. It contains more than 125 metrical lines. The name of the poet that composed it is not given as is the case with all Tamil inscriptions; but there is no doubt that it is a creditable piece of work. The rest of the inscription is in prose.

¹ The inscription uses the term *Rājñī* which has evidently been used as the feminine form of *Rāṇaka*.

² Cf. the inscriptions of the Pālas of Bengal and Magadha and those of the Sēna, Varman and Chandra kings of Bengal. The Bhāṇja kings Śatrubhaṇja and Raṇabhaṇja bore the title of *Rāṇaka* (*Bhandarkar's List*, Nos. 1490, 1492-95). This title is also found in the Ganjām and Bānpur Plates of Daṇḍimahādēvi. The Rajput title *Rāṇā* evidently originated from *Rāṇaka*.

³ No. 140 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1894.

⁴ No. 431 on pages 155-157.

There are several mistakes of commission and omission in this record, especially in the verse portion of it. While some of them are due to the negligence and ignorance of the engraver, others must be attributed to the scribe that committed the record to writing and passed it for being incised on stone. Though the mistakes are too many to be catalogued here, attention may be drawn to a few. Under mistakes of spelling may be noted *malar-ṛtāmarai* (l. 4) where *ṛ* takes the place of *t*, *Puliyūr-tiru* (l. 7) where *ṛ* has to be replaced by *rt* and *malar-chchēvaḍi* (l. 8) and *tirkum* (l. 11) where *ṛ* has to be corrected into *r* and *rk* respectively. *Śūram* and *puruśai* in line 6, *tiri*, *tiliya* in line 10 and *mukkaṭ* (l. 12), *ōṇa* (l. 11), *polavar* (l. 17), *y-aruvayar* (l. 19) are mistakes for *śuram*, *purisai*, *tirai*, *tiriya*, *mukkaṭ*, *ōḍa*, *pulavar* and *y-arivaayar*. Under omission of letters and words, the following may be cited :—*yu* is omitted after *kāvi* (l. 5), *v* is omitted in the middle of *de* of *kkurraḍeṅgaḷ* (l. 11), *māḍamum* is omitted before *māḷigai* (l. 5) and *ṇu* is omitted after *ma* in *iyamakku* (l. 13). For wrong insertion of letters see *mudaliya(r)* (l. 3), *dāṇḍ(u)dagam* (l. 10), *kāḷi(kki)ṛṛil* (l. 12) and *kum(sa)ba* (l. 17). Errors in grammatical forms are found in *vēndargalaikkurra* (l. 11) which must be *vēndargalukk-urṛav*-, *mārvēḷaikkku* for *mār-vēḷukku* (l. 10) and *vaḍa-Kōṅgaṇṇai* (l. 11) which must be *vaḍa-Kōṅgaṇ*.

In the purely eulogistic account which runs from line 1 to line 4, the panegyrist states that when this king was crowned, the bow and the tiger, which are the crests of the **Chēra** and **Chōḷa** kings,¹ disappeared ; and the fish, which is the crest of the **Pāṇḍya**,² sported on the golden mountain, i.e., *Mēru* ; the Tamil and Vedic literature prospered ; and all kings paid their tributes. Reference is made to the garland of Indra worn by the **Pāṇḍya**. From line 4 commences the historical portion. On being crowned, the king is said to have sent a large army against the **Chōḷa** country, to have set on fire **Taṇjai** (i.e., Tanjore) and **Uṇḍai** (i.e., Uṇḍaiyūr), the principal cities of the **Chōḷas**, to have destroyed many tanks, rivers and water sources, halls, fortifications, towers, theatres, mansions, palaces and pavilions, to have ploughed the enemy's country with asses, to have driven the **Chōḷa** king into the forest and to have taken away his crown. The victorious **Pāṇḍya** king is then said to have gone to **Āyirattal**³ where he performed the anointment of heroes ; to have entered the sacred city of **Puliyūr**,⁴ i.e., Chidambaram, and paid obeisance to Śiva dancing with his consort in the golden hall⁵ of the temple ; and to have finally reached **Ponṇamarāvati**. While staying in the last-mentioned place, the **Pāṇḍya** king sent word to the **Chōḷa** promising to give back **Śōṇāḍu** and the crown which he had lost. On hearing it, the **Chōḷa** returned with his wife, and presenting his legitimate son first, himself remaining behind, prostrated under the victorious lion-throne of the conqueror and begged. After removing the heat of **Valavaṇ** (i.e., **Chōḷa**) caused by his flight and loss of territory with a libation of water, the **Pāṇḍya** gave back to the **Chōḷa** king's legitimate son the crown and the expansive country (of **Śōṇāḍu**). In support of this gift, he is also reported to have given a royal writ impressed with the fish seal, the title **Chōḷapati** and his ancient city.

¹ On this account the **Chēra** is called *Villavaṇ* and the **Chōḷa** *Puliyuyarttōṇ*.

² *Miṇavaṇ* is one of the names of the **Pāṇḍya**.

³ At the end of the introduction, this place is called by its other name *Muḍikoṇḍaśōḷapuram*.

⁴ *Vyāghrapuri* is the name given to it in Sanskrit. The hymns of the *Dēvāram* refer to it by the names *Tillai* and *Puliyūr* and speak highly of the dance of Śiva in this place. One of the verses of *Sundaramūrtti-Nāyaṇār* describes the place thus : *Maṇṇ-ulagaṇ-kāval pūṇḍav-urimaiyūr=Pallavarkku=tirai koḍa maṇṇavarai maṇṇukaṇ-cheyyum perumaiyūr=Puliyūr=chchirrambalatt=emberumāṇai=ppettām=aṇṇēl*—

⁵ While the *Tiruvālaṅkāḍu* grant states that the **Chōḷa** king **Parāntaka I** covered the *dabhra-sabhā* with gold, the Leiden plates say that he covered the temple at *Vyāghrāgrahāra* (i.e., *Puliyūr*) with gold. One of the stone inscriptions of *Tirugōkarṇam* in the *Pudukkottai* State, dated in the 12th year of *Rājakesarivarman Kulōttuṅga (I)*, informs us that that king covered the large hall at Chidambaram with gold (No. 411 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1901).

In the abstract of the historical introduction given above, one point that is particularly worthy of note is that when the Chōla king begged in the manner aforesaid, *viz.*, by presenting his son first, the libation of water was made to himself, while the crown and kingdom were bestowed on his legitimate son.

Now comes the question of the identification of the Chōla king and his legitimate son, that are referred to as having been the recipients of the ignominious honour. There is some difficulty with regard to this. As both Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I and Rājarāja III count their regnal years from A.D. 1216, it would be natural to say that the invasion undertaken by the former was against the latter, and that the latter and his son were the ill-fated persons referred to. That this answer, though natural, is superficial and incorrect, and does not take into consideration all the factors that really count in the matter, will be evident from the sequel. In the first place, it is necessary to know when the Pāṇḍya king effected his conquest of the Chōla territory and took the Chōla king's crown and country, and when again he restored them. This last point could be answered by observing the order of mention of the events in the introduction or better still by noting the earliest year in which these events are found registered in the king's inscriptions. The narration of the events in the introduction shows clearly that the invasion of the Chōla country was undertaken immediately after the Pāṇḍya king's coronation. It appears also that the restoration of the captured country was not delayed long, for we are informed that after taking the country the Pāṇḍya king went to Āyirattali and had his anointment performed there, went to Puliyūr and paid obeisance to the god Naṭarāja, probably as a thanks-offering, and proceeded to Poṇṇamarāvati where he, inviting the Chōla king, presented to him—or rather his son—the crown and kingdom. The numerous stone inscriptions of the king range in date from the 2nd¹ to the 24th² year. In the earliest of these, *viz.*, the one dated in the 2nd year, 'Śōṇāḍu koṇḍa' (who took the Chōla country) occurs. As such, the country must have been taken in A.D. 1216-17. Since this event, which happened soon after Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I assumed regal powers, 'Śōṇāḍu koṇḍa' became the short title and distinguishing mark of the king. And it is particularly worthy of note that even the inscriptions which commence with the introduction *Pūmaruriya* and register all his achievements, when they come to mention the name of the king, mention him with this short title. It thus appears that 'Śōṇāḍu koṇḍa' had become almost a part of his name, that being the first great achievement. As the presentation of the Chōla country is specifically stated to have been made to Kulōttuṅga III in two stone inscriptions³ and as his latest inscriptions show that he reigned for 40 years⁴, *i.e.*, until A. D. 1217, it is clear that the country was given back soon after it was taken in 1216-17. There is no doubt that the Chōla opponent of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I was Kulōttuṅga III and not Rājarāja III, for even though the latter's regnal years are counted from A.D. 1216, his actual rule commenced two years later. Here it may be noted that in the case of most South Indian kings—especially the Chōlas—we know that the regnal years are counted not from the actual date of accession to power but from a prior date which we may take to be the year of their nomination. In some cases, these two dates are very near each other, while in others they are abnormally distant. The specific mention of the fact noted above, *viz.*, that the Chōla country was given back to Kulōttuṅga III precludes our carrying the event to a later date than A.D. 1216-17 up to which only Kulōttuṅga III's inscriptions are found and nothing can be argued

¹ No. 549 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926.

² No. 394 of the same collection for 1917.

³ No. 72 of the same collection for 1924 and No. 9 of 1926.

⁴ No. 282 of the same collection for 1909.

from the omission of the epithet '*Śōṇādu valaṅgi*' (who presented the Chōla country) in the records of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I dated prior to the 6th year.¹ Generally, the capturing of a country may be said to have been accompanied by the giving it back to the defeated king on his owning the overlordship of the conqueror and perhaps also on his agreeing to pay a stipulated tribute. Now can it not be said that Rājārāja III was the legitimate son of the Chōla king that had the strange honour of being invested with a crown by the enemy Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I under very humiliating conditions? One of the points in favour of this view is that Rājārāja III counted his regnal year from A.D. 1216 when the capture of the Chōla country and its restoration by the Pāṇḍya seem to have been effected. Another may be found in the statement of reasons for the second war against the Chōla which certainly took place in the reign of Rājārāja III. The very words of the inscription are "*muṇṇam nama-kku nuḍi valaṅguṇ=chēvaḍi-kkūl iṇṇam valīpaḍuvōm enṇādu ēral edir sellād=īrai marutta Sēnni viḍu tūsi*," etc. "The Chōla (meaning Rājārāja III) who did not mind remaining submissive under the feet of him who formerly gave him his crown, refused to obey his commands, denied him tribute and sent a large army with a vanguard (against the Pāṇḍya)." This clearly suggests that it was to Rājārāja III that Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I gave the crown.

Lines 11 to 13 report that the Pāṇḍya king successively liberated from prison the North and South Koṅgu kings, and attended by these, he entered the palatial city of Madura and received their homage.² At Madura he heard them describe the ancient limits of their territories, and not being satisfied with the fairness of the division, he made a redistribution, made them agree to it and sent them away warning that if any of them should ever transgress the new limit, he would be made a feast for the god of Death. From the last statement it is clear that the kings of the two Koṅgus fought against each other, one encroaching on the limits of the other, and that Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I had to interfere in their politics. It is, however, not known how both the kings found themselves in prison. As regards the identification of the Koṅgu kings that are referred to, we might point out that the ruler of South Koṅgu was certainly **Virarājendra**,³ whose accession took place in A.D. 1207. Like his predecessor **Vira-Chōla**, he claims to have ruled over the two Koṅgus⁴ : and his latest year of reign known so far is the 45th⁵ corresponding to A.D. 1253. But it is likely that he lived two years more.

The king of North Koṅgu whom Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I rescued from prison may refer to one of the Adigaimāṇ rulers of Tagaḍūr who had possession of North Koṅgu from very early times⁶ or to one of Koṅgu-Chōla origin that might have had an independent rule over any part of that province. So far, we know none of the latter. If the reference be to the former, the king may be either **Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-Perumāḷ** who figures as a subordinate of the Chōla king Kulōttuṅga III in his 22nd year⁷ (A.D. 1200), or his immediate successor. This Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-Perumāḷ (called also Viḍugāḍaṇ, Viḍugāḍaḷagiyaṇ or Vyāmuktaśravaṇōjḷa) is

¹ Nos. 341 and 364 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916.

² The conquest of the two Koṅgus is also referred to in Nos. 72 of 1924 and 9 of 1926.

³ No. 135 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909 from Komaralingam is dated in the reign of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōṇērinmaikōṇḍāṇ Virarājendra and couples the 25th year of his reign with Śaka 1153 (=A.D. 1231).

⁴ No. 106 of the same collection, dated in the 20th year, gives him the title 'who ruled the two Koṅgus together'. A number of records attribute to him the surname Rājākēsarivarman (see Nos. 121, 128 and 136 of 1909).

⁵ No. 136 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909 from Kōlumam. No. 144 of the same collection is dated in the 21st year of Parakēsarivarman Tribh. Vira-Chōla 'who ruled the two Koṅgus together'.

⁶ A. R. on Epigraphy for 1906, Part II, para. 34.

⁷ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 332-3, and S. I. I., Vol. I, Nos. 75 and 76.

described as the son of Rājarāja Adhikan¹ (Adhika, Adhikēndra, Adigaimān or Adhikēśa) and a lineal descendant of the Kēraḷa king Eḷiṇi² (Yavanika). His capital was Tagaḍai or Teṇ-Tagaḍai, i.e., Dharmapuri in the Salem district and his inscriptions are found at Kambayanallūr, Tirumalai, Cheṅgama, Puṅgaṇūr, Laddigam and Agastyakoṇḍa, written in Sanskrit and Tamil verses.³ The range of his inscriptions, his descent from Eḷiṇi and his capital Tagaḍai clearly show that he was the ruler of Koṅgu (North). As a Chōḷa feudatory, he appears to have restored the Chōḷa dominion in the Gaṅga territory, being entrusted with the charge of it. He claims to have overcome the Kāḍava, the Magada and the Gaṅga.⁴

Now a word may be said about the relationship between the Koṅgu and Pāṇḍya kings. While the South Koṅgu king Virarājēndra lived during the time of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, by whom he was liberated from prison and was honoured out of friendship, his predecessor Vira-Chōḷa was a contemporary of the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara I. This is made plain by the fact that a certain chief by name Śōḷaṇ Śilambaṇ alias Virachōḷa-Laṅkēśvaradēva, who calls himself one of the *sāmantas* of the South Koṅgu king Perumāḷ Vira-Chōḷa, figures in a third year record of Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara I corresponding to A.D. 1193, as donor of a gift to the temple of Mūlasthanamuḍaiya-Paramasvāmin at Teṇkarai near Shōlavandān, 15 miles from Madura, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas.⁵ This chief continued to live in the reign of Virarājēndradēva and made gifts in his 20th year to the temple of Tiruvālanduṇai-Uḍaiyār at Tiruvālanduṇai.⁶ The successor of Virarājēndra was Vikrama-Chōḷa, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1255.⁷ He was the contemporary of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II and Māṇavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, and stood in the relation of *machchuṇaṇār* (brother-in-law) to both of them.⁸ At his influence, these Pāṇḍya kings made provisions for the maintenance of *maṭhas* in Tinnevely and other places in the Pāṇḍya country where ascetics lived and *tirujñānam* was taught.⁹ In the war of the Pāṇḍya succession, which commenced in about A.D. 1167-68 preceding the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara I and which was waged between Parākrama-Pāṇḍya assisted by the Singhalese generals Laṅkāpura-Daṇḍanātha and Jayadratha-Daṇḍanātha on the one side, and another Kulaśēkhara on the other side, the latter is said to have been succoured by two Koṅgu kings who are stated in the *Mahāvamsa* to be the two brothers of his mother.¹⁰ Thus, it would be clear from what has been said above, that, bound by ties of near kinship, the Pāṇḍya and Koṅgu kings were helping each other and were maintaining cordial relationship for nearly a century from A.D. 1167-8.

Lines 14 to 16 describe a fresh war with the Chōḷa king, who, it is said, not only did not obey the commands of his Pāṇḍya overlord who gave him the crown, but refusing to pay the usual tribute, sent forth a large army with a vanguard against him. These were immediately put

¹ This chief figures as a subordinate of Kulōttuṅga III in the latter's 10th and 20th years of reign (No. 536 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1902 and No. 115 of 1900).

² Ancient Tamil literature reveals the name of some kings that ruled over Koṅgu with their capital at Tagaḍūr. One of them was Eḷiṇi. It is interesting to note that he is styled a Kēraḷa.

³ Nos. 544, 545, 547, 552 and 565 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1906 and *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1900, paras 31 and 32.

⁴ No. 552 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1906.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, p. 110, No. 296. The inscription is dated in the 21st year of Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara I and has the introduction *Pūtala-maḍandai*.

⁶ No. 106 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909.

⁷ No. 555 of the same for 1905 dated in the 2nd year and Śaka 1179, and No. 578, dated in the 7th year. and Śaka 1185.

⁸ *A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1930, Part II, para. 12, and *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 421.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, pp. 155 and 157.

to route and many of the cavalry, elephants, chariots and infantry were cut to pieces and the field was made a feasting ground for kites and crows. After the success in this war, the Pāṇḍya king is reported to have received a *paraṇi*, a particular kind of Tamil poem, composed in honour of himself celebrating all his heroic actions. This second war with the Chōḷa king was no doubt conducted against Rājarāja III, for it seems to have taken place some years after the first war and at a time when Kulōttuṅga III had ceased to rule. The introduction ends saying that the Pāṇḍya king, seated along with his queen Ulagamuluduḍaiyāḷ, was crowned in the hall at Muḍikonḍaśōlapuram, at all the entrances of which he had ordered golden pillars of victory to be put up.¹

A word may now be said about the second war of Māraṇvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I with the Chōḷas. The one permanent theme of the imperial Chōḷas from the time of Parāntaka I down to Rājarāja III was the subjugation of the Pāṇḍya country and they had several times defeated the Pāṇḍyas in battle. As such, Rājarāja III must have felt keenly the pitiable position of owning the overlordship of, and paying tribute to the Pāṇḍya king to which he was reduced by the daring act of Māraṇvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I committed at the end of the reign of Kulōttuṅga III. The inscription under publication, as we have already noticed, gives clear evidence that he wanted to free himself from this plight by refusing to pay the tribute and by sending a contingent of forces against the Pāṇḍya. Tamil inscriptions do not help us much to determine exactly when it was done. But it can be fixed within narrow limits from other sources as we shall see presently. The Hoysāḷa king Narasiṃha II, who stood in the relation of father-in-law to the Chōḷa Rājarāja III, is said to have marched on the island of Śrīraṅgam² in about A.D. 1222 and soon after, *i.e.*; in A.D. 1224 assumed the title 'the establisher of the Chōḷa country'.³ This and the other claim of his that he was the thunderbolt in splitting the rock that was the Pāṇḍya, shows that he was requisitioned by the Chōḷa king to help him against his enemy the Pāṇḍya king Māraṇvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. Our inscription states that the Pāṇḍya king waged a deadly war with the Chōḷa and caused great damage; but the fact that the Hoysāḷa king was able to establish a new capital soon after in the Tamil country on the borders of the Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya territories, *i.e.*, at Kaṇṇaṇūr *alias* Vikramapura, 5 miles from Śrīraṅgam, shows that the allied forces of Narasiṃha II and Rājarāja III gained their object. Thus the second encounter of Māraṇvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I with the Chōḷas, which was more in the nature of repulsing an attack made by the latter, might be placed in the period A.D. 1222 to 1224. The earliest inscription that refers to Kaṇṇaṇūr is dated in Sarvadhārin (=A.D. 1228) and it states that Vira-Sōmēśvara was ruling at the place⁴. But as Narasiṃha's reign lasted till A.D. 1233, Kaṇṇaṇūr should have been made a Hoysāḷa capital during his time and Vira-Sōmēśvara stationed there to guard the Chōḷa king from being molested. In fact we are given to understand that it was Vira-Sōmēśvara that built the new capital in the country which he had conquered by the power of his arm,⁵ showing thereby that he took an active part in the war undertaken by his father. Here we may fitly consider one other claim of Narasiṃha and of his enemy Peruṇjiṅga. While the former calls himself 'a very Janārdana in destroying the demon

¹ It must be noted that this portion is found in earlier records immediately after describing the first war with the Chōḷa, where its proper place is, and being almost in the form of introducing the king is bodily removed at the end of all introductions, earlier or later.

² Above, Vol. VII, p. 162.

³ *Ibid.*, and *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 507.

⁴ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 507.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 503.

Kaiṭabha in the form of the Kaṭava king¹, the latter is styled *Karṇāṭa-bhūpa-māna-marddana* and *Pāṇḍya-maṇḍala-sthūpana-sūtradhāra*.² These claims are sufficient to establish the fact that the Pāṇḍya king Maṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya was allied with the Pallava Peruṇjiṅga even before the latter actually assumed regal powers.

The grant portion of the inscription gives us to understand that in the **20th year** and **374th day** of the king's reign, when he was pleased to remain on the reclining seat of Maṇavarāyaṇ in the hall of the bed-chamber of the palace (or temple) at **Tirunelvēli** in **Kiḷ-Vēmba-nāḍu**, both the *dēvakarmis* of the temple of **Tirunelvēli-Uḍaiyār** and **Śaṅkaraṇ Alagiyaperu-māḷ** *alias* **Maṇavarāyaṇ of Kāḷaḍi**, the Premier, made a request that certain lands of **Kayattāṇkuruchchi**, which formed part of the *jīvita* not only of the latter but also of his great grandfather **Maṇavarāyaṇ**, who like him held the office of the Premier, should be made tax-free and given to the temple to meet the expenses of offerings and worship to the image of **Śokkaṇār** which the Premier had caused to be set up in the temple : and the king complied with their request. It is worthy of note that the chief office of Premier of the country was held by Maṇavarāyaṇ and his great grandfather. In fact, some of the offices in early times were hereditary and persons appear to have been given the necessary training and education to hold them.

The **geographical names** that occur in the inscription are **Taṇjai**, *i.e.*, Tanjore, **Uṇḍai**, *i.e.*, Uṇaiyūr,³ **Āyirattali**, which was also called Muḍikoṇḍasōḷapuram and of which Paḷaiyāru formed part,⁴ **Puliyūr**, *i.e.*, Chidambaram, **Ponnamarāvati**⁵ in the Pudukkottai State, **Madurai**, *i.e.*, Madura, **Kāḷaḍi**⁶ which is situated in the Travancore State, **Tirunelvēli**, *i.e.*, Tinnevelly, **Kayattāṇkuruchchi**, also in the Tinnevelly district, **Veṭchiyūr** *alias* **Mummaḍi-sōḷanallūr** and **Śakkarapāṇinallūr** among villages ; and **Miḷalai-kūṇṇam**, **Tirumalli-nāḍu**, **Kiḷ-Vēmba-nāḍu** and **Śevvirukkai-nāḍu** among divisions.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pū-maruviya Tiru-maḍandaiyum Puvi-maḍandaiyum puṇatt-iruppa nā-maruviya Kalai-maḍandaiyum Jaya-maḍandaiyum nalañ-chirappa kōḷ-ā[r*]nda [śina]-ppu[li]yuñ=koḍu[n]-chilaiyuñ=kulaind=o[lippa] vāḷ-ā[r*]nda poṇ-[ki]rimēl vari-kkayalgaḷ vīlaiyāḍa iruñ-kaḍal-va-
- 2 [lai]yatt=iṇid-aṇam peruga=kkaruñ-Kali kaḍindu šeñ-kōḷ naḍappa oru-kuḍai-niḷall⁷=iru-nilañ=kuḷira mū-vagai-tTamiḷu=muṇaimai[yi]ḷ vīḷaṅga nāl-vagai-Vēdamu[m*] naviṇṇ=uḍaṇ vaḷara aiy-vagai-vēḷviyuñ=chey-viṇaiy=iyaṇṇa aṇu-vagai-chchamaiyamum aḷaguḍan tigala eḷu-
- 3 vagai-[ppāḍa]lum=iyaluḍaṇ parava eṇ-ḍisaiy-aḷavuñ=chakkarañ=chella=**kKoṇṇaṇar**
Kaliṅgar Kōśalar Māluvar⁸ Śiṅgaḷar⁹ Teliṅgar Kiṇṇara[r*]¹⁰

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 507.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1342-B.

³ It is a suburb of Trichinopoly and the ancient capital of the Chōḷas.

⁴ This is evident from No. 72 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1924 and from No. 9 of the same collection for 1926. The place is bereft of early inscriptions at present.

⁵ The inscriptions of this place are registered as Nos. 2 to 23 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909.

⁶ This is reputed as the birth place of Śrī-Śaṅkarāchārya and is stated to be on the bank of the Pūrṇā river in the Kēraḷa country (see Vidyāraṇya's *Śaṅkara-digvijaya*).

⁷ Read *niḷalil* as in No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

⁸ *Māḷavar* is the reading in No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

⁹ *Śiṅgaṇar* is the form in No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

¹⁰ *Kiṇṇarar* may be replaced by *Śiṅgar* as in No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, and No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

Gujjarar Villavar Magadar Vikkalar Śembiyar Pallavar muda-
liya(r) pā[r*]ttivar ellām=uraiv-iḍam=aruḷ-epa oruvar-muṇṇ-oruvar muṇai¹
¹muṇai kaḍava tan-tiṇai²

- 4 ku[ṇa][r*]nd=iṇaiñcha ilaṅ-oli-maṇi-muḍiy-Indiraṇ pūṭṭiya polaṇ³-kadir-āram
mārviṇiṇ=poliya paṇi-malar⁴-rtāmarai=tTisaimugaṇ paḍaitta Maṇu-neri
taḷaippa maṇi-muḍi śūḍi=pPonṇi-śūḷ-nāṭṭu⁵=ppuli-āṇai⁶ pōy=agala Kanni-
śūḷ-nāṭṭiṇ=kayal-āṇai kai(y)vaḷara⁷ veñ-chiṇav-ivuliyum
- 5 vēlamum⁸ paraparappi⁹=tTaṇjaiyum=Uṇandai[yu]ñ=chen-taḷal koḷutti kāvi¹⁰-nīlamum
niṇru kavin=iḷarṇa¹¹ āviyum=ārum=aṇi-nīr-nalaṇ¹²=aḷittu kūḍamu=mā-maḍiḷuṇ=
gōpuramum=aḍ-araṅgum¹³ māḷigaiyum maṇḍapamum pala iḍittu toḷudu=
vand-aḍaiyār nīrupar-tan=tōgaiyar=aḷuda kaṇṇiṇ=āru parappi=kkaḷu-
- 6 dai-koṇḍ=u[lu]du kavaḍi vichechi¹⁴=chChembiyaṇai=chchiṇam viriya¹⁵=pporuḍu
śūram¹⁶ pugav=ōṭṭi paim-poṇ-maṇi-muḍi parittu=pPāṇaṇukku=kkuḍutt-arulḷi
pāḍ-arun-chiṇappiṇ=parudi-vāṇ=rōyum¹⁷=āḍaga-ppuruṣaiy¹⁸=Āyirattaliyil¹⁹ śērā-
Vaḷa[vaṇ] abhishēka-maṇḍapattu virā(a)bhishēkam paṇṇi²⁰ puga[ḷ] virittu
nāḷum
- 7 para-rāśar nāma-ttalai piḍuṅgi mīḷun=ta[ru]kaṇ-mada-sāṇai²¹ mēl-koṇḍu nīr-
āḷi-vaiyya=muḷudu[m] poḍu[v-i]litta²² kūr-āḷi[yu]ñ=cheyya-tōḷumēy²³ koṇḍu-
pōy ayyappaḍāda²⁴ [a]ru-mārai-tēr-andaṇar vāḷi deyva-pPuliyūr=tiruv-
ellaiyu[t]=pukku²⁵=pponṇ-am[ba]ḷam poliya āḍuvār pūvaiyuḍaṇ ma-

¹ The letter *mu* is written below the line.

² The letter *r* is entered at the beginning of l. 4.

³ No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, has *purai* in place of *polan*.

⁴ Read *malar-ttā*.

⁵ *Nāṭṭiṇ=puli* is the reading in No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

⁶ *Āṇai* is the Tamil form of *āṇā* through its Prakrit equivalent. No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V has *yāṇai*, which is evidently a mistake of the engraver.

⁷ *Kayal viḷaiyāda* is the reading in No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

⁸ The *ē*-sign of *vē* is entered at the end of line 4.

⁹ Before *parappi* the letters *para* may be taken as having been wrongly entered or read as *pār*.

¹⁰ After *kāvi*, the syllable *yum* has been omitted.

¹¹ No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, has *iḷappa*, while No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, agrees with our text.

¹² While No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, agrees with our text, No. 300 of Vol. V. has *nīlan* and No. 520 of 1911 has *araṇ* meaning 'protection'.

¹³ The word *māḍamum* has been omitted before *māḷigaiyum*. Cf. Nos. 300 and 372.

¹⁴ *Vitti* is the reading in the Tiruppārkaḍal inscription. See also text-line 16, below.

¹⁵ No. 372 has *chiṇam-iriya* and No. 300 -*piriya*. No. 520 gives -*eriya*.

¹⁶ Read *śūram*.

¹⁷ It is only *rōy-āḍaga* in No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

¹⁸ Read *purisai*.

¹⁹ The reading *Śōraḷavaṇ* is clearly wrong. Note that *śērā* rhymes with *virā*, but not *śōra*.

²⁰ The word *paṇṇi* is replaced by *śeydu* in Nos. 300 and 372.

²¹ Read *yāṇai* as in No. 372.

²² Other readings of *iḷitta* are *aḷitta* (300) and *oḷitta* (No. 372).

²³ No. 300 has *mēl* for *mēy*.

²⁴ The reading *aḍaiyapaḍāda* given in No. 300 is an evident mistake.

²⁵ *Pugundu* is the reading in No. 520 of 1911.

- 8 *ṇṇun*=*tiru-mē[ṇi]* *kaṇḍu* *ma[ṇa]n=kaḷippa¹=kkōla-malar-mēl=A[ya]ṇuṇ=*
kulir-tulāy-Mālum ariyā malar-chchēva[ḍi] , vaṇaṇ[ga]² vāṅgu-śiraiy-aṇṇaṇ=
*tuyil=oliya vaṇḍ=eluppum pūṇ-kamala-vāvi-śūḷ **Ponṇamarāpati[yi]**³ ott-*
ulagaṇ=tāṅgum=u[ya]⁴r⁴-Mēruvai=kkuṇandu⁵ vaitt-aṇaiya śōdi-maṇi-maṇḍapatt=*
irunti⁶
- 9 *śōlai-mali paḷa-nar-**Chōṇāḍum**=tāṇ=iḷanda⁷ mālai muḍiyun=tara⁸ varugaveṇṇ=*
*al[ai]ppa ⁹vāṇa-nilai kulaiya **Vāḷa[giri]kk¹⁰=appurattu=ppōṇa** Vāḷavaṇ*
urimaiyuḍaṇ¹¹ pugundu perṇa pudalvaṇai niṇ-pēr-eṇṇu¹² muṇ kātṭi=
verriy-ariy-aṇai-kkīḷ vīḷundu tolud=irappa=ttāṇ=ōḍi muṇṇ=¹³iḷanda vemmai=
- 10 *elān¹⁴=kaḷiy-agala dāṇ-¹⁵ō[u]daka[m] paṇṇi taṇ-ḍār-muḍi[yu]ḍaṇē viṭṭa¹⁶ agal¹⁷*
iḍaṇ=taṇ mār-vēḷaikk¹⁸=tṭiliya¹⁹ iṭṭapaḍikk=eṇṇum idu piḍipāḍ-āgav-
eṇa=ppoṇgu-ti[ri]²⁰-nāḷattu=ppū-pālar toḷa²¹ vīḷaṅguṇ=cheṇ-kayal-konḍ=ūṇṇun=
tirumugamum ²²paṇḍ=iḷanda Chōḷapatiy-ennu[m] nāmamun=ton-ṇagaru=mīḷa*
- 11 *vaḷaṅgi viḍai-kuḍuttu viṭṭ-aruḷi [¹*] ōṇa²³-kkaḍar-pāril vēṇḍarga[ḷai]kk-²⁴*
urraḍeṅgaḷ²⁵ [ti]ṭkun²⁶=kaḍavuḷ=ivaṇ-eṇṇ-eṇṇi=tta[ḷai]y-urraḍaiyā[ḍ]ār²⁷ taṇḍal-
iḍai[yi]r=kiḷaiy-urrena²⁸ muḷuduṇ=kēṭṭ-arūḷ eṇṇ=ētti²⁹ vaṇaṅgum Vāḍa-
Koṇṇaṇṇai ³⁰śiraiyum mīṭṭu ³¹kaḷaṇ-koḷ-arū-niru³²-ttōḷ-mālai kaḷitt=el-
vaḷaṅgi-

¹ *Kaḷittu* is found in Nos. 300 and 372.

² Read *vaṇaṅgi* as in the other two inscriptions.

³ *Patiyil* is replaced by *patiyāḍaindu* in No. 520 of 1911.

⁴ *Mā* takes the place of *uyar* in No. 300.

⁵ *Koṇṇandu* (No. 300) and *kuṇarndu* (No. 372) are other forms that occur.

⁶ Read *irundu* as in the other two inscriptions.

⁷ *Iḷandu* is the reading in No. 520 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1911.

⁸ *Taruga varuga* is the reading in the above.

⁹ *Māna* is another reading (No. 520 of 1911).

¹⁰ *Vāṇagirikk*= is the reading in No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, but it is *Vāḷagiri* in No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

¹¹ Nos. 372 and 300 have *oḍum* in place of *uḍaṇ*. No. 520 of 1911 adds *tān* to *oḍum*.

¹² *Eṇa* is the reading in No. 520 of 1911.

¹³ The insertion of *ga* after *ṇ-i* in No. 372 is not supported by the reading of the other two inscriptions, viz., Nos. 300 and 431.

¹⁴ Of *ye* the *e* sign is at the end of line 9 and *y* at the beginning of the next line.

¹⁵ Delete *u*.

¹⁶ *Viṭṭa* may be taken as the hardened form of *viṇḍa* adopted for metrical purposes.

¹⁷ No. 372 has *pugaḷ*.

¹⁸ Read *vēḷukka* : No. 520 also reads *vēḷaikk*. Other inscriptions read *mārvaṇaikk* which must be corrected into *māvaṇukku*.

¹⁹ Read *tṭiriya*.

²⁰ Read *tirai*.

²¹ Read *tōḷ* as in Nos. 372 and 300.

²² The letters *pa* and *ḍi* are entered below the line.

²³ Read *ōḍa* as in No. 520 of 1911.

²⁴ Read *vēṇḍargaḷukk*.

²⁵ The reading *kuṇraṅgaḷ* obtained by deleting *de* in the *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, is clearly wrong. The engraver has omitted *v* between the *e* sign and *d* of *de*. This supplied, the reading would be *urraṇ-ēḍaṅgaḷ*. It is to be noted that *ēḍa* rhymes with *ōḍa*.

²⁶ Read *tṭirkkun*.

²⁷ No. 520 of 1911 has *aḍaiyār* for *aḍaiyāḍār*.

²⁸ Read *urraṇa*.

²⁹ In place of *eṇṇ-ētti* No. 520 has *eṇa-kkai*.

³⁰ Read *Koṇṇaṇṇai* as in No. 520 of 1911 instead of *koṇṇa(ṇ)ṇai* of the *S. I. I.*, Vol. V. The text may also be read *Koṇṇaṇṇaṇ*.

³¹ There seem to be mistakes in the passage immediately following *mīṭṭu*.

³² Read *tiru*.

- 12 y-aruliya piṇ[n*]=oru-nāl maṇṇ-āra-muḷaṅgu muraśa=kkadaṇ-rāṇai-[mun] pugundu Teṇ-Koṅga[n*] vand=iṭṭa deṇḍaṇukku miṇ-poṅga-chchāndiya¹ ābaraṇan=takkad-e[ṇa] vaḷaṅgi ā[rā]da² peru-naṇbiṇ³=avaṇ śiraiyu=miṭṭu Tirumāl⁴ yiru⁵-maruṅgu Śandira-Śūriya[r*] śēvikka šeṇ-kaṭ-karu[mā]l-kali[kki]ṇril⁶ varu-Muṭkaṭ⁷-kaḍavuḷ-eṇa māḍa-Maduraiyir-
- 13 tāṇ pōndu [pu]vaṇi[yi]lē ⁸kūḍa-iru-Koṅgarai[yuṇ=ku]mbiḍu-koṇḍa[varkku] tollai-ppuvi[kku]m=iṇaṅgāmar=tāṇ⁹=choṇṇa ellaikku=niṇṇa iśaindiṭṭu perpa¹⁰-kkoṇḍ-ivaṇru¹¹ śeyyād=oliyil iyamakku¹² veṇru¹³-vēl-virund=ākkudu[m=u]mai-y-eṇa viṭṭ-aruli muṇṇa[m*] namakku muḍi-vaḷaṅgu[n*]=[chē]vaḍi-kkiḷ iṇṇa-
- 14 m vaḷipaḍuvōm=eṇṇādu piṇ[n=o]ru-nāl kāva[la]nadu **Puṇa[1*]-nāḍ-e[n*]**ṇuṇ=kaliyāl=eṇval=edir-śellād¹⁴=iṇrai maṇṇutta Śeṇṇi viḍu tūsiyum pēr-aṇiyum [okka-chchu]ruṇḍ=oduṅgi vāsiyum vāraṇamum tērum=aḍaṇ-karu[va]-kkā-lāṇum¹⁵ veṭṭ-uṇṇa=kkaṇ[n-i*]raṇḍu-mayaṇ[ga-k]kaiy-[k*]koṇḍu¹⁶ vēlā-valaiyattu vīṇd=avaṇ pōy mey
- 15 naḍuṅga a[m]b-arundum=ā[r*]tta-kaḍal-maṇḍalikar¹⁷-uḍal vem-parund¹⁸-uṇ[ṇa] a-kkaḷattil āṇaiyiṇ veṇ-maruppuṇ=kaiyyuṇ=ku(n)ṇaitt=eṇgaḷ Mīṇavaṇku pāl-kuḍam-ām=eṇṇu tāṇ virar-kōṇ¹⁹ [m]āga-mugaḍu taḍavi maḷai maḍu-kkum kāga-neḍum-pandaṇ- d-āḍalum kūgaiyum pāḍaluṇ=kāṇḍum kēṭṭuṇ-kalitta oḍal-karuṇ-kūṇ-
- 16 dal veḷḷ-eyiṇil śēvvāy periya śūlakavalli²⁰ pali kolga eṇa vāḷtti veṇ-ru²¹ vagaiyil migaiy=oliya vēndalaṇ=kkoṇru²² śiṇan=taṇiyā=kkor-ṇava²³=neḍu-vāḷ uyaṇku šeṇ-kurudi-nīr=itt=oli-śeydu tegu-pulattu veṇ-kavaḍi²⁴ vitta vīra-muḷud=eḍuttu=ppāḍum paraṇi taṇ pār-vēndar kēṭ-pikka āḍun=tirumaṇ-

¹ Read *chāṭṭiya*.

² *Yāṭṭa* is the reading in No. 520 of 1911.

³ *Naṭpill* is the reading in the above.

⁴ The metrical line commencing with *Tirumāl* occurs as under in No. 520 of 1911. "*Tirumālu-Nāṇ-mugaṇuṇ=chēvikka=chcheṇ-kaṭ*."

⁵ Read *iru*.

⁶ Read *kaḷiṇril*.

⁷ Read *Mukkaṭ*.

⁸ This has been read as *kūṭṭuk* by mistake in *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 431.

⁹ Read *rān*.

¹⁰ There seems to be an engraver's mistake here which is not apparent. Perhaps *m=ēṇpa-kkoṇḍ* or *mēṇkoṇḍ* is intended.

¹¹ Read *ivvāru*.

¹² Read *Iyamaṇukku*.

¹³ Read *vev-vēl*.

¹⁴ Another variant is *kollād* (No. 520 of 1911).

¹⁵ Read *kāl-āḷum*.

¹⁶ Instead of *kaṇṇ-iraṇḍu* *kkaiy-kkoṇḍu*, No. 520 of 1911 has *kaṇḍu bayāṇ-koṇḍu* which is metrically a better reading.

¹⁷ *ṇ-kuḍal* is a variant (No. 520 of 1911).

¹⁸ The metrical line *vem-parund*, etc., *-kuḷattil* is better expressed in No. 520 of 1911 which gives the reading *vem-parundum pēyum virund-uṇṇa akkuḷattu*. It is clear from this that there is an omission of *m-pēyum virund* in our text.

¹⁹ No. 520 of 1911 gives the variant *tam vīraṇ-tōḷ* for *tāṇ virar-kōṇ*.

²⁰ *Śūlakavalli* is replaced by *śūlattaḷ vēl* in No. 520 of 1911.

²¹ For *veṇru vagaiyil* No. 520 has *veṇṇum pagaiyaṇ*.

²² Read *koṇṇum*.

²³ The syllable *va* is omitted in No. 520 of 1911.

²⁴ *Kavaḍi* is synonymous with *uṇṇā-varagu* and *veḷ-varagu* (*Puṇapporuḷ*, VI. 26).

- 17 jaṇa-nīrga¹ maṇ-kulira āṅg-avan ²tiṇai-kkaṭṭaṇattu karpu taṇakk=āṇāy
ōṅg³-urimai-kkulāmm=oru-kai-tisai⁴=koṇḍum=uri-maṇi-ppaṭṭaṇ-katṭi muḍi
śūṭṭi mārbil [a]ṇaittu Vaḷavaṇavaṇ=mudal-dēviy=enru pēg⁵-per⁶ vaṇṇi
mudalāya pey-vaḷaiyār poṅgu-puṇar-kum[s]a⁷ba⁷ mudalāya polavar⁸
puga[¹]
- 18 maṅgala[¹*]gaḷ eṭṭum maṇi-kk[ai*]-talatt=ē[n]di koḍi-koṇḍa nerri niṇaitta
⁹gōpuraṇ=chūḷ **Muḍikoṇḍasōḷapura**-maṇḍapattu puguttu¹⁰ tisaitorūm
śom¹¹-por-cheya-tta[mbam] nāṭṭi vāgai-kkadir-vēl vaḍa-vēndar tam pāda[m]-m=
ēga=ttalaiy-aṇiya¹² vira-kkaḷal=aṇindu viḷaṅgiya maṇiy-aṇi¹³=virasimhā-
saṇattu
- 19 vaḷaṇ-keḷu-kavariy=iru-maruṅ=asaippa kaḍal-eṇṇa muḷaṅguṇ=kaḷi-nall-iyāṇai vaḍa-
pula-vēndar¹⁴ maṇi-ppuyam piriya ilaṅgu-kulaiy-aruvay¹⁵ toḷudu niṇṇ-
eṭṭum¹⁶ **Ulagumuḷuduḍaiyāroḍum** viṇṇ-irunḍ=aruḷiya śrī-kō-Mārapaṇ[ma*]r-
āṇa Tribhuvanachchakravarttiḡaḷ śrī-**Sōṇāḍu** koṇḍu **Muḍikoṇ-**
- 20 **ḍasōḷapurattu** vīrar-abhishēkam paṇṇi aruḷiya **śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṇku**
yāṇḍu 20-vadu nāl 374-nāl Kīl-Vēmba-nāṭṭu=tTirunelvēli=kkōyiṇ-
paḷḷiyaṇai-[k*]kūḍattu=ppaḷḷippīṭa[m*] Maḷavarāyaṇil eḷundaruḷiy=i[ru]ndu Uḍai-
yār-Tirunelvēli-uḍaiyar=kō[yi]r=pati-pā[da]mūla=p-
- 21 [pa]ṭṭ-ud[ai]=ppa[ṇ]ch-ā[chā]riya-dēvarkaṇmigaḷ śey[ya]-ttiruvāy-moḷind=aruḷiṇa-paḷi
[K]āḷaḍi=ch**Chaṇkaraṇ** A[ḷ]agiya[p]e[rumā]ṇ-āṇa **Ma[ḷ]a[va]rāyar** pū[ji]ttu
i-kkōyilil āsrayaliṅgam-āga eḷundaruḷivitta **Śokkanār(r)kku** tiruppa[ḍimāṇ]r-
uḷḷiṭṭu vēṇḍum niva[n]daṅgaḷukkum i-
- 22 var piṇanda Śaḍaiyattu-nāl viśēsha-pūjai śeyya amudupaḍi śāttuppaḍiy-
uḷḷiṭṭu vēṇḍuvaṇavukkum **Muḷli-nāṭṭu Irājarāja-chchaturvvē[di]maṅgala-**
ttu piḍāgai **Kayattāṇkuṇuchchiyil** kā[r*]-paśāṇam viḷaiyu[m*] nilattu
maṇḍala-mudaṇmai[k]ku ivar pitākkal appāṭ[t*]ar Maḷava[r]-
- 23 āyaṇku jīvitamāy [pi]ṇbu iyaṇku maṇḍala-mudaṇmaikku jīvitamāy varu-
giṇa nilattu talai-varuśai¹⁷ nilattilē i[v]v-ūr kaḍamaiy=iṇukkuṇ=kōlāl
oṇṇ-r-ai¹⁸-vē[li] nilam irubad-āvaḍin edirām-āṇḍu-mudal antar[ā]yamum
uḷuḍāṇ-kudiyum uṭpaḍa=ddēvadāṇa iṇaiy-iliyāy iruppadāga i-

¹ *Niril maṇaṇ* is the reading in No. 520 of 1911.

² There must be a better reading for the passage that follows *tiṇai*.

³ Read *ōṅgum*.

⁴ No. 520 of 1911 has *oḍukka-kkai* for *oru-kai-tisai*.

⁵ Read *pēr*.

⁶ *Kuḍutta* is a variant.

⁷ Read *kumba*.

⁸ Read *pulavar*.

⁹ Delete the first *g* and read *gōpuraṇ*.

¹⁰ Read *pugundu*.

¹¹ Read *śem*.

¹² Read *aṇaiya* as in No. 520.

¹³ *Maṇiy-aṇi* is replaced by *kadir-maṇi* in No. 520 of 1911.

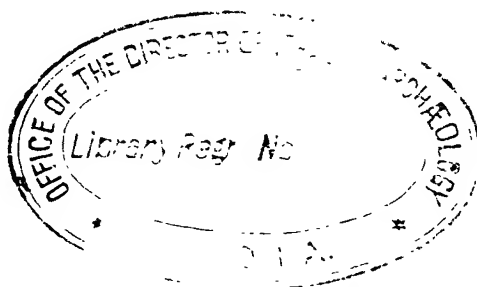
¹⁴ The letters *tam* are inserted in No. 520.

¹⁵ Read *arivaiyar*.

¹⁶ *-ētta* is the reading in No. 520 of 1911.

¹⁷ Read *varisai*.

¹⁸ Read *arai*.



- 24 *ḍa-ppeṛa-vēṇum-eṇṇu* ivar namakku-chchoṇṇamaiyil i-ddēvaṛku-tiru-ppaḍimāṛṛ-
uḷḷiṭṭu vēṇḍun-nivandaṅgaḷukkum ivar piṛa[n*]da Śad[ai*]yattu-nāḷ viśēsha-
pūjai śeyya amudupaḍi śāttu[p]paḍi uḷḷiṭṭu vēṇḍuvaṇavukku[m] Mulli-
nāṭṭu Rājarāja-chchaturvēdimāṅgalattu piḍā-
- 25 *gai* Kayattāṇ[ku]ṛuchchiyil kār-pasāṇam viḷaiyum nilattu maṇ[ḍa]ḷa-mudaṇ-
maikku ivar pitākka[ḷ] appāṭṭa[r] **Maḷavarāyaṛku** jīvitamāy piṇbu
ivaṛku maṇḍala-mudaṇmaikku ji[vi]tamāy varugira nilattu talai-varusai¹
nilatti[lē] ivv-ūr kaḍamaiy-iṛukkuṇ-kōḷāl oṇṇ-arai-vēli nilam iv-
- 26 *v-āṇḍu-mudal* antarāyamum uḷudāṇ-kuḍiyum uṭpaḍa dēvadāṇay=iṛaiy-iliyā[y]y-
iṛuppadāga iṭṭu variyilār eḷutt-iṭṭa uḷ-variyaṇ nam ōlaiyum tara-
[ch]choṇṇōm **kai-kkoṇḍu** tiruppaḍimāṛṛ-u[ḷ]*ḷiṭṭa nivandaṅgaḷ śella=ppaṇṇu-
gav=eṇṇum ip[paḍi] Sandir-Ādittavaṇ=chelvad-ā
- 27 *ga* kalliluṇ=chembilum vetṭivittu=kkolḡav-eṇṇu tiruvāymolind-aruḷṇapaḍikku
ivai Tirumalli-nāṭṭu=tTaḍaṅgaṇnichchirṛ-udaiyāṇ **Śōraṇ** Uyyaṇiṇ-
ṛāḍuvāṇ-āṇa Kurukulattaraṣaṇ eḷuttu — ivai Miḷalai-kkūṛrattu Kiḷ-
kūṛru Veṭchhiyūr-āṇa Mummudiśō-
- 28 *ḷanallūr* Vēḍanūruḍaiyāṇ Araiyaṇ Sīvallavaṇ-āṇa M[āḍavarājaṇ] eḷu[t]tu ḷ
Ivai Śevvirukkai-nāṭṭu=chChakkarapāṇinallūr Arai[yaṇṇ²] Viradamuḍichchāṇ-
āṇa Pallavarājaṇ eḷuttu ḷḷḷ³ḷ

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1—4.)—Hail ! Prosperity ! The goddess of Wealth abiding on the lotus flower and the goddess of the Earth, residing in his arm ; the goddess of the Arts abiding on the tongue and the goddess of Victory, growing in their excellence ; the angry tiger filled with strength and the fierce bow, hiding themselves, being shattered ; the scaly fish sporting on the shining golden mountain (*i.e.*, Mēru) ; Virtue increasing abundantly on the earth surrounded by the expansive ocean ; the righteous sceptre swaying (*in all directions*) driving away the black Kali (*age*) ; the wide earth becoming cool under the shade of (*his*) single parasol ; the three kinds of Tamīḷ⁴ glowing in order ; the four kinds of the Vēdas⁵ being learnt (*by students*) and growing simultaneously ; the five kinds of sacrifices⁶ being performed in accordance with (*established*) practice ; the six kinds of taiths being⁷ finely expounded ; the seven kinds of music⁸ spreading along with *iyal* ; (*his*) disc moving as far as the eight quarters ; all kings such as the Koṅkaṇa, Kaliṅga, Kōsala, Māḷuva, Śiṅgaḷa, Teliṅga, Kinnara, Gurjjara, Villava, Magada, Vikkala, Śembiya and the Pallava, bringing with them the tributes due, and rushing before one another and praying for places to be assigned for their residence ; the beautiful garland set with lustrous

¹ Read *varisai*.² Read *Araiyaṇ*.³ In continuation of this is engraved an inscription of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōṇērinmaikoṇḍāṇ.⁴ These are *iyal*, *īṣai* and *nāḍagam*.⁵ These are the Rīg, Yajus, Sāman and Atharvan ; the upa-Vēdas are also four, viz., Āyur-, Dhanur-, Artha- and Gāndharva.⁶ *Vēḷvi* means *yāga* or *yajña*. The reference is apparently to the five *yajñas*, viz., Brahma, Daiva, Bhūta, Pitṛi and Mānuṣha.⁷ These are Bhairava, Vāma, Kālāmukha, Māvirada, Pāsupata and Śaiva. There are six other *Samayas*, viz., Lōkāyata, Bauddha, Jaina, Mīmāṃsā, and Bhāttāchārya or Māyāvāda.⁸ As *pāḍal* is here distinguished from *iyal* (prose), it must have reference to *īṣai* (music). As such, the seven kinds of music correspond to the seven *svaras*, viz., Nishāda, Rishabha, Gāndhāra, Shadja, Madhyama, Daivata, and Pañchama. Cf. *Eḷu-vagai-pāḍal* with *ēḷ-īṣai* in *Ēḷisaimōgaṇ* and *Ēḷisavallabhi*.

gems put on by Indra¹ shining in his breast ; (*the Pāṇḍya*) was crowned to widen the path of Manu who was brought into existence by Brahmā residing on the dew-settled lotus flower.

(Ll. 4—8.)—Causing the tiger to be removed from the country surrounded by the **Poṇṇi** (*i.e.*, the Kāvērī), and the fish to spread in the country surrounding **Kaṇṇi**² (*i.e.*, Kanyākumārī), sending forth (*his*) angry steeds and elephants and setting on blazing fire (*the cities of*) **Taṇjai** and **Uṇḍai**³ (*i.e.*, Tanjore and Uṇaiyūr), and causing the *kāvi* and *nīlam*⁴ to lose their bloom ; destroying tanks, rivers and other water sources ; breaking down several halls, ramparts, towers, theatres, palaces, and pavilions, and causing to flow rivers of tears shed by the queens of kings who were not friendly to him, and ploughing (*their lands*) with asses and sowing seeds of *kavaḍi*⁵ and fighting with the **Śembiyaṇ** (*i.e.*, the Chōla) so as to deprive (*him*) of his anger and driving (*him*) out to enter the forest, taking (*his*) golden crown set with gems and bestowing (*it*) on the **Bāṇa**⁶ ; performing the anointment of heroes in the anointing hall of the unfriendly **Valavaṇ**⁷ (*i.e.*, Chōla) at **Āyirattaḷi**⁸ the glory of which is hard to be extolled and whose golden walls touch the sunny sky ; (*and thus*) extending (*his*) fame, (*he*) daily cut off the fearful heads of enemy kings. Mounting again on (*his*) fierce rut-elephant, (*he*) removed the commonness of the whole of the sea-girt earth. (*Then*) carrying only (*his*) sharp disc and (*his*) well-formed shoulders, (*he*) entered the sacred limits of the holy **Puliyūr** (*i.e.*, Chidambaram) where live Brāhmaṇas studying the rare Vēdas without the least doubt, saw the sacred form (*of Naṭarāja*) united with (*his*) consort, finely dancing in the golden hall ; and (*his*) mind being filled with extacy, (*he*) prostrated at the flowery feet (*of the god*), which could not be known (*even*) by Brahmā who resides on the beautiful lotus flower and by Viṣṇu who wears a cool garland of *tuḷūg*.

(Ll. 8—11.)—At **Poṇṇamarāvati**⁹ which is girt with tanks bearing lotus flowers where the bees (*by their humming*) rouse from sleep swans with bent wings, staying in a pavilion (*set with*) lustrous gems presenting the appearance of the world-supporting Mēru brought and placed there (*he*) invited (*the Chōla king*) to go (*to him*), saying that (*he*) would give (*back*) the **Chōla country** covered with gardens and water streams, and the wreathed crown which he (*i.e.*, the Chōla) had lost. (*On hearing this*), the Valavaṇ, who, being shorn of his high state, had gone beyond

¹ The smaller Śiṅṅamanūr plates make mention of the wearing of the garland of Indra and of securing one-half of his throne among the achievements of unnamed mythical Pāṇḍya kings. Similarly the Sanskrit portion of the Bigger Śiṅṅamanūr plates refer to a Pāṇḍya king's wresting the garland of Indra and of another's sitting on his throne. The Tamil portion also speaks of a Pāṇḍya sovereign appearing on the throne of Indra with his necklace. The Vēḷvikuḍi plates refer to a Pāṇḍya sharing with Indra one-half of his throne and his garland. In the historical introductions of the inscriptions of Rājendra-Chōla I, it is said that he took from the king of Ceylon the garland of Indra which a Pāṇḍya king formerly deposited with him.

² The Pāṇḍya king is often referred to as *Kaṇṇi-kāvalaṇ*.

³ These were the capitals of the Chōla kings. For references to Uṇḍai, see *Śirupānāruppadai*, line 83 and *Puṇāṇāṇṇu*, vv. 39, 58, 69, 352.

⁴ *Kāvi* and *nīlam* are the names of flower plants.

⁵ See note 14 on p. 10 above. I am indebted to Rao Saheb C. M. Ramachandra Chettiyar, Coimbatore, for drawing my attention to *Puṇḍapporuḷḷeḷbāmālai*, VI, 26.

⁶ *Bāṇa* means also 'a bard'. We cannot be certain if a Bāṇa chief or a bard is meant. In the later records of Pāṇḍya kings, there figure chiefs bearing the name or surname *Māvali-Vāṇarāyaṇ*.

⁷ With the existing traces the word may be read as 'Śōra-Valavaṇ' or 'śērā-Valavaṇ.' The latter, which rhymes well with 'vīrābhishēka,' means 'of the enemy Valavaṇ.' If the former reading is adopted, it may be taken as the proper name of the hall. But it would mean 'the thief Valavaṇ' and it seems unlikely that the anointing hall of the Chōla king was so termed.

⁸ *Āyirattaḷi* was a place of considerable importance in mediaeval Chōla times.

⁹ *Poṇṇamarāvati* was the scene of two battles during the war of Pāṇḍya succession in the 12th century A.D.

Vālagiri, returned with his queen¹, and presenting his son before (*the Pāṇḍya*) saying 'he is yours', fell down (*i.e.*, prostrated) at his victorious lion-throne, extolled and begged (*the Pāṇḍya*)². Making a libation of water which removed the heat caused by his (*i.e.*, the Chōḷa king's) flight and prior loss of territory, and saying 'this shall always be the deed of support (*piḍipāḍu*) for having given back to his (*i.e.*, the Chōḷa king's) son a wide ground along with cool-wreathed crown' and giving him a royal writ³ (*tirumugam*) impressed with the fish which shine on the shoulders of kings ruling the earth girt with surging waves, together with the surname *Chōḷapati* which he had formerly lost and his ancient city, (*the Pāṇḍya king*) gave him leave to depart.

(Il. 11—13.)—Considering (*the Pāṇḍya king*) to be god in removing the faults of kings in this world surrounded by the roaring ocean, the **North Koṅgu** king bowed to him and extolling him begged to be heard fully how he was fettered and had undergone suffering in the war with those who did not join him (*i.e.*, his enemies). (*On hearing it, the Pāṇḍya*) rescued him from prison, removed the garland from his glorious shoulders and showed him the way (*out*). One other day when the **South Koṅgu** king, entering the van of the ocean-like army resounding with the noise of the war drum, made salutations, he (*the Pāṇḍya king*), considering (*him*) as fit (*for it*), gave him a shining ornament which (*he himself*) had worn : and out of excessive love removed his captivity also. Like the three-eyed god (*i.e.*, Śiva), he (*the Pāṇḍya*), mounted as it were on a red-eyed huge bodied black elephant (*and worshipped on either side by the two Koṅgu kings*) just as the god Viṣṇu⁴ is worshipped by the Sun and the Moon, entered **Madura**, the city of palaces⁵, and received simultaneously in the world the salutations of the two Koṅgu kings.⁶ Not agreeing to the ancient (*limits*) of (*their*) kingdom, he made them remain within the limits prescribed by himself;⁷ and then despatched them saying that if any failed to do as bidden, he would make him a feast for the god of Death with his trident.

(Il. 13—16.)—On a subsequent day, when the Chōḷa king, (*resolving*) not to remain submissively under the feet of him who formerly gave him his crown, refrained from executing the commands and refused to pay tribute, actuated by the proud thought that **Puṇal-nāḍu** belonged to its ruler, and sent forth a van guard and large army, (*the Pāṇḍya*) cleared them

¹ The word *urimai* generally means 'possession'. It has also the special significance of 'wife'. Though it may not be improper to translate the phrase '*urimaiyodum puṇundu*' as 'entered with confidence', it seems better to render it as 'returned with his queen and son' who were his only possession now, having been deprived of his crown and country.

² The passage "*tan-ḍār-muḍiyuḍaṇē*, etc., *piḍipādāga*" is not free from scribe's errors. Besides, there are some variations in reading. The proper division of words and differences in reading have to be pointed out to make the meaning clear. Our text has :—*tan-ḍār-muḍiyuḍaṇē viṭṭa agal-īḍan-taṇ-mārvēḷaikkū-ttīliya iṭṭapaḍikk-ēṇṇum-idu piḍipād-āgar-eṇa*. . . Here *vēḷaikkū* is a mistake for *vēḷukku* and *tīliya* is a mistake for *tīriya*. A different reading is *mārvāṇaikkū* which has also to be corrected into *mārvāṇukku*. In either case, the meaning is 'legitimate son' and corresponds to the Sanskrit '*aurasa-putra*'. The word '*piḍipāḍu*' may be rendered into 'deed of support'.

³ It is worthy of note that the order of the king was impressed with the royal crest.

⁴ That the two Koṅgu kings went attending on the Pāṇḍya is made evident not only by the comparison instituted with Viṣṇu attended by the Sun and the Moon but also from what follows, *viz.*, '*kūḍa iri-Koṅga. raiyṁ kumbiḍu koṇḍu*'. They were despatched to their country only after returning to Madura.

⁵ Madura is known as 'Nāṇ-māḍa-Kūḍal'.

⁶ Though, perhaps for administrative purposes, the Koṅgu country was divided into two divisions 'North' and 'South', there appear to have been more divisions in it. Pērūr is described in the *Dēvāram* as being in *Mi-Koṅgu*, *i.e.*, West Koṅgu. The division *Maḷa-Koṅgu* occurs in the *Śiṅṅamanūr* plates.

⁷ From this passage it is clear that the Koṅgu country was simultaneously administered by at least two kings and that the extent of each one's territory was also settled. Sundara-Pāṇḍya brought about a repartition.

off and cut to pieces the horses, elephants, chariots and the fighting proud infantry. (*At seeing this*), he (*the Chōla king*), his two eyes becoming dim, fell down on the ground and fled (*from the field*), his body quaking with fear. The fierce kite ate the (*dead*) bodies of the *maṇḍalikās* (*lying stretched like*) the noisy ocean, the water of which the clouds were imbibing.¹ The chiefs of heroes cut off the white tusks and trunks of elephants in the field thinking they would serve as milk-pots to their king *Miṇavaṇ* (*i.e.*, the Pāṇḍya). Finishing the conquest, the king made the following invocation to the goddess :—" Let her who wears the *arkka* garland and huge trident, who has white teeth, red mouth and fearful black locks, who is ever pleased at seeing the dances and hearing the sounds and songs of . . . under the canopy of crows which touching the top of the sky, reaches the very region of the clouds, receive this war-oblation "

(Ll. 16—20.)—The victor, whose anger was not abated by killing kings that had not given up impermissible excesses, who for keeping up the life of his long sword gave it the water of red blood and made it shine (*forth*), who sowed white seeds of *kavaḍi* in the field of battle, who made his vassals hear the *paraṇi*² composed to celebrate all his heroic deeds, who made the earth cool with the water of his sacred bath, who, taking from his harem³ a multitude of wedded⁴ queens whose constancy to him (*ever*) remained un-impaired, and putting them on elephants' back, fastened to them fillets of gems, crowned and embraced them to his breast. Celebrated damsels like the prime queen of *Maḷavaṇ* bearing bangles holding in their jewelled hands the eight kinds of signs such as pots filled with water which the poets describe as auspicious⁵, he entered the pavilion at *Muḍikoṇḍasōlapuram* surrounded with towers whose tops were fitted with flags, set up golden pillars of victory in all the directions and put on the heroes' ankle-rings linked with the ornament of foot-chain, his feet being worshipped by northern kings holding shining javelins and wearing *vāgai*-garlands. King *Māraṇvarman* *alias* the glorious *Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva*, the emperor of the three worlds, after taking the Chōla country and performing the anointment of heroes at *Muḍikoṇḍasōlapuram*, was pleased to be seated on the lion-throne ornamented with lustrous gems, attended with the waving of lusty fly-whisks on either side, along with *Ulagamuḷuduḍaiyāl* who was praised by damsels wearing *kuḷai*⁶ and who never part from the jewelled shoulders of northern kings having armies of fine fat elephants sounding like the roaring of the ocean.

(Ll. 20—28.)—In the 20th year and 374th day of (*the reign of the king*) when he was pleased to remain on the reclining seat of *Maḷavarāyaṇ* in the hall of the bed-chamber of (*his*) palace at *Tirunelvēli* in *Kiḷ-Vēmba-nāḍu*, the *dēvakaṇṇis* wearing silk garments and observing five-fold precepts, attached to the feet of the god in the temple of *Uḍaiyār-Tirunelvēli-uḍaiyār* having orally expressed that, for meeting the daily scale of expenses of *Śokkaṇār* which *Śaṅkaraṇ Aḷagiyaperumāl* *alias* *Maḷavarāyaṇ* of *Kāḷaḍi* had worshipped and had subsequently been pleased to set up as an *āśrayaliṅga* in this temple and for offerings and unguents required during the special worship to be conducted on the day of his natal star *Śadaiyam*, one and a half *vēli* of first rate land as measured by the rod used in this village for determining taxes, from out of

¹ Comparison is intended between the cloud and the kite as well as the ocean and the dead bodies.

² *Paraṇi* is a poetical composition in praise of a chief who, at the head of battle, has killed 1,000 elephants. Many such pieces are referred to in the historical introductions of Tamil kings and these have not come down to us.

³ Provisionally, I have taken the word *tiṇaiikkaṭṭaṇam* to mean a harem.

⁴ The word *urimai* is used in the sense of ' wife, queen '.

⁵ These marks are :—*chāmara* (fly-whisk), *pūrṇa-kumbha* (pot filled with water), looking glass, *uḷḷi* (elephant-goad), *muraṣa* (drum), lamp, flag and double fish.

⁶ *Kuḷai* means an ear ornament.

the lands of **Kayattāṅkuṛuchchi**, a hamlet of **Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam** in **Muḷli-nāḍu** yielding crops in *kār* and *paśāṇam*, which was at first given as *jīvita* to **Maḷavarāyar**, the grandfather of his father for the premiership of the kingdom, and which subsequently became a *jīvita* to this (**Maḷavarāyar**) for his premiership of the kingdom, should be entered tax-free and (*its*) *antarāyam*, *uḷudāṅkuḍi*, etc., should be given as *dēvadāṇa* from the year opposite to the 20th year, and **Maḷavarāyar** having re-iterated the same to us (*i.e.*, the king), we declared that, for the expenses of the daily requirements of this god and for the requirements of offerings and unguents during the special worship to be conducted on the day of his natal star *Śadayam*, one and a half *vēli* of first rate land as measured by the rod used in this village for determining taxes from out of the lands of **Kayattāṅkuṛuchchi**, a hamlet of **Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam** in **Muḷli-nāḍu** yielding crops in *kār* and *paśāṇam* which was given as *jīvita* to **Maḷavarāyar** the grandfather of his father for the premiership of the kingdom and which subsequently became a *jīvita* to this (**Maḷavarāyar**) for the premiership of the kingdom, shall be entered tax-free and (*its*) *antarāyam*, *uḷudāṅkuḍi*, etc., given as *dēvadāṇa* from this year and that a copy of the entry in the tax-register as well as our order shall be issued : (*and therefore*) receiving this, let the expenses of daily requirements, etc., be met, and let it be so incised on stone and copper so that the same may be conducted as long as the moon and the sun last. This is the signature of **Śōraṇ Uyya-ninṇāḍuvāṇ** *alias* **Kurukulattaraiyaṇ** of **Taḍaṅgaṇnichchirṇūr** in **Tirumalli-nāḍu**. This is the signature of **Vēḍanūruḍaiyāṇ** **Araiyaṇ** **Śivallavaṇ** *alias* **Māḍavarājar** of **Veṭchiyūr** *alias* **Mummaḍiśōlanallūr** in **Kiḷ-kūrṇu** a subdivision of **Miḷalai-kūrṇam**. This is the signature of **Araiyaṇ** **Viradamuḍichchāṇ** *alias* **Pallavarājaṇ** of **Śakkarapāṇinallūr** in **Śevvirukkai-nāḍu**.

No. 11.—JAINAD STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE PARAMARA JAGADDEVA.

BY DHIRENDRA CHANDRA GANGULY, M.A., Ph.D., BENARES.

The sub-joined inscription belongs to the reign of the king Jagaddēva of the main branch of the Paramāra family, who held sway over Mālava in the latter part of the 11th century A.D. No other inscription of this monarch has hitherto been noticed. The epigraphic records of the Paramāras do not even mention his name. The new inscription is engraved on a slab of stone, now lying detached on the floor of a *maṇḍapa* attached to a temple in the village of **Jainad** about six miles north-east of **Adilābād**, in H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions. There are remains of another temple in the vicinity, and close by is a heap of carved slabs, which are reported to have been brought to this locality from a tank in the neighbourhood. Mr. Muhammad Yasin, Taluqdar of the District, brought this record to the notice of Mr. G. Yazdani, M.A., Director of Archaeology, H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions. Mr. Yazdani made a short notice of this inscription in the *Annual Report* of his Department for the year 1925-26. Its transcription with short introductory notes, prepared by Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu, and a facsimile have been embodied as Appendix B of the *Annual Report* of the above mentioned Archaeological Department for the year 1927-28, but Mr. Krishnamacharlu's reading is not free from errors. I edit this inscription with the permission of Mr. Yazdani, who very kindly sent me an ink-impression of it.

The inscription contains 28 lines of writing covering a space 1' 6½" long and 1' 4" broad. Some letters in lines 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 12, 17, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, are badly broken, and a number of letters at the beginning of the line 28 are completely effaced.

The characters are Nāgarī of the 11th century. Attention may be drawn to the forms of *sth* (in *sthira*, l. 2), *shṇ* (in *Vishṇu*, l. 4), *ksh* (in *kshīṇa*, l. 9), and *bh*. The signs for *śch*, *śva*, and *kh*, and those of *h* and *dg* are so much alike that sometimes it is very difficult to distinguish.

The language is Sanskrit, and the whole inscription with the exception of *ōm namaḥ sūryāya* at the beginning is written in prose. There are altogether 28 verses in different metres. As regards orthography the sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*; sometimes dental sibilant is used instead of palatal (e.g., *prasasti* for *praśasti*, l. 10; *rāsibhiḥ* for *rāśibhiḥ*, l. 20; *suddhō* for *śuddhō*, l. 25). The consonant following the superscript *r* is doubled, as for example, *ravēr=rvārē*, *bhānur=nairatyayam* (l. 1), etc.

The inscription records that Jagaddēva's father was Udayāditya, and his paternal uncle was the king Bhōja (v. 6). Jagaddēva is stated to have invaded the country of the Andhra king, and inflicted a severe defeat on him (v. 7). He uprooted the king of Chakradurga (v. 8), and slew many soldiers of the king of Malahara at Dōrasamudra (v. 9).¹ He also won victory over the Gūrjara warriors near the Arbuda mountain (v. 10). He conquered the king Karṇa (v. 12).

Bhōja referred to above was evidently the great king of the same name, who ruled in Mālava from about 1000 to 1055 A.D. The history of Bhōja is well known to us from other sources. The latter part of his reign was unhappy. Shortly before 1055 A.D., the Kalachuri Karṇa and the Chaulukya Bhīma I made an alliance against him, and invaded Mālava from the east and the west. When the battle was progressing, Bhōja suddenly died of a malady, and Mālava was taken possession of by the Kalachuris and the Chaulukyas². In that difficult period, Jayasimha, the son of Bhōja, sought help from the Chālukya Sōmēśvara I, king of Kalyāṇi, and with the aid of the latter's son Vikramāditya (VI) succeeded in regaining his throne by ousting Karṇa and Bhīma from Mālava³. Since that time Jayasimha remained a staunch friend of Vikramāditya, who was under his father, the governor of Banavāsī in the third quarter of the 11th century. Vikramāditya was deputed by his father to protect the interest of his empire in the south. The Eastern Chālukya Rājārāja, the king of Vēṅgī, died in 1062 A.D. His son Rājēndra II (later on Kulōttuṅga Chōla I) was too young to govern his kingdom. Vikramāditya intended to avail himself of this opportunity of conquering Vēṅgī, and organised a vast army for that purpose. Jayasimha, who was indebted to Vikramāditya for his past services, seems to have joined him in this expedition in order to help his cause. The allied armies advanced towards Vēṅgī and threatened the Eastern Chālukyas. The young Rājēndra could not resist their onslaught, and Vēṅgī fell in the hands of Vikramāditya and Jayasimha. In that predicament Vijayāditya VII, the younger brother of the deceased Rājārāja, took up the cause of his nephew, and appealed to the Chōla Virarājēndra (A.D. 1062-1069) for assistance. The Chōla king responded to his prayer and marched towards Vēṅgī at the head of a large army. He confronted his enemies on the bank of the Kistna near Bezwāda (Vijayavādī). In the action that followed the Karṇāṭas and the Paramāras were severely worsted, and the cousin (or younger brother) of Jayasimha with many other generals lost their lives. Vēṅgī was reconquered by the Chōlas, and Virarājēndra appointed Vijayāditya to rule it on behalf of Rājēndra-Chōla.⁴ The Tiruvēṅgāḍu inscription⁵ of the second year of the reign of Virarājēndra tells us that he defeated the army sent into Vēṅgaināḍu by Vikramāditya. The Karuvūr inscription⁶ of the fourth year of his reign records that 'he despatched (the banner of) the ferocious tiger into all directions and cut off the beautiful heads surrounded by garlands (won) on battle-fields, of Vāraṇ, of the [Kēraḷa], (who wore) large anklerings, (and) of the younger brother (or cousin) of Ja(na)nātha of Dhārā.' The Maṇimaṅgalam

¹ [See note 5, p. 58.—Ed.]

² Merutuṅga's *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi*, by Tawney, pp. 73-75.

³ Bilhana's *Vikramāṅka-charita*, Sarga III, v. 67.

⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 193.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

inscription¹ of the fifth year (1067 A.D.) of his reign gives us a more detailed information. It states that 'having moved (his camp), he declared :—" (We) shall not return without regaining the good country of Vēṅgai, which (we had formerly) subdued. You,² (who are) strong, come and defend (it) if (you) are able !"—That army which had for its chiefs Jananāthaṇ, the *Daṇḍanāyaka* Rājamayaṇ, whose *maṣṭ* elephants trumpeted in herds, and Mupparaśaṇ.'

Jananātha, referred to above, is in all probability identical with Jayasimha, who was at that time on the throne of Dhārā³. Others, mentioned, seem to have been officers of Vikramāditya. In the latter part of his reign, Jayasimha had to encounter a catastrophe, which was more severe than the previous one. After the death of Sōmēśvara I, his son, Sōmēśvara II, ascended the throne of Kalyāṇi in 1068 A.D. He soon entered into a quarrel with his younger brother Vikramāditya.⁴ When the Chālukya empire was threatened with a fratricidal war, Jayasimha turned against Sōmēśvara II, and probably intrigued with Vikramāditya for the overthrow of the Chālukya king. This seems to have provoked Sōmēśvara to declare war against Mālava. He made an alliance with the Chaulukya Karṇa (A.D. 1063-1094), the successor of Bhīma on the throne of Gujarāt, for the destruction of the Paramāra sovereignty, and in order to help him in his military operation despatched his general Gaṅga Udayāditya, and his feudatory, the Hoysaḷa Eṇṇayaṅga, with a large contingent. Jayasimha made a strenuous effort to defend his kingdom against this incursion of Karṇa and the Karṇāṭas but utterly failed. In the fierce battle that followed he lost his life, and Mālava was easily conquered by the invaders. During this cataclysm Udayāditya, a scion of a junior branch of the Paramāra family, who was probably a subordinate chief in the Bhilsa District, drove the invaders from Mālava with the help of the Chāhamāna Durlābha III, king of Śākambhari, and himself became the king of the country.⁵

The Nāgpur stone inscription,⁶ dated 1104 A.D., composed by Udayāditya's son Naravarman, describes Udayāditya as the '*bandhu*' of Bhōja. The inscription under discussion states that Bhōja was the '*pitṛivya*' (father's brother or cousin ; or any elderly male relation) of Jagaddēva, son of Udayāditya.

Critical examination of these two evidences leads me to suggest that Udayāditya was not the brother of Bhōja but a cousin. This gains support from an inscription⁷ of the 15th century, which records Gōndala and Śūravīra as the father and grand-father respectively of Udayāditya. The last known date of Udayāditya is 1086 A.D.⁸

The *Rās Mālā*⁹ relates that Oodayadit had two wives, one belonging to the Solunkhee dynasty and the other to the Waghela clan. By the Solunkhee queen he had a son named Jug Dev, and by the Waghela queen another son named Rindhuwul. Prince Jug Dev was an intrepid warrior, and his fame as a general spread all over India. He had three wives. The first was the daughter of Rāja Rāj, the Dak Chowra king of Took-Toda, which, since Rāja Rāj himself was blind, had

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

² This is addressed to the king who held Vēṅgi.

³ [Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar is of opinion that there is no warrant to take Jananātha figuring in inscriptions of Virarājendra as the king of Dhārā (above, Vol. XXI, p. 226, n. 3 and p. 242 and n. 2).—Ed.]

⁴ *Vikramāṅka-charita*, Introduction, p. 33, ed. by Bühler.

⁵ Above, Vol. II, p. 185 ; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 164 ; *E. C.*, Vol. V, Ak, No. 120a ; Vol. VII, Sh, No. 64 ; Vol. IV, part II, p. 19 ; Sōmēśvara's *Surathūtsava, kavi-praśasti*, v. 20 ; *Prithvīrāja-vijaya*, *Sarga* V, vv. 76-78 ; above, Vol. I, p. 236 ; author's *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, pp. 127-132.

⁶ Above, Vol. II, p. 185.

⁷ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. IX, p. 549.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1914, p. 241.

⁹ Forbe's *Rās Mālā*, Vol. I, pp. 117 ff.

been under the regency of his son Beerj. The second was the daughter of Sidh Rāj Jesīngh Dev, the king of Gujarāt, and the third was the princess of the house of Rājā Phool of Bhojnagar. Rindhuwul married the daughter of Gumbheer, a chief of Gord. Udayāditya, influenced by his Waghela queen, made Rindhuwul his heir-apparent. Jug Dev, through the jealousy of his step-mother, was reduced to poverty. He left Mālwa, and, in order to make a living, accepted military service under Sidh Rāj in Gujarāt. Within a very short time he became a favourite of his master on account of his valour and faithfulness. On one occasion he sacrificed his son, and offered his own life and that of his wife to ensure the safety of Sidh Rāj from some impending peril. Sometime afterwards, learning that Sidh Rāj was making preparations for the invasion of Mālwa, he resigned his office, and left for Dhārā in order to defend his native country. He was received with great affection by his father, who subsequently appointed him his successor superseding Rindhuwul. Soon afterwards Oodayāditya died, and Jug Dev ascended the throne of Mālwa, which he occupied for fifty years.

According to Mērutuṅga,¹ Jagaddēva entered the military service of Paramardin (a title of Vikramāditya VI), king of Kuntala, and was highly honoured by the Chaulukya Siddharāja.

The above statements of the Gujarāt chroniclers are marred by gross chronological inaccuracies. Udayāditya could not have been a contemporary of Jayasīmha-Siddharāja, who ascended the throne in 1094 A.D.² Even then Jayasīmha was a minor, and his government was under regency.³ Jagaddēva certainly did not rule for fifty-two years, since Udayāditya's another son, Naravarman, ascended the throne of Mālava sometime before 1094 A.D.⁴ and enjoyed it till 1133 A.D., when he was succeeded by his son Yaśovarman.⁵ Naravarman, in his Nāgpur stone inscription, does not make any mention of Jagaddēva, and states that he was preceded by his brother Lakshmadēva, who succeeded to the throne of Udayāditya.⁶ Lakshmadēva is not referred to in any other inscription of the Paramāras. It cannot be said definitely whether Lakshmadēva and Jagaddēva were identical person. But that Jagaddēva occupied the throne of Mālava sometime between 1086 and 1094 A.D. cannot be disputed. Two Hoysala inscriptions,⁷ one of them being dated 1196 A.D., describe him as the king of Mālava.

The inscription under review narrates the military achievements of Jagaddēva. The king is said to have won victories over the Gūrjaras near Mount Abu. The verse 10 states that 'even to-day (i.e., at the time of composing the inscription) the sound of the flood-tide of the tears of the wives of the Gūrjara warriors indicates the twang of the bow of Jagaddēva, which is nothing but the announcement of the valour of Jayasīmha.' This signifies that Jagaddēva fought under Jayasīmha against the king of Gujarāt, and the battle took place long time before the inscription was composed. In these circumstances, Jayasīmha, who was a friend of Jagaddēva, can reasonably be identified with the king of the same name, who was the son of Bhōja. Jayasīmha, as has been referred to above, drove Bhīma of Gujarāt along with the Kalachuris from Mālava with the help of Vikramāditya. Jagaddēva might have pursued the conquest further, and inflicted another defeat on Bhīma on the foot of the Mount Abu.⁸

¹ Tawney, *Prabandha-chīntāmaṇi*, p. 186, cf. Sōmēśvara's *Kīrtikaumudī*, *Sarga* II, v. 99.

² *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 174.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

⁴ *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1923-24, p. 135.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 351.

⁶ Above, Vol. II, p. 185.

⁷ *E. C.*, Vol. VI, *Tarikere Talug*, No. 45; *ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 349, p. 168.

⁸ [If the translation given by me in p. 63, n. 1, is correct then Jayasīmha referred to in v. 10 should be looked upon as an enemy and not a friend of Jagaddēva and thus cannot refer to the Paramāra Jayasīmha. The mention of Gūrjaras would tempt one to identify him with Jayasīmha Siddharāja of Anahilapātaka. This might, however, give rise to some chronological difficulty if it was true that Jayasīmha was still a minor at the time of his father's death.—Ed.]

Jagaddēva led successful raids over Andhra and Chakradurga. Andhra was the name of the country between the lower courses of the Kistna and the Godāvari, the capital of which was Vēṅgī. Chakradurga is evidently identical with Chakrakōṭa, which is situated in the modern Bastar State. During this period, Andhra was under the sway of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla, and Chakrakōṭa was ruled by a Nāga dynasty.¹ Jagaddēva probably led these expeditions during his own rule. But attention is drawn to the fact that the Paramāra Jayasimha was accompanied by his cousin (or younger brother) in his expedition against the Andhra country.² Jagaddēva, who was the cousin and general of Jayasimha, may be considered as identical with the latter.

After the invasion of Andhra, Jagaddēva might have followed Jayasimha in his campaign against Chakradurga. Kulōttuṅga-Chōla, when he was a 'Yuvarāja' (i.e., before 1070 A.D.), defeated the king of Dhārā at Chakrakōṭa. King of Dhārā, referred to, was, during that period, Jayasimha.³

Karṇa, the adversary of Jagaddēva, appears to have been the king of Gūjarāt of the same name, who ruled from 1064 to 1094 A.D. After the death of Udayāditya, Karṇa probably made an attempt to reconquer Mālava but was discomfited by Jagaddēva.

The fact of Jagaddēva's invasion of Dōrasamudra is reported also by the records of his enemies. Dōrasamudra, modern Halebid, in Mysore, was the capital of the Hoysala dynasty, the early rulers of which were subordinates to the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi. They were enemies of both Vikramāditya and Jagaddēva. The Hoysala Eṇeyāṅga, on behalf of the Chālukya Sōmēśvara II, and in alliance with the Chālukya Karṇa killed Jayasimha in battle, and conquered Mālava. The dates of the inscriptions of Eṇeyāṅga range from 1062 to 1100 A.D.⁴ He had three sons Ballāla, Viṣṇuvardhana, and Udayāditya. In the latter part of the 11th century, the Hoysalas made an attempt to throw off the yoke of subordination of the Chālukyas. But Vikramāditya determined to keep them under control. He appears to have sought the help of Jagaddēva. Jagaddēva lent his service to the Chālukya king, and being accompanied by the Karṇāṭa army, proceeded to Dōrasamudra, and besieged it. The present inscription records that he succeeded in killing a large number of soldiers of the king of Malahara at Dōrasamudra. Malahara appears to have been the ancient name of Malabar.⁵ The Hoysalas, though suffering a preliminary reverse, eventually succeeded in repulsing their enemies. In this terrible struggle the sons of Eṇeyāṅga, viz., Ballāla, Viṣṇuvardhana, and Udayāditya played magnificent parts. An inscription,⁶ dated 1196 A.D., relates that "Ballāla drove back in battle the force which came to

¹ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 178 f.

² *Vide ante*, p. 55.

³ The late Rai Bahādur Hiralal suggested that the verse of the inscription (KSL., No. 756) means that Kulōttuṅga-Chōla conquered the king Dhārā at Chakrakōṭa (above, Vol. IX, p. 179, fn. 2). But Drs. L. D. Barnett, and Wickremasinghe, of the London University, advise me to accept the interpretation of Hultzsch, viz., Kulōttuṅga-Chōla defeated the king of Dhārā at Chakrakōṭa. [The actual reading found in Kulōttuṅga's inscriptions is *Śakkarakōṭṭattu Dhārāvaraśaṇai* or *Dharavaraiśaṇai* which means 'Dhārāvaraśa or Dhārāvaraśa (i.e., Dhārāvarsha) at Śakkarakōṭṭa'.—Ed.]

⁴ *E. C.*, Vol. VI, introduction, p. 11; *ibid.*, Vol. V, Ak, No. 102a. [It is uncertain if the date given at the top of the inscription before the invocatory verse is the date of the record. Only if this were so, Eṇeyāṅga's last date can be taken as A.D. 1100.—Ed.]

⁵ [Malahara is nowhere known as the ancient name of Malabar. *Malaharakshōṇīśa* in v. 9 seems to be the translation of the Kanarese epithet *Malaparol-gaṇḍa* a title assumed by the Hoysala rulers. *Malapa* or *Malaha* was the name of a hill tribe to the family of whose chiefs the Hoysalas probably originally belonged (cf. *E. C.*, Vol. VI, Introduction, p. 14). *Ra* in Malahara is the genitive termination in Kanarese. This way of retaining the original termination in the later Sanskritised forms occur even in earlier inscription, cf. for example *śāhānushāhi* in the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta where *ānu* is to be taken as the original Saka termination used in the genitive plural.—Ed.]

⁶ *E. C.*, Vol. VI, Tk., No. 45.

attack him, so that even the Mālava emperor, Jagaddēva, whose proud elephant he made to scream out, said 'Well done horseman'; to which he replied, 'I am not only a horseman, I am Vira-Ballāla', and by his slaughter excited the astonishment of the world." The Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa inscription,¹ dated 1159 A.D., states that "Vishṇu, powerful like Yama, striking with his hand, drank up all at once the rolling ocean, the army of the Mālava king, Jagaddēva, and others sent by the emperor (i.e., Vikramāditya VI)". The Belur Taluk inscription,² dated 1117 A.D., registers the fact that "in Dōrasamudra they (Vishṇu, and Ballāla) defeated the army of Jagaddēva, painted the goddess of Victory with the blood of his elephants for vermilion, and captured his treasury together with the central ornament of his necklace." The Hoysala Narasimha I's inscription,³ dated 1164 A.D., records that the three brothers, Ballāla, Vishṇu, and Udayāditya destroyed the army of Jagaddēva in Dōrasamudra. The earliest known date of the record⁴ containing the report of Jagaddēva's defeat is 1100 A.D.

Jagaddēva seems to have later on entered into a quarrel with Vikramāditya, as the result of which the latter had to surrender the northern part of his dominion to the Paramāras. A pillar bearing an inscription⁵, dated 1087 A.D., of the reign of Vikramāditya VI, is lying in the village of Sitabaldi, 6 miles to the east of the city of Nāgpur. Though there is nothing in the inscription to indicate that the kingdom of the Chālukyas extended up to Nāgpur in that period, the existence of the pillar there strongly suggests to that effect. If this proves to be true, Jainad, where the new inscription was discovered, was evidently within the dominion of the Chālukyas about that time. Jainad is situated few miles south of the Penganga. As the stone, bearing the inscription, is an ordinary slab, there is less likelihood of its being carried there from a great distance. In all probability, it belonged to one of the temples in that locality. If my suggestion proves to be true, it is to be maintained that the Paramāra kingdom extended at least up to the Adilābād District in the latter part of the 11th century. The Nāgpur stone inscription,⁶ dated 1104 A.D., likewise suggests that Vikramāditya VI lost his hold over that part of the country sometime before that time. This new acquisition of territories was, in all likelihood, made by Jagaddēva.

Jagaddēva was a handsome person. The Paramāra Arjunavarman, in his *Rasikasamjivini*,⁷ states that his predecessor, Jagaddēva, was very graceful, and that his beauty is described by Nachirāja. Sāmalavarman, the king of east Bengal, married Mālavyadēvi, the daughter of Jagaddēva.⁸

The object of the inscription is to record that Padmāvatī, the wife of Lōlārka, erected the temple of Nimbāditya, in the city, the name of which is not mentioned. Lōlārka was the minister of Jagaddēva, and appears to have been enjoying that position since the time of Udayāditya. His father was Guṇarāja, and his grand-father was Mahēndu whose wife was Śuṅgā. All of them belonged to the Dāhima family.

The poet *Aśvatthāmā* composed the verses of the inscription.

TEXT:

[Metres : vv. 1, 20, *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 2, 3, 7-12, 14, 15, 18, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 4, 16, 17, 19, *Sragdharā* ; vv. 5, 6, *Upajāti* and v. 13, *Mandākrāntā*.]

1. [ओ] नमः सूर्य्य ॥ अकल्पेति रवेर्वारि निम्ब(म्ब)पुष्पोद्गमैरयं । प्रत्ययं
पूरयन्मनुर्विरत्यमुप्रास्यतां ॥१॥ तं वन्देमहि वारुणीजस-

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Ins. at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, No. 349, p. 168.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Bl., No. 58.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Ng., No. 30.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Ak., No. 34. [In this inscription Jagaddēva is not described as the king of Mālava.—Ed.]

⁵ Above, Vol. III, p. 304.

⁶ Above, Vol. II, p. 185.

⁷ P. 8.

⁸ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. X, p. 127.

- 2 निधेर्वैलावनालीस्थिरस्थानं स्थाणुमभेद्यमाद्यममितच्छायातिमात्रोच्छ्रयं । उन्मी-
लन्ति व(ब)हिः प्ररोहसमये यस्य त्रिलोकीच्छलान्मध्ये-
- 3 व्योम[दिग]न्तरालमतुलाः शाखाशिखापङ्क्तवाः ॥२॥ तद्भूभंगविचेष्टितं भगवतो
भर्गस्य भव्याय वो भूयाङ्गहुरिताङ्गुली किसलये पाणौ ध-
- 4 नुः पश्यतः । दग्धुं [त्री]णि पुराणि पन्नग[श]तैर्ज्यावङ्गिता लम्बिते यत्राविर्भवति
स्म भास्वरशरव्याजेन विष्णोर्वपुः ॥३॥ आसीदाशीर्वचोभिः सक-
- 5 लमुनिजनैर्मनितो मे[दिनीन्द्रे] राजा सुद्रां वहङ्गिः शिरसि व(ब)हुविधैर्वो(र्वो)धित-
श्चाटुवादैः । विश्वामित्रप्रतापव्यपनयनिपुणः प्राप्तजन्मा
- 6 वसिष्ठध्यानाङ्गमध्व[जाच्च] त्रिभुवनविदितः सत्वसारः प्रमारः ॥४॥ तदन्वये
सान्वयनामधेयः श्रीमान् जगद्देव इति क्षितीशः । अभूद-
- 7 भूपालदिगन्तराला[न]र्माणनिर्व्यूढभुजश्रमोयं(यम्) ॥५॥ यस्योदयादित्यनृपः पिता
सीद्देवः पितृव्यः स च भोजराजः । विरेजतुर्यौ
- 8 वसुधाधिपत्यप्राप्तप्रतिष्ठाविव पुष्पवन्तौ ॥६॥ अन्ध्राधीशमृगीदृशः पतिपरित्यक्ताक्षिरं
यच्चमूवाहव्यूहसुराग्रखण्डित-
- 9 भुवि क्षीणाः खलन्त्योध्वनि । नीयन्ते नवनीतकोमलपदास्ताम्रप्रभैः पङ्क्तवै-
र्दक्षालं व(ब)नमम्बु(म्बु)धेः परिसरक्षीणलताश्रेणिभिः ॥७॥ क्री-
- 10 डोच्चटितचक्रदुर्गानृपतेरद्यापि यस्यान्नया दण्डानीतगजैर्द्रदानसलिलैर्न्यस्तां प्रस(श)-
स्तिं परां । निर्व्यावृत्ति पठन्ति कण्ठलुठितैः कैः
- 11 कैर्चिनादैर्नदा शैलोपान्तवसुन्धरासु विपिनोत्तंगेषु भृङ्गाङ्गनाः ॥८॥ मध्ये दीरसमुद्र-
मद्रिशिखराकारां कपालावलीमालोक्च
- 12 [दि]रदे^१द्रदन्तमुसलप्रान्तस्सृसां^२ प्रेयसां । साक्रदैः प्रतिमन्दिरं मलहरक्षीणीस^३चित्तो-
दरे शूलं [प]ङ्क्तवयन्ति वा[ष्प]सलिलैर्यद्देहिणां व-
- 13 जभाः ॥९॥ आश्चर्यं जयसिंहविक्रमकथा स्वाध्यायसध्या^४घनध्वानं यस्य धनुर्ह-
(हृ)निं नरपतेर्व्यञ्जन्ति विस्तारिणः । अद्याप्यर्बुदपर्वतोदर-
- 14 दरीदारेषु रात्रिदिवं क्रन्दनूर्जरवीरवर्गवनितावाष्पाम्बु(म्बु)पूरोर्मयः^५ ॥१०॥ एक-
त्राङ्गुतयुद्धमूर्धनि धनुःसन्धानधीरः करः कीर्तिं कन्दल-
- 15 य[क्ष]यक्षविरतो यस्सारिसर्वङ्गयः । अन्यत्राम्बु(म्बु)धिवीचिकांचिवसुधामध्ये मधुस्य-
न्दिभिः सूक्तैः सत्कवयः शतं व्यवसिताः स्तोतुं तथाप्यक्षमाः ॥११॥

^१ Read *dvirad-éndra*.^२ Read *kekhōnīsa*.^३ Read *sandhyā*.^४ Read *apritam*.^५ Read *vāshpa*.^६ [See note 1, p. 63.—Ed.]

- 16 उत्पन्नः प्रतिपन्नकर्णनृपतेर्यस्यैक एवोचितः संसारोदरसारसंग्रहसहाध्यायो निधिः
पायसां । यस्या[भ्य]र्णनिष[भ्र]¹पण्डितशताला-
- 17 पान्निशम्यानिशं² [नि]:शंकः कलराजहन्स(हंस)विरुतै[रद्या]प्यमन्दोत्सवः ॥१२॥
कीर्त्तः पात्रं प्रकृतिपुरुषः पौरुषोत्कर्षभूमिर्भूमेर्भर्तुः भुवनजयि-
- 18 न³ स्वस्य मूर्त्तः प्रतापः । श्रीलोलार्कः समजनि जगद्वज्रभो वा(बा)लभावादा-
रभ्येष प्रथितमहसामन्वये दाहिमानां ॥१३॥ एकामेव मनो-
- 19 हरामभिनवोल्लेखेन रे[स्ता]मुखा⁴ शुंगाम्प्राप्य महेन्दुरित्यभिधया वोतान्य⁵विस्फूर्जितः ।
लोके यस्य पितामहः शुचिमहःपुञ्जनिजिज्ञाट-
- 20 यत्वाद्यापि द्विपदन्तकुंदकुमुदच्छायैर्यशोरासिभिः⁶ ॥१४॥ आसीद्यस्य पिता पितामह-
सुखान्भोजैश्चतुर्भिश्चिरं गीतः श्रीगुणराज इत्यति-
- 21 शयाद्विशेषु वीराग्रणीः । एकः शूरसहस्रसाक्षिणि रणे क्षोदक्षमः [सार्जु]नः⁸ प्रौढः
पल्लवयं(यन्) प्रतापमुदयादित्यस्य नित्यप्रियः ॥
- 22 १५॥ [च]ञ्चिच्चिच्चिच्चिच्चपटपटलैः पाण्डुरैरातपत्रैः पंक्तिन्यस्तैरपास्तप्रलयघनरवे-
र्भूमिदक्कानिनादैः । जा(जा)यन्ते यस्य सैन्यान्यविर-
- 23 लतरलैर्वाजिभिर्वज्रपुंजप्रा[यैः] प्रासासिपाशप्रणयिभिरपरैरखवारैश्च वीरैः ॥१६॥
शा[ल]प्रान्मु[ः](प्रांशुः) सितांशुप्रतिनिधिवदनः पद्मपत्रायताक्षः
- 24 पीनां[सो] दीर्घवाहुः कनकगिरिशिलासन्निभोरस्त्रलक्ष [।] वाह्व्यू[ह]हेषारवकिसलयित-
श्रीचमूच्छेषु गच्छन्वो मध्ये राजपुत्रेष्वपि व(ब)हुषु परि-
- 25 ज्ञायते रेखयैव ॥१७॥ सुहो⁹ वाचि शुचिर्मनस्व[जि]¹⁰ जगद्देव[प्रतोषेरिह इंद-
इंदहर]¹¹वमन्ननुदिनं वा(बा)ल्यात्प्रभृत्येव यः । चञ्चच्चाभरम-
- 26 न्तरेण महतीं रा[ष्ट्र]त्रियं निश्चलां वि(वि)भ्राणः ८ ८—८¹²दलयति द्वेषस्पृशः
पार्थिवान् ॥१८॥ तत्पत्नी पद्मपत्रायतनयनयुगा पद्म-
- 27 [संकाश][वक्त्रा] नाम्ना पद्मावतीति त्रिजगति विदिता [रागतः खेत]पद्मा ।
एतस्मिन्नग्रहारे हठहृतकलुषे कारयामास निम्वादित्यप्रासाद-

¹ Read *nishanṇa*.² Read *jayinaḥ*.³ Read *vaitānya*.⁴ Read *mukh-āmbhōjais*.⁵ Read *suddhō*.⁶ Mr. K. reads *satānām nā*.⁷ Read *mukhām*.⁸ Read *rāśibhiḥ*.⁹ [Probably we have to read: *kshōḍa-kshamaḥ (ma)ś-*
ch=Arjunah.—Ed.]¹⁰ Read *śuchir=manasaḥ=api*.¹¹ The reading of the portion with in the brackets is extremely doubtful. It is given by Mr. K. It can be stated with tolerable certainty that there is no such word as *pratōshair=īha*. The facsimile reads *patē ८ ha*, and there is no space for two letters between *tē* and *ha*. The expression *dvam̐dvam̐ dvam̐dva-haraṇ* does not yield any plausible sense. [Reading seems to be *dvam̐dvam̐ dvam̐dva-haraṇ*, etc., which might mean, bowing to the couple (i.e., Siva and Pārvatī) destroying the two bad qualities (*viz.*, passion and ignorance).—Ed.]¹² Here the letters look like *pra sa ८ va ८* [Reading is *prasabdhā=ayam*.—Ed.]

indicates fully the twang of his bow, as if it were the deep sound of the recitation of *mantras* in the form of the stories of the valour of **Jayasimha**.¹

(V. 11.) On the one hand, in front of the wonderful conflict, his hand, capable of totally destroying his enemies, and skilled in fitting the bow, does not stop acquiring fame, on the other hand, the poets by hundred in the land which has the waves of the ocean as its girdle, are engaged in praising him with honey-oozing hymns, but even then are unable (*to tether the vastness of his glory*).

(V. 12.) It was he who subdued the king **Karṇa** and produced² the only fitting lake which rivalled the ocean in collecting beautiful gems in the cavern of the universe. The swans, even now, having heard the hundreds of learned men discoursing together sitting close to it (*i.e.*, the lake) continue without fear, the celebration of his victory.

(V. 13.) There was born in the renowned family of **Dāhima**s an illustrious personage named **Lōlārka**, who, ever since his very childhood, had been dear to the world, who was a repository of fame and excellent valour, who was bravery incarnate, and was a minister of **Udayāditya**, the lord of the earth, and the conqueror of the world.

(V. 14.) His grand-father was **Mahēndu** by name, who, having obtained the only beautiful lady **Suṅgā**, referred to with ever new words of praise and (*bearing auspicious*) marks on her face shone by the sacrificial glamour, and even now gives expression to his pure brilliance in this world with his accumulated fame shining (*white*) like the tusks of elephants, *kunda* flowers, and lotuses.

(V. 15.) His father was **Guṇarāja**, who, on account of his excellence, was the leader of the warriors of the (*three*) worlds, was ever praised by the four lotus-like mouths of **Brahmā**, who (**Guṇarāja**) was mature, was like **Arjuna** alone capable of standing (*any*) test in a battle, witnessed by thousands of warriors, and who, having increased his valour, became ever dear to **Udayāditya**.

(V. 16.) His armies are known by many waving banners with various designs, by white umbrellas arranged in a line, by loud beatings of (*war-*) drums that could drown even the sound of thundering clouds at the time of the destruction (*of the universe*), by the horses glittering incessantly like a heap of diamonds, and by the riders with lances, swords and nooses.

(V. 17.) Tall like a *Śāla* tree, with his face representing the moon, with his eyes broad like the petals of lotuses, his shoulders bulky, arms long, and chest like the stone of the **Kanaka**-mountain, he was clearly recognised by these marks among many princes whose ears resembling young shoots were deafened by the neighing of the multitudes of his horses.

(V. 18.) He was, to the satisfaction of **Jagaddēva**, truthful and pure-hearted, and ever since his childhood he had been paying obeisance to **Śiva** every day. He maintaining the great and steady royal prosperity, without (*the privilege of the use of*) waving chowries (*only*), crushed forcibly the inimical kings.

(V. 19.) His wife named **Padmāvati**, resembling **Lakshmī** in beauty, with lotus-like face, with a pair of eyes wide like petals of a lotus, famous in all the three worlds, built this palace (*i.e.*, temple) of **Nimbāditya** in this city, the corruptions of which were removed by forec.....

(V. 20.) May this heart-touching composition of the poet **Aśvatthāman** secure association of the ears of the (*people of this*) world with its responsibility placed upon the learned.

¹ [The proper translation of the verse seems to be:—"It is strange that even to-day the extending waves of the flood of tears of the wives of the **Gūṛjara** heroes weeping night and day in the cave entrances of the **Arbuda** mountain, indicate the twang of the bow of this king which was (*on the other hand*) the evening thunder in the study of the accounts of **Jayasimha**'s valour". The *Smṛitis* enjoin that the study of the **Vēdas** should be stopped when there is an evening thunder, cf. *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti* (T. S. S.), I. 144.—Ed.]

² *i.e.*, dug out.

No. 12.—A NEW COPPER PLATE OF DHRUVA II OF THE GUJARAT RASHTRAKUTA
BRANCH, DATED SAKA 806.

By A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., D. LITT., BENARES.

The grant of Dhruva II of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa branch, which is here being edited for the first time, has been neither referred to nor published so far. The set of copper plates on which the grant has been engraved belongs to Mr. Pratapbhai H. Barot of Santa Cruz, Bombay, who very kindly forwarded them to me (through Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar of the Calcutta University) for decipherment and publication.

The plates are three in number. Their size, which is fairly uniform, is 11·8"×8·3". The thickness is about ·1". The edges of the plates have been raised into rims in order to protect the characters engraved. The plates are strung together by means of a ring passing through holes perforated at the centre of the upper sides of the plates, about ·3" from the rims. The ring, which is $\frac{3}{8}$ " in thickness, has an inner diameter of 2". Its ends have been soldered together by means of a seal, being 2" in height and 1½" in diameter at the bottom. Countersunk in its surface is a seated figure, 1" in height, holding hooded snakes in either hand. This is undoubtedly to be identified with the figure of Garuḍa, which is found on many other copper plate grants of the Rāshtrakūṭas. The seal bears no writing.

The grant is engraved on the inner sides of the first and third plates and on both the sides of the second. The whole of the record does not seem to have been engraven by one and the same mason. The first plate and the first side of the second one are by the same hand; the latter has no doubt more lines with greater number of letters in each than the former, but this is probably because the mason had at this stage realised that unless economy in space was made, the record could not be finished in three plates. The second side of the second plate and the third plate show a distinctly different and less elegant duct of engraving and are almost certainly by a different engraver.

The plates are in a fairly good state of preservation. In a few cases, some letters have been damaged but they can be made out from the traces left behind. The surface of the plates has been dressed fairly well, but in a few cases there still remain natural depressions, due to which in some places marks have appeared in the ink-impression which look like letters or medial vowels. Thus at the end of l. 26, the plates have clearly *-machirāsvapadē* only; but the ink-impression shows *-machirāt=svapadē* owing to a depression on the surface to the left of *sva* which looks like *t*. In ll. 36 and 39 the mason has correctly engraved *param* and *mayā* respectively, but owing to a depression on the surface after the letters *ra* and *ma* the facsimile show *parām* and *māyā* respectively. In l. 56 the letter *vi* in *vidyul-lōlāni* appears like *di* in the facsimile owing to the same cause.

In this document the engraving of individual letters is distinct, but every line is full of several blunders because the mason did not obviously understand what he was copying. Otherwise he would not have written *sūrya-mutās-cha māvaḥ* for *sūrya-sutās-cha gāvaḥ* in l. 61. The climax in this respect is reached at the end of the l. 40 and the beginning of l. 41 where the mason has engraved *bhagavach-chudh-ādhishṭhānē* for *bhagavad-Buddh-ā*. It would appear that the copy issued from the secretariate was written in a careless handwriting; the masons, who engraved the document, could not make out all the letters and wrote what they believed to be written on the manuscript before them. The State Record Office did not care to revise and correct the innumerable mistakes committed during engraving.

In Gujarāt during the 9th century two scripts were current, one was the proto-Dēvanāgarī and the other was the lineal descendant of the 'Valabhī' alphabet. The characters of this

record belong to the first variety. The signature of Dhruva II, who issued the plates, is, however, engraved in south Indian old-Kanarese characters as is the case with the sign manuals of Karkka and Dhruva I of the Gujarāt branch on their Nausārī¹ and Baroda² plates respectively. There can be no doubt that in these records, as in the present one, the masons are imitating the actual duct of the handwriting of the donors. It is therefore clear that even as late as 884 A.D., the date of the present record, the members of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa royal family were accustomed to write in a script which was current neither in northern India, nor in Gujarāt, nor in Mahārāshṭra but in Karṇāṭak. This circumstance is in my opinion very important for determining the home of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkhed. If the original home of the family were in northern India as Fleet had first suggested,³ or in Mahārāshṭra as Mr. C. V. Vaidya opines,⁴ we cannot understand how the princes deputed to rule over Gujarāt could have been using south Indian old-Kanarese script as their mother script.⁵ It is true that as early as 770 A.D., the Rāshtrakūṭa empire had embraced practically the whole of Karṇāṭak including the State of Mysore. But if the royal family had originally belonged to Mahārāshṭra or to northern India, its members deputed to rule over Gujarāt and domiciled there for more than a century, would not have continued to use for their sign manual a script current neither in Rājputāna, nor in Mahārāshṭra, nor in Gujarāt, but in the far-off Karṇāṭak. Karkka was carrying on the administration of the empire at Mālkhed for a long time during the minority of Amoghavarsha I. He and perhaps his son Dhruva I may therefore have picked up the old-Kanarese script, prevailing at Mālkhed, and even used it for their sign manuals in their grants. But by the time of the present grant the Gujarāt branch had long ceased to have any intimate connection with Mālkhed, and the donor of the present grant, Dhruva II, would not have used old-Kanarese characters for his signature, if the former had not been the mother script of the family, carefully preserved by its members even after their domicile in Gujarāt for more than a hundred years.⁶ The fact that Kṛishṇa III of the Imperial Rāshtrakūṭa house should have used in his Jura inscription⁷ Kanarese characters and language to proclaim his victories to the people of Bundelkhand, would also show that the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkhed originally belonged to Karṇāṭak, rather than to Mahārāshṭra or Telangana or Northern India. The whole question of the home of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkhed cannot be discussed here⁷; attention is merely drawn to the light which the sign manuals of the present and some other records of the Gujarāt branch throw on the subject.

A few points of palaeographical interest may be noted here. *Om* at the beginning of the record is denoted by the usual symbol. Two forms of the letter *ra* have been used side by side, cf. *rājasu rāja-simhaḥ*, l. 3; the same is the case with the letter *śa*, cf. *śa* in *Śatakratu*, l. 7, with the *śas* in *Śatakratu-sadriśaḥ* in l. 8. The form of the letter *ksha* is highly cursive in some cases, cf. *kshas* in *vaidhavya-daksha* and *kshaṇa-raṇa* in l. 14; in other cases, however, the constituent elements of this conjunct can be clearly distinguished, cf. *lakshmīmān*, l. 24. The record contains final *t* and *m*, but the sign of *virāma* has been written in two different ways. In *bhūt*, l. 11, and *sarīt*, l. 44, *t* is denoted by a vertical with a slight notch or protrusion on the left; in *vallabhō-bhūt*,

¹ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX, pp. 135 ff.

² Ind. Ant., Vols. XII, pp. 158 ff., and XIV, pp. 169 ff.

³ Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 384. In ante, Vol. VII, pp. 223-6 he abandons this view and suggests that Lātūr may have been their home.

⁴ History of the Medieval Hindu India, Vol. II, pp. 152-53.

⁵ The fact that the signature of the present donor in his Bagumrā grant, dated 867 A.D. (Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, pp. 181 ff.) and in Dantidurga's grant of the same year (Ante, Vol. VI, pp. 287 ff.), is in proto-Dēvanāgarī characters is obviously due to no attempt being made there to copy the precise script used by the kings.

⁶ Ante, Vol. XIX, pp. 287 ff..

⁷ See Altekar : The Rashtrakutas and their Times, pp. 21-5.

l. 20, and *dadyāt*, l. 62, a different symbol of two curves, the larger being above the smaller, is used to denote the same. This very symbol but in the reversed form, the smaller curve being above the larger, has been used to denote *m* in *chitrām* in l. 37 : while in the case of *m* in *kumudānām* in l. 71, the *virāma* is written as in modern Dēvanāgarī. When the same words like *yasya* and *tasya* occur consecutively twice in ll. 64 and 65, the numeral 2 is used after the word to indicate that it is to be repeated in reading. The *avagraha* has been denoted in one place only by the modern Dēvanāgarī symbol in *dēyō-'chāṭa*, l. 47.

The language of the record is Sanskrit throughout. Engraver's blunders apart, there are only a few mistakes in *sandhi* as noted in the next paragraph. The formal part of the record is in prose ; the rest of it is in poetry excepting the letter *ōm* at the beginning and the words *tathā ch-ōktaṁ Rāmabhadreṇa* in ll. 64-65.

Orthography calls for a few remarks only. (1) *Va* has been throughout used for *ba*. (2) Consonants in conjunction with a preceding *r* have usually been doubled (cf. °*r-gōvīndarājō*, l. 3, °*r-ārti-ārti-*, l. 5, etc.) with a few exceptions (cf. °*r-bhṛityaiḥ*, l. 9, *sārtha* and *Pārtha*, l. 25). (3) The *anusvāra* is preferably indicated by a dot ; if the following letter is a dental, it is usually changed into *n*, but in no place has it been changed to a *ñ* or *ṇ* before a following guttural or palatal. (4) The rules of *sandhi* are usually observed, but there are a few exceptions. In vv. 19 and 20 the last letters of the first verse-halves have been coalesced with the first letters of the second verse-halves, and in l. 21 we find a *sandhi* made between the last letter of the v. 15 and the first letter of the v. 16.

The date of the record is given in words in ll. 49-50, but the expression giving it is defective. After making the necessary grammatical corrections the expression reads as follows : *Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-śatēṣhu śhaḍ-uttarēṣhu*. The most important word denoting the number of centuries has been omitted by inadvertence. There can be, however, no doubt that the expression was intended to be °*saṁvatsara-śatēṣhu=ashtasu śhaḍ-uttarēṣhu* and that the record was issued in Śaka 806. This date falls between the latest date of the grantor, known at present, Śaka 799 (supplied by the plates of Dantivarman¹), and the earliest known date of his successor, Śaka 810, supplied by his Bagumrā plates.² Astronomical calculations also confirm this conclusion, for the *Dhanus-saṅkrānti* of Śaka 806 (elapsed) did actually take place on the second day of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha as stated in the record. The year had an intercalary month, and so *Dhanus-saṅkrānti* occurred in Mārgaśīrsha instead of Pausa, as is usually the case. The corresponding date according to the Christian Era is the 23rd of November 884 A.D. The record thus supplies a new date for Dhruva II, the significance of which will be soon brought out.

The object of the present charter is to inform us that when Dhruva Dhārāvaraha, son of Akālavarsha, was encamped at Śrīkhēṇa(ṭa)ka, i.e., modern Kaira, he granted a village named Dhaḍayāsaha, to the Buddhist vihāra of Kāmpilya. It may be pointed out that this is the same vihāra, which had received a donation seven years earlier from Dantivarman, a younger brother of the present grantor.³ It is tempting to suggest, as has been done by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, that Kāmpilya of this record is identical with the ancient Kāmpilya, situated in Farrukhābād district of U. P., but such is not the case. Kāmpilya of U. P. is of hoary antiquity, while Kāmpilya of this record is said to have been founded by a Buddhist monk of the same name. The former is situated in Farrukhābād district, but Kāmpilya of this record was situated in the ancient district of Kāntāragrāma, which is identical with Katargām, situated on the

¹ *Ante*, Vol. VI, pp. 287 ff.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 65 ff.

³ *Ante*, Vol. VI, pp. 287 ff.

outskirts of Surat. We must therefore look for our Kāmpilya in Surat district. Our record informs us in ll. 40 and 41 that Kāmpilya-*tīrtha* was situated on the Maddāpī, flowing in Kāntāragrāma district. This Maddāpī river seems to be the same as the Mindhōlā river, which flows in Surat district and joins the Arabian Sea about 10 miles to the south of Surat. I would suggest, not without some hesitation, that Kāmpilya-*tīrtha* of our record, situated on the Maddāpī in Kāntāragrāma district is very probably the village Kāpliā situated on the southern bank of the Mindhōlā, about 25 miles east of Katargām. Kāpliā may be an *apabhraṃśa* of Kāmpilya, or Kāmpilya may be a Sanskritised form of the Prakrit name Kāpliā.

Buddhism was on the decline in the western presidency at the time of Yuan Chwang's visit, and it is interesting to note that we come across very few grants recording donations to Buddhist establishments subsequent to the departure of this Chinese traveller. Kāmpilya monastery of Gujarāt probably represented one of the last strongholds of Buddhism. Our record states that 500 monks were residing in this monastery in 884 A.D. Whether this number 500 is a real number, or whether it is a conventional one like that of the disciples of the Buddha mentioned in Buddhist sacred literature, is difficult to determine.

No information is available about the monk Kāmpilya who was the founder of this monastery. The grant was made at the request of the monk Sthiramati,¹ who seems to have been the presiding abbot of the monastery in 884 A.D.

The opening verse of the record contains a salutation to the gospel of the Buddha. The next 31 verses give the genealogy of the Rāshtrakūṭa line. Of these vv. 2-16 describe the rulers of the main line, and the rest those of the Gujarāt branch. Only a few points need be mentioned about the account of the main line supplied by this record. The genealogy begins with Gōvinda I, his father Indra and grandfather Dantivarman being left out. None of the verses in this record is a new one, and except in the case of Dantidurga, no specific historic exploit is described in connection with any of the emperors of the main line. The account is brought down to Amōghavarsha I. Kṛishṇa II of the main line, who had succeeded his father before the issue of this grant, is passed over, probably because his accession being recent, the secretariate in Gujarāt had not yet got any verses ready in his eulogy. The hostility between the two houses had ceased by this time, and therefore that would not have been the cause of the omission of the name of Kṛishṇa II, especially when we remember that his father, who was the cause of the war, is duly mentioned in the record.

The account becomes more specific with v. 17 when the history of the Gujarāt branch commences. Here also none of the verses is new; they all occur either in the Baroda plates of the donee's grandfather² or in his own Bagumrā plates.³ A few points, however, deserve to be discussed in order to remove some current misunderstandings about the history of the Gujarāt branch. Like most other records, this document also does not mention the prince Gōvinda (a younger brother of king Karkka), who had issued the Kāvi plates in 827 A.D.⁴ This circumstance had led Dr. Hultzsch to suggest that he was a usurper against Karkka and is therefore passed over in the charters issued by his successors.⁵ Dr. Bühler's view was also the same; he thought that the omission of Gōvinda's name was intentional and was meant as punishment for

¹ The syntax is rather peculiar here. The text reads as *Sthiramati-nāmnā bhikṣuṇ-āvarjya cha*. From what precedes and follows this clause, we expect here a clause in dative, stating that the monastery was presided over by so and so. Instead we have an absolutive clause, meaning 'being inclined, i.e., induced (to make the gift) (*āvarjya*) by the monk Sthiramati,' who was obviously the chief of the establishment. [*Ā-ṛij* may also mean 'to choose' or 'to bring into possession'; *āvarjya* here probably signifies 'being accepted.'—Ed.]

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 158 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 145 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 181 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 197.

his disloyalty.¹ This opinion of these two distinguished scholars seems to be untenable. It is now shown by the v. 26 of the Sanjān record of Amōghavarsha that he was born at Śrībhavana or Sarbhon in southern Gujarāt in c. 808 A.D., when his father was encamped there at the end of his northern expedition. He was thus a boy of about 6 at the time of his accession. His uncle Karkka was his guardian in his minority. He had to fight hard to reinstate his cousin when the feudatories had rebelled against him; it is therefore clear that he must have spent most of his time at the imperial capital Mālkhed, down to 827 A.D., when the Kāvi plates were issued, if not till a later date. Karkka therefore had naturally to select a deputy to rule Gujarāt on his behalf during his long and continuous absence from his own capital. He had no doubt a grown up son, Dantivarman by name, who is mentioned as the *dūtaka* in his Baroda plates of 812 A.D.² But since Karkka was succeeded not by Dantivarman but by Dhruva, it is clear that Dantivarman predeceased him and died very young. V. 20 of the present record further suggests that Dhruva was born to Karkka probably in his old age after he had spent many a sleepless night owing to his anxiety for having a son. In c. 820 A.D. it is therefore clear that Karkka had no son old enough to be deputed to govern Gujarāt, and therefore his choice naturally fell on his younger brother Gōvinda who was old enough to be entrusted with office as early as 812 A.D.³ It is worth noting that the Kāvi plates of Gōvinda do not mention his succession at all.⁴ He was merely a princely regent appointed by his brother. The later records of the Gujarāt line omit his name, because he was a collateral who had never ascended the throne, and not because he was a usurper. In his Kāvi plates Gōvinda devotes as many as full four verses to the praise of his elder brother Karkka, and two of these, which contain a genuine and heartfelt tribute to his administration, do not occur in any grant either of Karkka himself or of any of his successors.⁵ Is it likely that a usurper or a rebel would go out of his way to describe in glowing terms the administration, of the king whom he had ousted? Nor could Gōvinda have been a rebel against Amōghavarsha I. It is true that the Kāvi plates take the genealogy of the main line to Gōvinda III and omit altogether the reigning sovereign Amōghavarsha I. But this omission must be regarded as accidental, for if Gōvinda had been a rebel against Amōghavarsha, he could not have been an admirer or friend of his elder brother Karkka, who was Amōghavarsha's guardian responsible for his restoration. It is clear that all the known facts can be best explained on the assumption that Gōvinda of the Kāvi plates was Karkka's deputy, governing the Gujarāt kingdom on behalf of his brother, while he was absent at Mālkhed during Amōghavarsha's minority.

Vv. 20-31 describe the reign of Dhruva I, Akālarvarsha I, and his son, the grantor, Dhruva II. All these three kings were engaged in a continuous war with a king named simply as Vallabha in this and other records. This Vallabha can be none other⁶ than Amōghavarsha I of

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 181.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 158 ff.

³ See Tōrkhdē plates, *ante*, Vol. III, p. 57.

⁴ [Similarly this inscription also does not explicitly mention the succession of Dhruva I but we cannot infer from it that he never succeeded.—Ed.]

⁵ Cf. one of these (after the necessary corrections):—

Saurājya-jalpē chalitē prasāṅgān-nidarśanaṁ viśvajānīna-sampat | prājyaṁ Balēḥ pūrvam=akō babhūva kṣhitāv, idānīm tu nripasya tasya || v. 32.

⁶ This ruler cannot be the Rāshtrakūṭa chief Parabala, mentioned in the Paṭhāri pillar inscription dated 861 A.D. (*ante*, Vol. IX, pp. 248 ff.). This record no doubt mentions that an elder brother of Parabala's grandfather had conquered Lāta, after conquering a Kaṛṇāṭaka army, and that Parabala himself had inflicted a crushing defeat on a king called Nāgāvalōka. The record, however, does not mention Vallabha as an epithet either of Parabala or of any of his ancestors. The conquest of Lāta ascribed to the unnamed elder brother of Parabala's grandfather, supposing it was real, must have taken place much earlier than 835 A.D. after which this war occurred; for Parabala himself was ruling in 861 A.D. The name of the opponent of Parabala himself was Nāgāvalōka, and there is no evidence to show that it was an epithet of any member of the Gujarāt branch.

the main Rāshtrakūṭa line, who was a contemporary of all these three rulers. *Prithivīvallabha* and *Lakshmīvallabha* appear as his *vallabha*-ending epithets in his Sanjān plates and Nilgund inscription.¹ It would appear that the cordial relations existing between the main line and the Gujarāt branch came to an end soon after 835 A.D.² Either Amōghavarsha was ungrateful, or Dhruva I became too overbearing, puffed up by the consciousness that it was his father who had restored Amōghavarsha to the throne. A war ensued between the two in which Dhruva lost his life. V. 23 of this record no doubt says that the armies of Vallabha were routed out in battle, though Dhruva had to lay down his life as the price of the victory. But this statement cannot be accepted at its face value, for v. 25 admits that Dhruva's son and successor Akālavarsha had to *re-occupy* his paternal kingdom. Akālavarsha's task was not an easy one, for some of his followers had deserted him after his father's death on the battlefield. His victory, supposing it was a real one, did not make matters very easy for his son and successor Dhruva II, the grantor of the present charter. For v. 28 informs us that he was attacked by a mighty Gurjara force, one of his brothers joined the enemy, and Vallabha, *i.e.* Amōghavarsha, refused him help. Bühler had suggested³ that the Gurjaras, who had attacked Dhruva II, were the Chāpōtkāṭas. This view has to be abandoned, for v. 41 of the plates of Dhruva II, dated 867 A. D., mentions the mighty Mihira, famous for his cavalry, as the opponent of the Rāshtrakūṭas.⁴ This Mihira can be none other than Pratihāra ruler Bhōja I. It is therefore clear that the old historic hostility between the Pratihāras and the Rāshtrakūṭas continued during the reign of Amōghavarsha. Bhōja tried to take advantage of the estrangement between the Gujarāt branch and the main line by launching an attack on Gujarāt. This record no doubt claims that the invasion of the Gurjaras was repelled single-handed by Dhruva. He was however too small a ruler to achieve this feat, and it is not unlikely that realising the disastrous consequences of the annexation of Gujarāt to the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire, Amōghavarsha may have eventually hurried help to his rescue. At any rate we know from the Bagumrā plates⁵ that Dhruva's successor Kṛishṇa was receiving help against the Gurjara-Pratihāras from Amōghavarsha's successor Kṛishṇa II. The same probably may have been the case in Dhruva's time after the conclusion of peace between him and Amōghavarsha.

The relationship between Dhruva II and his successor Kṛishṇa II is obscure, and the present record throws some new light upon it. Dr. Bhagwanlal had thought it not impossible⁶ that this Kṛishṇa may have been a son of Dantivarman, a son of Karkka, who is mentioned as the *dūtaka* in his Baroda grant dated 812 A.D.⁷ It is however very improbable that a son of Dantivarman who was a grown-up prince in 812 A.D., could have ascended the throne more than 72 years later than that date—as shown now by this grant—after the succession had passed to his brother's line for three generations. Dantivarman, mentioned in the Bagumrā record, is almost certainly the younger brother of Dhruva II, who was ruling as his governor in 867 A.D. as shown by his charter.⁸ The Bagumrā plates no doubt suggest that Kṛishṇa Akālavarsha, the successor of Dhruva II, who had issued that charter, was a son of Dantivarman, the son of Karkka. But this grant is very corrupt and omits altogether Dhruva I, Kṛishṇa I and Dhruva II, who had undoubtedly ruled over Gujarāt after Karkka. It would appear that one of the *tāḍapatras*, which contained an account of the three missing rulers, was lost in transit when the manuscript

¹ *Ante*, Vol. VI, p. 99.

² Baroda plates of Dhruva I, dated 835 A.D., do not mention the war with Vallabha.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 181.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 179 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 67 ff.

⁶ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 127-8.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 158 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 67 ff.

was sent to the engraver for engraving, and no one subsequently cared to correct the mistake. This would become clear from the last line of verse 19 of that record which, after making the necessary corrections, runs as follows [*Babhūva sūnuḥ śrī-Dantivarmanah prabala-pratāpaḥ*]. It is obvious that there is a lacuna in this verse after the word *sūnu* in its 4th line. Other records of the Gujarāt branch show that this verse ends as : *Babhūva sūnur-Dhruvarāja-nāmā*, and describes the birth of Dhruva I, the son and successor of Karkka. It would appear, as suggested above, that one of the *tāḍapatras*, which commenced with the word *Dhruva-rāja-nāmā*, and contained an account of the next three rulers, was lost when the document was despatched by the secretariate to the mason. The extremely corrupt text of the plates convincingly proves that no responsible officer cared to revise the document, as engraved by the mason, and so the omission of the three rulers remained unattended. These plates therefore do not show that Kṛishṇa Akālavarsha, who succeeded Dhruva, was a son of Dantivarman, who acted as *dūtaka* in 812 A.D.¹

Was he then the son of Dantivarman, a younger brother of Dhruva II, who was ruling under him in 867 A.D. as conjectured by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar,² and had this Dantivarman's reign intervened between the reigns of Dhruva II and Kṛishṇa II, as postulated by Dr. Hultsch?³ The present record makes both these views very improbable. It shows that Dhruva II was ruling down to Śaka 806, and so the interval between the last known year of Dhruva and the first known year of his successor Kṛishṇa II, viz., Śaka 810, is now no longer of 21 years but is reduced to the short period of less than four years. It is therefore very improbable that Dantivarman could have ruled during this interval. It may be further pointed out that the Bagumrā plates of Kṛishṇa Akālavarsha II simply mention the name of Dantivarman, without stating that he had ascended the throne.

The verse 19 of the grant quoted above is followed after one fragmentary and two complete verses, by the name of Kṛishṇa Akālavarsha, who had issued the grant. This undoubtedly lends support to the view that Dantivarman was Kṛishṇa's father as suggested by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. But we must note that there is a clear lacuna after the words *babhūva sūnuḥ* and that they were really followed by *Dhruvarāja-nāmā* as shown above. It is therefore difficult to maintain that the Bagumrā plates show that Kṛishṇa Akālavarsha was a son of Dantivarman. As a matter of fact the name of Dantivarman remains as an isolated and disconnected name in that very corrupt document, and its existence cannot be satisfactorily explained. The present record mentions a hitherto-unknown son of Dhruva II, Karkkarāja by name, who was the *dūtaka* of the grant. He must have been a grown-up prince in Śaka 806, and since he is not designated as a *yuvārāja*, it is clear that he had another elder brother living at this time.⁴ It is difficult to believe that a son of Dantivarman, who was loyal to Dhruva II, could have succeeded to the throne after ousting these two sons of the latter within less than four years after the issue of this grant. The names of the son and grandson of Dhruva I were Kṛishṇa Akālavarsha and Dhruva II respectively. It is therefore not improbable that according to the family tradition the eldest son of Dhruva II may have been named after his grandfather Kṛishṇa Akālavarsha and may have been none other than Kṛishṇa Akālavarsha of the Bagumrā plates.⁵ This view cannot be yet regarded as proved, but it may be found to represent real history when

¹ [That Bhagvanlal's view was untenable was proved by D. R. Bhandarkar long ago (above, Vol. VI, p. 287). Kielhorn also does not appear to have accepted this view (see above, Vol. VIII, Appendix II, p. 9).—Ed.]

² *Ante*, Vol. VI, p. 287.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 66.

⁴ Since Śaka 806 was the fag-end of Dhruva's reign, his successor being known to be ruling in Śaka 810, it is not very probable that Karkka, though the eldest son, may not have been designated here as *Yuvārāja* because his *yauvarājya* had not yet taken place.

⁵ [The point that Dhruva II had two sons is not at all proved. It is not impossible that Karka was not appointed *Yuvārāja* by this time.—Ed.]

a well preserved and well revised charter of *Kṛishṇa Akālavarsha II* of the Gujarāt branch is discovered.

Of the places mentioned in this record, *Kāmpīya*, *Kāntāragrāma* and *Maddāpī* river have been already discussed. From a very detailed map of Mahuvā and Bardoli *Talukas*, supplied very kindly to me by Dr. S. M. Pagar, the Subhā of Naosari Prant, it is clear that the village *Dhaḍayāsaha*, given by this charter, is the same as the village *Dhūṇḍesā*, situated in the Mahuvā *Taluka* of Naosari Prant of the State of Baroda. According to the charter, the *Pūravī* river and the villages *Līngataḍāgikā*, *Padhamaśṭaṇa* and *Vaḍavallī* were situated to the south, west, north and east respectively of *Dhaḍayāsaha*. These are to be identified with the *Pūrṇā* river, *Śaṅkaratalaōrī*, *Pathrōṇ* and *Valōd* respectively, which are situated to the south, south-west, north and east respectively of *Dhūṇḍesā*. *Līngataḍāgikā* has obviously changed its name to *Śaṅkaratalaōrī* in subsequent centuries. *Śrīkhōṇaka* is obviously a mistake for *Śrīkhēṭaka*, which is the same as modern *Kaira*. The identification of *Sōmēśvara-tīrtha*, where *Dhruva* had bathed before making the grant, is difficult; according to the information kindly supplied to me by Muni *Vijaya Indra Sūri*, there are two other *Sōmēśvara-tīrthas* besides the well known one at *Prabhāsa*. The second one is situated at *Siddhapura*, near *Pātan* in northern Gujarāt, where the rivers *Ganges*, *Jumna* and *Sarasvatī* are supposed to meet, and the third one at *Karnāli* near *Chandod* in Baroda district on the confluence of the rivers *Orsang* and *Narmadā*. The first two of the above *Sōmēśvara-tīrthas* were very probably not included in the dominions of *Dhruva*; the last mentioned one may therefore probably have been the place where he had bathed on the occasion. *Kavarikā* and *Suhilā*, which are mentioned in the record as headquarters of districts of the same name, cannot be identified.

TEXT.¹

[Metres :—vv. 1, 13, 15, 32, 35 and 36, *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 2-5, 7, 9, 14, 18, 19 and 21, *Vasanta-tilakā*; v. 6, *Gīti*; vv. 8, 16, 23-27, 29-31 and 39, *Āryā*; vv. 10 and 17, *Sragdharā*; vv. 11 and 20, *Upajāti*; v. 12, *Śārdūlavikrīṭita*; v. 22, *Indravamśā*; v. 28, *Prithvī*; vv. 33 and 34, *Indra-rājā*; v. 37 *Śālīnī* and v. 38, *Pushpitāgrā*.]

First Plate.

- 1 श्री² स्वस्त्यस्तु भगवतो(ते) सुगतशासनाय ॥ स वोच्चाद्देधसा धाम यं(यन्)
ना³भिकमलं कृतं(तम्) । हरश्च यस्य कान्तेन्दुव-
- 2 लया कमलंकृतं(तम्) ॥[१*] आसीद्वि(ह्वि)वत्तिमिरसुद्यतसङ्कलायो ध्वस्तिन्न-
यन्नमिसुखो रश्म्यर्चरीषु । भूपः शुचिम्बि(र्वि)-
- 3 धुरिवास्तदिम(ग)न्तकीर्तिर्गोविन्दराज इति राजसु राजसि(सिंहः) ॥[२*]
दृष्ट्वा चमूमाभिसुखी(स्त्री) सुमटाट्टहासामुन्ना-
- 4 मितं सपदि येन रणेषु नित्य(त्यम्) । दृष्टाधरेण दधता भृकुटि(टिं)
ललाटे खड्गं कुल(लं) च हृदयं च निजं च सत्वं(त्वंम्) ॥[३*] त-
- 5 स्वात्मजो जगति विद्युतशुभ्रकीर्तिरार्तार्तिहारिह्रिविक्रमधामधारी । भूप-
स्त्रिविष्ट(ष्ट)पट्टपानुकृतिः कृतश्रीः(त्रः)

¹ From the original plates.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ ना looks like क्ष in the facsimile owing to the slipping of the instrument.

- 6 श्रीकक(क)राज इति गोत्रमणिर्व(र्व)भूव ॥४*॥ तस्य प्रभिन्न(न्न)ताट-
(करट)च्युतदानदत्ति(न्ति)दत्त(न्त)प्रहारक(रु)चिरोक्तशि(सि)तात्म(न्त)-
- 7 पीठः । त्वा(त्त्वा)पः लि(त्ति)तौ ष(क्ष)पित¹श्चुरभूत्तनूजः सद(द्रा)द्रकूट-
कनकाद्रिवेन्द्रराजः ॥५*॥ तस्योपार्जितम-
- 8 हसस्तनयश्च(श्च)तुरुदधिवत्स(य)माले(लि)न्याः [१*] भोक्ता भुवः शतक(क)तु-
सदृशः श्रीदत्ति(न्ति)दुर्गराजोभूत् ॥६*॥ कांची-
- 9 स(श)ह(के)रलनराधिपचोलपा(पां)द्यश्रीहर्षवज्रटविभेदविधानदत्तं(क्षम्) । न(क)-
ण्णाटक(कं) क(व)लमचिन्त्या(न्य)मजयेमत्यै(न्यै)र्भू-
- 10 तैः(त्यैः) कियद्विरपि यः सहसा जिमा(गा)य ॥७*॥ तन्मिन्दिवं प्रयाते
वत्सभराजे ²क्षतप्रजावा(वा)धः । [श्री*]कर्कराजसूनुर्भू-
- 11 हीपतिः श्री³कृष्णराजोभूत् ॥८*॥ राहप्यमात्मभुजजातव(व)लावलेपमामै(जौ)
विजिल(त्य) निशितासिलताप्रहारैः ।
- 12 पाले(लि)ध्वजावले(लि)शुभामचिरेण यो हि राजाधिराजपरमे⁴शा(श्च)रतां
ततान ॥९*॥ येन श्वेतातपत्रप्रहतरविक-
- 13 रप्रा(व्रा)तम(ता)पात्सलीलं जग्मे नासीरधूलीधवले(लि)तशिरसा वत्सभाख्यः
सदाजौ । श्रीमद्भोविन्द्रराजो जि-
- 14 न(त)जगदहितस्त्रैणवैधव्यदक्षः⁵स(क्षस्त)स्यासीनू(तू)नुरेकः क्षणरणदले(लि)ताराति-
मत्तेभकुम्भः ॥१०*॥ तस्यानु-
- 15 जः श्रीध्रुवराजनामा महात्भावोप्रहृतप्रत्य(ता)पः [१*] प्रसाधिताशिषनरेन्द्र-
चक्रः क(क)मेण वा(वा)लाकंप(व)-
- 16 पुर्व्व(र्व्व)भूव ॥११*॥ जाते यत्र च राष्ट्रकूटतिलके मद्रू(सद्रू)पचूडा⁶मणौ
गुवी(र्व्वी) तुष्टिरथाखिलस्य जगतः सु-
- 17 स्वामिनि प्रत्यहं(हम्) [१*] सत्यं सत्यमिति प्रशासति सति क्षामासमु-
प्रा(द्रा)त्ति(न्ति)कामासीदधर्मपरे गु-
- 18 णामृतनिचौ(धौ) सत्यव्रताधिष्कि(ष्ठि)ते ॥१२*॥ रक्षता धेन निःशेष(षं) चतुर-
भोधिसंयुतं(तम्) । राज्यं

¹ Here we have the alternative form of the letter श.

² The horizontal bar of च in क्ष is missing.

³ Metre requires श्री to be omitted here. The letter has been wrongly transposed from कर्कराज to कृष्णराज.

⁴ Here we have the alternative form of श.

⁵ This form of क्ष is quite common in this plate.

⁶ Owing to the slipping of the instrument ड looks like च.

Second Plate; First Side.

- 19 धर्मेण लोकाना(नां) कृता हृष्टि[:*] परा हृदि ॥[१३*] तस्यात्मजो
जगति सत्यथितोरुकीर्त्तिर्गोविन्दर(रा)ज इति गोत्रललाम-
- 20 भूतः । त्यागी पराक्रमधनः प्रकटप्रताप[:*] सन्तापिताहितजनो जनव-
क्षभोभूत् ॥[१४*] तत्पुत्रो गते नाक-
- 21 माकंपितरिपुत्रजे । श्रीमहाराजशर्वाख्यः स्यातो राजाभवद्गुणै^१ ॥[१५*]
र(च)र्षिषु यथार्थतां यः समभीष्ट-
- 22 फलावाप्तिलब्ध(ब्ध)तोषेषु । वृद्धिं निनाय परमाममोघवर्षाभिधानस्य ॥[१६*]
राजाभूतत्पितृव्यो रिपुभयविभवोद्भूयभ(द्भूयभा)-
- 23 वैकहेतुर्लक्ष्मीमानिन्द्रराजो गुणनृपतिकरांतश्चमत्कारकारी । रागादन्यान्त्यु(न्यु)-
दस्य प्रकटितविनया यं नृपा[:*] सेव-
- 24 माना राजश्रीरेव चक्रे सकलकविजनोद्गीततथ्यस्वभावं(वम्)^२ ॥[१७*] श्रीकर्क-
राज इति रक्षितराज्यभारः सारः कुलस्य तनयो
- 25 नयशालिशौर्यस्त(र्यः) ।^३ तस्याभवद्भिमे^४(भ)ववदितवं(वं)धुसार्यः पार्थः सदैव धनुषि
प्रथमः शुचीनां(नाम्) ॥[१८*] स्वेच्छागृहीतविषयान्द्र(न्दृ)-
- 26 ढसंह(व)भाजः प्रोद्भूतदृष्टतरशुक्लिकराष्ट्र(ष्ट्र)कूटानु(न्)^५ । उ(त्)खातखड्गनिजवा(बा)-
हुव(व)लेन जित्वा योमोघवर्षमचिरा[त्]^६ स्वपदे
- 27 व्यधत् ॥[१९*] पुत्रीयतस्तस्य महानुभावः कृती कृतज्ञः कृतवीर्यवीर्यो(र्यः)^७ ।)
^८वशीकृताशेषनरेन्द्रवन्दो व(व)भूव स्रुद्गु(र्गु)वराजनामा ॥[२०*]
- 28 चन्द्रो जडो हिमगिरिस्त्रहिम[:*] प्रकृत्या वातश्चलश्च व(त)प[न*]स्तपनस्वभावः ।
क्षारः^९ पयोनिधि^{१०}रिति तैस्सममस्य नास्ति येनोपमा
- 29 निरुपमस्तुत एव गीतः ॥[२१*] ब्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डमेतत्किमिति प्रजापृजा न
मममाणेन पुरा विनिर्म्भि(र्म्भि)तं(तम्) । एवं विचिन्त्य ध्रुवराजकीर्त्ति-

^१ Here not only are the usual *danḍas* omitted, but a *sandhi* is made between the last letter of v. 15 and the first one of v. 16.

^२ Owing to a natural depression on the plate, there appear in the facsimile three vertical lines at the end of this verse; really there are only two in the original.

^३ The usual *danḍa* at the end of the half-verse is omitted and a *sandhi* is made with the letter following.

^४ The medial *ē* mark is quite clear on the original, though not in the facsimile.

^५ Here also the *danḍa* at the half-verse end is omitted and a *sandhi* is made with the letter following.

^६ Owing to a natural depression on the plate surface, the facsimile shows a faint trace of त्; on the plate, however, no त् has been engraved.

^७ Here also the *danḍa* at the half-verse end is omitted and a *sandhi* is made with the letter following.

^८ The letters यौव are damaged but they are clear on the original plate.

^९ र is damaged but clear on the plate.

^{१०} Metre requires us to read पयोधि. ,

- 30 विधातुरासीत्सुतरामसूयिनी ॥[२२*] रत्नसि(शिरसि खड्गघातैर्वैभदं परा-
ङ्मुखीकृत्य । स(श)स्त्रेशतशुद्धदेहः ¹स्वर्गमर्गादेक
- 31 एवासौ ॥[२३*] तस्याशेषनराधिपद्वयशसः स्वर्गलोकगतकीर्तिः । श्रीमान-
कालवर्षस्तनयः समभूत्कुलालम्बः(म्बः) ॥[२४*] वल्लभ-
- 32 दण्डाक्रान्तं विघटितदुष्टानुजोविवर्गेण । पितृपर्यागतम²चिरात्कलमध्यासितं
येन ॥[२५*] प्रियवादी सत्यधनः श्रीमान-
- 33 नुजीविवत्सलो मानी । प्रतिपक्षक्षोभकरः शुभतुङ्गः शुभकरः सुहृदाम् ॥[२६*]
तस्मिन्स्वामी(मी)भूते गुणवति गुणवान्गुणा-
- 34 धिकप्रीतिः [१*] समभूद्भुवराजसमो भुवराजस्तुष्टिकलौके ॥[२७*] इतोभि-
मुखमाप[त*]त्व(व)सगूर्जराणां व(व)लं ³ इतो विमुखवत्-
- 35 भो विकृतिमागता वां(वां)धवाः । इतोनुजविकुर्वितं शममगात्समस्तं भयादहो
स्फुरणमद्भुतं निरुपमेन्द्र खड्गस्व ते ॥[२८*] गूर्जरव(व)ल-
- 36 मतिव(व)लवत्समुद्युपहंसितं⁴ च कुल्येन । एकाकिनैव विहितं पराङ्मुखं
लीलया येन ॥[२९*] यथाभिषिक्तमात्रः पर⁵ यश-
- 37 स्थागशैथ्यतोवाप । शुभतुंगजोतितुंगं पदं [य]दाप्नोति नो चित्रम् ॥[३०*]
तेनेदमनिलविद्युच्चञ्चलमालोक्य जीवितमसारं [१*]
- 38 क्षितिदानपरमपुण्यः प्रवर्त्तितो धर्मदायोयं(यम्) ॥[३१*] स च समधि-
गताशेषमहाशब्द(ब्द)महासामन्ताधिपतिधा(र्धा)रावर्षश्रीभुवरा-
- 39 जदेवः सर्वानिव समनुवो(वो)धयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं(तम्) ॥ यथा मया⁶
श्रीखेण(ट)ककटकावस्थितेन⁷ मातापित्रोरात्मनस्त्वे(च्चे)हि-
- 40 क्रासुषिकपुण्यशोभिष्वये चिरंतनकवरिकापर¹⁰विषयसंज्ञा(ज्ञ)सांप्रतोयकोतर्हिशा-
मप्रतिवि(व)हमहापी¹¹सरित्तोरे भग-

¹ The letter स्व is damaged but quite clear on the plate.

² The letter म is damaged.

³ This *danḍa* is unnecessary. Read बलमिती.

⁴ Letters कस्स are clear on the plate.

⁵ Read समुद्युत हंसितं.

⁶ Owing to a depression on the plate surface, the letter रं appears like रः. No medial & sign has, how-
ever, been engraved.

⁷ Letters शश्री are faint in the facsimile, but clear on the plate.

⁸ Owing to a natural depression on the plate surface, the letter म appears like मा. The medial मा mark
has, however, not been engraved at all.

⁹ The letter न has been only half engraved.

¹⁰ [Reading may be *Kavarik-āhāra*.—Ed.]

¹¹ [Reading of this name is doubtful.—Ed.]

Second plate: First side.

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Second plate: Second side.

42 यकुचविक्रमपयभादिशोवा नविकयवाकाविला मुनिनका विरुपय विर
 44 मायायलमायवोदिया विरुपयवकाय विरुपमदिना अविमल्लयविपलीम
 46 पुत्रकनकायसुदिलायिषय विरुपय विरुपय विरुपय विरुपय विरुपय
 48 विरुपय विरुपय विरुपय विरुपय विरुपय विरुपय विरुपय विरुपय
 50 विरुपय विरुपय विरुपय विरुपय विरुपय विरुपय विरुपय विरुपय
 52 विरुपय विरुपय विरुपय विरुपय विरुपय विरुपय विरुपय विरुपय
 54 विरुपय विरुपय विरुपय विरुपय विरुपय विरुपय विरुपय विरुपय

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 41 वसुधाधिष्ठाने¹ पंचशतानि तीर्थानां विनयित्वा² कांपिष्यमुनिना कारित-
महाविहा-
- 42 रा³यतनाय कांपिष्यतीर्थकसंज्ञकाय स्थिरमतिनाम्ना भिक्षुणावज्यं च श्रीमते
43 वु(वु)धभट्टारकाय सुहृत्ताविषयान्तर्वर्ती धडयासहाभिधात(न)ग्रामो यस्याघा-
44 टनानि पूर्वतो वडवल्ली ग्रामसीमा ॥ दक्षिणतः पूरावी सरित् ।।।
पश्चिमतो लिम्ब⁴(ङ्ग)-
- 45 तडागिकाग्रामसीमा ॥ उत्तरतः पठमशृङ्ग ग्रामसीमा ॥ एवमयं
चतुराधाट-
- 46 नोपलक्षितः सोर्ह(ह)ङ्गः स(सो)परिकरः स(स्व)सीमापर्य(र्य)न्तः कल(र)सहितः
सहस्रमा-
- 47 लाकुलः सज(द)ण्डदशाव(प)राधः सहिरण्यादेयो⁵चाटभटप्रषशा⁶ वातीडरी-
48 यः सर्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयो ॥⁷ आचन्द्रार्काण्यवक्षितपर्वतसमका-
49 लीनः पूर्वदत्तदेवदायव्र(त्र)द्यादायरत्ति(हि)तोभ्यन्तरसिद्ध्या शकनृपकालातीर(त)-
स्व(सं)-
- 50 वत्सरश्चतेषु [अष्टसु*] षट्(डु)त्तरेषु मार्गशिरसु(शु)द्धितीयाया(यां) भगवति
सवितरि धनुषि संक्रा-
- 51 न्ते महापर्वणि सोमेश्वरसंगमतीर्थे स्यात्वोद्योद⁸कातिसर्गेण गन्धपुष्पधू-
52 पनि(नै)वेद्यादिक्रियोपवर्त्तनार्थं तथा कालात्ययात्स्व(त्स्व)ण्डस्फुटितसंस्कारार्थं
च वि-
- 53 हारस्य प्रतिपादितस्त[स्य*] सतमुचितया⁹ देवदायस्थित्या सिन्धुविषय-
श्रीभिन्नु-
- 54 स्तं(सं)घस्य प्रतिजायती भुंजते भोजयतः क्षपतः कर्षयती न परिपन्थना
55 कार्या [॥*] तथागामिनृपतिभिरस्त्रदंशजैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यं भूमिदार(न)फर(ल)-

¹ Read भगवद्विहा°.² Read विनय.³ Space for two letters has been left out at the beginning of this line. [No space is left out ; the first three letters are to be read as °riyāya°.—Ed.]⁴ [This conjunct letter appears to be *mva* in the impression.—Ed.]⁵ *Avagraha* in the modern form occurs at this place only in this record.⁶ Read °प्रवेक्षी.⁷ These *daṇḍas* are superfluous.⁸ Read either स्यादोद° or स्यात्वोद्योद°.⁹ Read समुचितया.

Third Plate.

- 56 मित्यवधार्य¹ विद्युन्नोलान्यनित्यान्मैव(सु)र्याणि तुषायलन्जलवि(वि)न्दुचंच-
 57 लं जीवितमाकलय्य स्वदायनिर्विशेषीयमन्महायोनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यः² ॥
 58 यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटलाहतमतिराच्छि(च्छि)³द्यादाच्छिद्यमान(नं) चानुमीदेत स
 पंचभिर्भृहापातकै-
 59 रूपपातकैश्च संयुक्तः स्यादित्युक्तं⁴ च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्ठि-⁵
 वर्षसहस्राणि स्व-
 60 र्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छ(च्छे)त्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वस्ये⁶ ॥[३२*]
 अग्नेरपत्य(त्यं) प्रथम(मं) सुवर्ण(र्णं) भूव(र्वे)-
 61 णावी सूव्य(र्व्य)सु(सु)ताशा(स) मा(गा)वः । लोकास्त्रयस्तेन भवन्ति दत्ता
 यः कांचनं मां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥[३३*] यानीह
 62 दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रेर्हानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्मात्यवान्तप्रतिमानि
 तानि को नाम साधुः
 63 पुनराददीत ॥[३४*] विन्य(न्धा)द(ट)वीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः ।
 कृष्णादयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं ह-
 64 रन्ति पे(ये) ॥[३५*] व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा भृक्ता⁷ राजभिः सगरादिभिः ।
 यस्य २⁸ यदा तू(भू)मिस्तस्य २⁸ तप(दा) प(फ)लं(लम्) ॥[३६*] तथा
 65 चोक्त(क्तं) रामभद्रेण ॥ सव्वा(व्वा)नेतान्ता(न्मा)विनः पार्थिवेन्द्राव(न्) भूयो २⁸
 याचते री(रा)मभद्रः । सामान्यीयं धर्मचा(से)-
 66 तुर्नृपाणां ता(का)ले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥[३७*] इति कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु)-
 वि(वि)न्दुलोलां मि(त्रि)यमनुचिन्त्य मनु-
 67 यजीवितं [च] ॥⁹ अतिविमलमनोभिरात्मनीनैर्न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलो-
 प्याः ॥[३८*] श्रीक-
 68 र्कराजनामा तदात्मए(जो)त्रापि दापको दूतः । याचकवक्र(क्त्र)विवस्त्रान्ता-
 (न्म)तापशीलोरिकुमु-
 69 दानाम् ॥[३९*] स्वहृन्तो(स्ती)यं श्रीधुवराजदेवस्व¹⁰ ॥¹¹ लिखितं चैत-
 70 न्मरा(या) वलभौ(भि)वास्तव्यमहासन्धिविग्रहाक्षपटलाधिपतिश्रीदीन्देत(न) श्रीम-
 71 दवल्लोकितात्मजेनेति ॥

¹ Owing to shallow engraving, the letter वि appears like दि in the facsimile.

² Read पालयितव्यः ॥

³ Owing to a natural depression on the plate surface, an *anusvāra* appears over the letter च्छि, whereas none in fact has been engraved.

⁴ The letter त्यु has been damaged.

⁵ Read षष्ठि वर्षं¹⁰.

⁶ Read वसेत् ॥

⁷ The letter म् is damaged.

⁸ The numeral 2 is used to indicate that the preceding word is to be repeated in reading.

⁹ Here two *danḍas* are wrongly engraved instead of one.

¹⁰ The signature is in old-Kanarese characters.

¹¹ After the signature and before the word लिखितं is engraved an ornamental design.

Third plate.

५६
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 ६८
 ७०

NO. 13.—BRAHMANAPALLI GRANT OF KARKKA SUVARNNAVARSHA : SAKA 746.

BY B. BHATTACHARYYA, M.A., PH.D., BARODA.

The copper-plate grant described here consisting of **three plates** joined together by means of a circular ring to which is attached a seal, was purchased from a resident of Barodā and is now preserved in the Library of the Oriental Institute at Barodā. This is one of the unpublished records of Karkka Suvarṇavarsha of Gujarāt and is unquestionably of great historical value for the State of Barodā, if not for the Bombay Presidency ; indeed, this as well as other copper-plates granted by the same king refer to grants of lands and villages all situated in the territory of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad of Barodā, and some of the old names can with little difficulty be identified with the names of villages now in existence.

The plates measure 11" by 8" and are of about $\frac{1}{4}$ " in thickness with the rims fashioned thicker than the rest for the protection of the writing. A hole is bored at the top through the middle of all the three plates, and through this hole passes a massive ring, slightly oval in shape, $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick and $4\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, which holds them together. On the ring appears a **seal** circular in shape and $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter on which is embossed a figure of Garuḍa without any legend. The plates and the writing are very well preserved and the letters are very distinctly incised. The first and the third plates are incised on one side only while the second is engraved on both sides. The **script** of the record resembles that usually found in the inscriptions of the Valabhī rulers. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit throughout. With the exception of the symbol at the commencement, the portion recording the grant (ll. 52-68) and the concluding lines (ll. 77-80) the rest of the inscription is in verse. The signatures of the king **Suvarṇavarsha** and his overlord **Amōghavarsha** appear at the end and are in distinctly different characters which are more akin to the Southern script than the Northern. The verses of this grant occur in other grants, particularly the Nausārī plates¹ of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa prince Karkka I and also in the Kāvī plates² of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa prince Gōvinda. The weight of the plates including the seal is 9 lbs.

With regard to **orthography** the following are worthy of note : (i) the use of the guttural nasal instead of *anusvāra* ; (ii) the almost invariable change of the *visarga* to *s* when followed by *p* ; (iii) the doubling of *d* and *dh* in conjunction with a following *y* or *v* and (iv) the substitution of *jihvāmūliya* for *visarga* in all cases when followed by *k*.

The **object** of the present inscription is to record the grant of the village **Brāhmaṇapallikā** in the **Māhishaka-vishaya** of forty-two villages, which is bounded by the villages of Kavalōikā in the north, Likkavalli in the south, Nābaḍa in the east and Dhāḍiyappa in the west. The **date** of the inscription is the **full moon day of Vaiśākha of the Śaka year 746, Mahāvaiśākha-parvan** and probably corresponds to Sunday, the 17th April, 824 A. D. The **Dūtaka** was **Durgarāja** and the name of the officer who drafted the order was **Nārāyaṇa**, the **Sāndhivigrahika** or the Minister of Peace and War. The grant was ratified by the Emperor **Śrīmad-Amōghavarshadēva**, son of Śrī-Jagattuṅgadēva. At the end of the inscription are given the sign manual of Karkkarāja the donor, as well as that of his overlord Amōghavarsha.

The present record refers itself to the reign of **Karkka-Suvarṇavarsha**, son of Indra belonging to the **Gujarāt Branch of the Rāshtrakūṭa family**. Indrarāja, the brother of Gōvinda III, is here spoken of as becoming the lord of Lāṭa which was given to him by Gōvinda.

¹ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX, pp. 135 ff.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. V, pp. 145 ff.

According to Bühler¹ 'Lāṭa' corresponds to what is now known as Central and Southern Gujarāt—the country between Māhi and Koṅkaṇa, but he held from the traceable localities mentioned in the Kāvī and Barodā inscriptions that Lāṭa was confined in the 9th century to much narrower limits. But we know from the Nausārī plates² that the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭas ruled over a tract of country lying between the two rivers Māhi in the north and the Narmadā in the south.

Indrarāja had two sons, namely, Karkkarāja and Gōvindarāja. Karkka had given several grants of land during his life time and four of them including the present have so far come to light, namely, the Barodā plates³ the Nausārī plates⁴, the Surāt plates⁵ and the present one which may be called for the sake of convenience as the Brāhmaṇapalli grant. The Barodā plates are dated in Śaka 734, the Nausārī in Śaka 738, the Surāt in Śaka 743 and the Brāhmaṇapalli in Śaka 746. It appears, therefore, that Karkka ascended the throne sometime before Śaka 734 and continued to rule till 746 or a little later. But from the above it cannot be assumed that Karkka's reign was entirely uneventful or even continuous, for in the Śaka year 735 we find his younger brother Gōvindarāja⁶ giving away a village near Barodā as a *bhūpāla* showing that he ruled over Central Gujarāt in the same year. The second grant⁷ made by him is dated in Śaka 749 or fourteen years later. Now, this gives rise to a chronological tangle which has not been satisfactorily explained by any writer of Gujarāt history up till now. The discovery of the present inscription which is the last in the Karkka series of grants, so far known, makes it all the more imperative to examine the question more thoroughly.

Two explanations of this unique circumstance may be offered. Several inscriptions of the Gujarāt Branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas⁸ state that Karkka restored the kingdom of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānyakhēṭa from the hostile claimants and placed the rightful owner Amōghavarsha on the throne⁹. This event must have taken place sometime in 736 Śaka (A. D. 814)¹⁰ because we find the name of Amōghavarsha mentioned in a charter of Śaka 738¹¹ which is perhaps the first during his rule so far obtained. Karkkarāja who was ruling over Gujarāt naturally had to leave his own kingdom to assist Amōghavarsha of the main line of the Rāshtrakūṭas, and probably during his absence he directed his younger brother to look after his dominions. He must have subsequently come back, and we find him issuing a second charter in the year Śaka 738¹². The inscriptions issued by his younger brother both in Śaka 735 and 749 testify to his great devotion and loyalty towards his elder brother Karkkarāja¹³.

The other explanation that can be offered in solution of the difficulty above referred to, is by assuming that the younger brother definitely became hostile in about 735 Śaka towards his elder brother when he had not quite settled down and with the help of adventurers overthrew him by treachery. Karkka thus was obliged to go back to the south to seek the help of the Rāshtrakūṭas of the main line at Mānyakhēṭa. He must have there discovered a conspiracy to deprive the legitimate claimant Amōghavarsha from obtaining the throne, amongst his relatives. He naturally supported the rightful claimant and by his prowess set him up on the ancestral throne, and as a mark of favour obtained from Amōghavarsha the necessary help to overthrow his

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 145.

² *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 140, ll. 60-61.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 156 ff.

⁴ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 131 ff.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 133 ff.

⁶ Tōrkhdē plates (above, Vol. III, pp. 53 ff.).

⁷ Kāvī plates of Gōvindarāja, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, 144.

⁸ See e.g., Barodā plates of Dhruvarāja I, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 199 ff.

⁹ *Ibid.* निजवाहुबलिन जिला यीऽमीघवर्षमचिरात्पदे व्यधत्त ॥

¹⁰ [Dr. Altekar places this event between A. D. 817 and 821 (above, Vol. XXI, p. 133).—Ed.]

¹¹ The Nausārī plates *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 135.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ [Dr. Altekar also has come to a similar conclusion, above, p. 68.—Ed.]

brother Gōvindarāja who had unrighteously obtained the kingdom of Gujarāt. Till we are in possession of further details it will be futile to draw any definite conclusions and the historians are left to judge for themselves which of the two alternatives will be more acceptable.

A third explanation that both the brothers Karkka and Gōvinda ruled at the same time is hardly admissible because in that case this fact would have been mentioned in the charters issued by both. Both these brothers give away land near about Barodā, and Vaṭapadraka is mentioned as either the principal village or a surrounding village in the charters attributed to both, and it is not possible that the kingdom of Gujarāt should be so divided as to permit two brothers to rule at the same time over two different tracts.

Another point to which attention of historians may be drawn is the significance of the signs manual of the two kings Karkka and his overlord Amōghavarsha, for this has a direct bearing on the question of the relation between the Gujarāt Branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Rāshtrakūṭas of the main line of Mānyakhēṭa. It may be noted in this connection that the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭas persistently call themselves as *Mahāsāmāntādhipati* and sometimes as the ruler of the *Lāṭiya-* or *Lāṭēśvara-maṇḍala*.¹ But it is in the present inscription that we find the earliest example of the practice of putting in the joint signatures of the *Sāmānta* and his overlord. This proves beyond doubt that in so far as the present inscription is concerned, Karkka acknowledged the suzerainty of king Amōghavarsha of the main line. In the earliest inscription of Karkka which is dated Śaka 734 there is the signature of Karkka but not of his overlord. In the next two inscriptions issued in Śaka 738 and 743 there is also one signature of Karkka but no signature of the overlord who in these cases is Amōghavarsha. In the Tōrkhēḍ inscription² of Śaka 735 his brother Gōvindarāja calls himself a *bhūpāla* and Buddhavarasa as his *Mahāsāmānta* who was enjoying an estate called the Siharakkhi Twelve which was given to him by Gōvindarāja. No signature either of Gōvinda or Karkka or the overlord appears in the inscription. Though ostensibly a negative point, the omission of signatures in the grants issued by the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭas from Śaka 734 to 746 is nevertheless significant, particularly because in the grant under consideration the signature of the overlord makes its first appearance. Be it noted, however, that the name of the paramount sovereign does occur in inscriptions, though not the sign manual.

All the inscriptions issued by the Gujarāt Branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas have a special topographical interest for the State of Barodā, as most of the villages granted by the kings are situated in the Barodā State. It will be out of place here to take up all the inscriptions issued by the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa kings and make an attempt to identify the villages mentioned therein, as this is clearly beyond the scope of this paper. I, therefore, propose to deal with the grants of the land specially made by Karkka in his inscriptions³, so far available, and make an attempt to identify the places in order to correct some of the old inaccuracies.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 158.

² Above, Vol. III, pp. 53 ff.

³ I do not take into account the places mentioned in the Surāt Plates, as according to the editor, Dr. Altekar, all these are situated in the Navasārī District of the Barodā State. But these identifications are open to doubt since we feel that Karkka's territories were confined to the country situated between the Māhi and the Narmadā. If we accept Dr. Altekar's identifications we shall have to conclude that Karkka extended his sway much beyond the Narmadā so as to include Navasārī within his kingdom. But for this, there is no evidence in the inscriptions of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭas except the doubtful identification of Nāgasārikā with Navasārī, the river Pūrāvi with Pūrṇā and the river Vaṅkikā with Vaṅki Creek 30 miles further south of Navasārī. The village Ambāpāṭaka which is described as contiguous to Nāgasārikā (*Nāgasārikā-pratibuddha*) is identified with Āmadpur which is on the other side of the Pūrṇā river at a distance of 5 miles. And I do not see any reason why the Vāpi is given to the Jaina Āchārya when the donor is 30 miles away from the place. Frankly, I have grave doubts as regards the correctness of these identifications, though I am not able to offer anything better. (See above, Vol. XXI, pp. 133 ff.) [Dr. Altekar says that in Gujarāt fields are often known after the names of the wells irrigating them and hence Hiranyayōgā-Dhāshu-vāpi is the name of a field.—Ed.]

The first records the grant of a village named as *Vaṭapadraka* also known as *Vaṭapura* which was included in the *vishaya* of *Āṅkōṭṭaka* consisting of eighty-four villages. The main village was bounded by villages *Vagghāchchha* in the north, *Mahāsēnaka* tank in the south, and the villages *Jambuvāvikā* in the east and *Āṅkōṭṭaka* in the west.¹ For the history of *Barodā* the above grant is extremely valuable in as much as this is the earliest mention of the village of *Vaṭapadraka* which is now known as *Barodā*, the capital of the most enlightened House of the *Gaekwads*. *Āṅkōṭṭaka* and *Jambuvāvikā* have been identified by Fleet with the modern villages of *Āṅkūṭ* and *Jambuvā*. Mr. (now Dr.) *Altekar*² has identified the village of *Vagghāchchha* with the modern village *Vāghoḍiā*.

The *Nausāri* plates³ record the gift of two different villages to a *Brāhman* issued from the same place *Khēṭaka*. The first consists of a village included in the territory lying between the *Māhi* and the *Narmadā*, known as *Śamīpadraka* which is bounded by the villages *Dhāhadva* in the north, *Chōrundaka* in the south, *Gōlikā* in the east and *Bharthānaka* in the west. The village *Chōrundaka* has been identified with the modern village of *Chōrandā*, *Bharthānaka* the modern *Bharthanā* and *Dhāhadva* the modern *Dhāvāṭa* in the *Karjan tālukā* in the *Gaekwad's* territories.⁴ If we take these three villages as the three boundaries we find that enclosed within there is no village in modern times which can be identified with either *Śamīpadraka* or *Gōlikā* which are, therefore, unidentifiable. The identification offered by Dr. *Bhandarkar* of *Śamīpadraka* as '*Sondārṇ*' does not seem to be reliable.

The second grant in the same inscription refers to the gift of a village in the District of *Mañkanikā*, by name *Sambandhī* which is bounded by the villages *Kāṣṭhāmaṇḍapa* in the north, *Brāhmaṇapallikā* in the south, *Sajjōḍaka* in the east and *Karañjāvasahikā* in the west. Dr. *Bhandarkar* identifies the village *Sajjōḍaka* with modern *Sajoḍ* and *Kāṣṭhāmaṇḍapa* with modern *Māṇḍwā* both of which seem to be incorrect, because we have to look for their identification in the *Saṅkheḍā tālukā* and not in the *Āṅkleśwar tālukā* as suggested by Dr. *Bhandarkar*. *Mañkanikā* has to be identified with the well-known village of *Māṅkṇī* in the *Saṅkheḍā tālukā* of the *Barodā* State, *Sambandhī* with modern *Samadhī*, *Kāṣṭhāmaṇḍapa* with *Kāṣṭhmāṇḍvā*, and *Brāhmaṇapallikā* with modern *Bāmrolī*, all situated in the *Saṅkheḍā tālukā*.

Of the **localities** mentioned in the present inscription the village *Brāhmaṇapallikā* should be distinguished from the village of the same name which is included in the *Mañkanikā* district, as here it forms a part of the *Māhishaka* district. The regular phonetic equivalent for *Kavalōikā* is *Kōilī* or *Kōyali* and this is the name of a modern village situated in the *Barodā tālukā*. Taking *Kōilī* as the starting point and travelling south we reach a village named *Bāmangām* which seems to be the village now representing the ancient village of *Brāhmaṇapallikā* in the district of *Māhishaka*. The other names, however, cannot now be identified.⁵

TEXT.⁶

First Plate.

1 श्री⁷ स वोव्यादेधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमच्छतं । हरश्च यस्य कान्तेन्दुकलया
कमलञ्जतं ॥[१*] आसोद्विषत्तिमि-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 164.

² *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 147.

³ *Ancient Towns and Cities in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād*, p. 37.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 135 and 149.

⁵ In identifying the different villages named in the grants, I have received considerable help from my esteemed friend Mr. V. Y. Kashalkar who was formerly the Survey and Settlements Superintendent of the Government of *Baroda*.

⁶ From the original plates and photographs.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

- 2 रमुद्यतमण्डलाग्रो ध्वस्तिव्यवभिमुखो रणशर्वरोषु । भूपः शुचिर्विधुरिवास्त(प्त)-
दिगन्तकीर्त्तिर्गोविन्दराज
- 3 इति राजसु राजसिङ्घः(सिंहः) ॥[२*] दृष्ट्वा चमूमभिमुखीं सुभटादृष्ट्वासा-
मुन्नामितं सपदि येन रणेषु नित्यं ।
- 4 दष्टाधरेण दधता मुकुटं ललाटे खड्गं कुलं च हृदयं च निजं च
सत्वं ॥[३*] खड्गं कराग्रान्मुसुतश्च शोभा मा-
- 5 नो मनस्तः सममेव यस्य । महाहवे नाम निशम्य सद्यस्त्रयं रिपूणां
विगलत्यकाण्डे ॥[४*] तस्यात्म-
- 6 जो जगति विश्रुतदीर्घकीर्त्तिरार्त्तार्त्तिहारिहरिविक्रमधामधारी । भूपस्त्रिविष्ट-
[प*] नृपानुकृतिङ्कृतन्नः श्रीकर्करा-
- 7 ज इति गोचमणिर्विभूव ॥[५*] तस्य प्रभिन्नकरटस्थुतदानदन्ति ।¹ दन्तप्र-
हाररुचिरोस्त्रिखितांसपोठः ।
- 8 क्षापः क्षितौ क्षपितश्चरभूतनूजः सद्राष्ट्रकूटकनकाद्रिरिवेन्द्रराजः ॥[६*]
तस्योपार्जितमहसस्त-
- 9 नयश्चतु[६*]दधिवलयमालिन्या[*] । भोक्ता भुवः शतक्रतुसदृशः श्रीदन्ति-
दुर्गराजोभूत् ॥[७*] कांचीशकेरलनराधिपचेल-
- 10 पाण्ड्यश्रीर्षवक्षटविमेदविधानदत्तं । कार्णाटक बलमचिन्त्यमजेयमन्यैर्भृत्यैर्क्षि-
प्तिरपि यः सहसा जि-
- 11 गाय ॥[८*] अभूविभङ्गमगृहीतनिशातशस्त्रमश्रान्तमप्रतिहताश्रमपेतयत्नं । यो
वक्त्रभं सपदि दण्ड-
- 12 बलेन जित्वा राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतामवाप ॥[९*] आसेतोर्विपुलोब(प)लाव-
ल्लिसस्रोलोर्भिर्मालाजलादा-
- 13 प्रालियकलंकितामलशिलाजालातुषाराचला² [१*] दापूर्वापरवारिराशिपुलिनप्रा-
न्तप्रसिद्धावधेय्येनेयं ज-
- 14 गती स्वविक्रमबलेनैकातपचीकृता ॥[१०*] तस्मिन्दिवम्रयाते वक्त्रभराजे क्षतप्र-
जाबाधः । श्रीकर्कराजसू-
- 15 नुर्महीपतिः श्रीकृष्णराजोभूत् ॥[११*] यस्य स्वभुजपराक्रमनिःशेषोत्सादितारि-
दिक्चक्रं । कृष्णस्येवाकृष्णं
- 16 चरितं श्रीकृष्णराजः³स्य ॥[१२*] शुभतुङ्गतुङ्गतुरमप्रहृष्टरेणूँरुद्धरविकिरणं ।
शोभेपि नभो निखि-

¹ The *danda* is superfluous. Read -*danti-danta*-.
² *Visarga* superfluous.³ Read=*tushār-āśhatāt* | *ā pūrvā*°.

- 17 लं प्रावृट्कालायते स्पष्टं ॥[१३*] दीनानां धर्मप्रयिषु वधेष्टेष्टे समीहित-
मजस्र[*] । तत्क्षणम-
18 कालवर्षी वर्षति सर्व्वीर्त्तिभिर्व्वपशं ॥[१४*] राह्यमात्मनुजजातैर्बलावलेपमाजो
विजित्य निशितासिल-
19 ताप्रहारै' [*] X पालिध्वजावलिभूमामचिरेण यो हि राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतां
ततान ॥[१५*] क्रोधादुत्खातखं-
20 ह्मप्रसृततु(र)चिचयैर्भासमानं समन्तादोजावुद्धृतवैरिप्रकटगजघटाटोपसंघीभदधं ।
21 शौर्य्यं त्यक्त्वा रिवर्मा भयचकितवपुष्कापि दृष्ट्वै सद्यो दर्पाश्चातारिचक्रघयकर-
मत(ग)-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 22 मद्यस्य दीर्घं रूपं ॥[१६*] पाता यंश्चतुरम्बुराशिरशनालङ्कारभाजो भुवस्त्रयासापि
कृतद्विजामरभु(ग)रुप्राज्याज्य-
23 पूजादरो' । दाता मानसदयणीभं(गुं)णवतां योसौ श्रियो वज्रभो भोक्तुं
स्वर्गफलानि भूरितपसां स्थानं
24 जता(गा)मामरं ॥[१७*] येन ज्ञेतातपत्रप्रहतरविकरत्राततापात्सलीलं जम्बे(म्मे)
नासीरधूलीधवलितशिरसा
25 वज्रभाख्यः सदाजौ । श्रीमन्नोविन्दराजो जितजगदहितस्त्रैणवैधव्यदक्षस्तस्यासी-
त्सुनुरेकः क्षण-
26 रणदलितारातिमत्तेभकुम्भः ॥[१८*] तस्यानुजः श्रीधुवराजनामा महानुभावोप्र-
हृतप्रतापXप्रसाधि-
27 ताशेषनरेन्द्रचक्रः क्रमेण बालार्कवपुर्बभूव ॥[१९*] जाति यत्र च राष्ट्रकूट-
तिलके सङ्गुप-
28 चूडामणौ गुर्वी तुष्टिरयाखिलस्य जगतः सुस्वामिनि प्रत्यहं [*] सत्यं
सत्यमिति प्रशासति स-
29 ति क्षामासमुद्रान्तिकामासीद्वर्मपरे गुणामृतनिधौ सत्यव्रताधिष्ठिते ॥[२०*]
दृष्टोन्वहं योर्धिज-
30 नाय सर्व्वं सर्व्वस्मानन्दितबन्धुवर्गं X प्रादात्प्रुष्टौ हरति स वेता(गा)-
प्राणान्यम-
31 स्यापि नितान्तवीर्य्यः ॥[२१*] रक्षता येन निःशेषं चतुरभोधिसंयुतं ।
राज्यन्वर्मेण लोकानां

¹ Read -prahārāih | pālī°.

² Read °दरः ।

³ Read -varggaḥ | prālāt=.

- 32 कृता हृष्टिः परा हृदि ॥[२२*] तस्यात्मजो जगति सत्यधितोरुकोर्तिर्गोवि-
न्दराज इति गोत्रलला-
- 33 मभूत¹[1*] स्थागो पराक्रमधनप्रकटप्रतापसन्तापिताहितजनो जनवल्लभोभूत् ॥[२३*]
पृथ्वी-
- 34 वल्लभ इति च प्रथितं यस्यापरं जगति नाम [1*] यस्य चतुर्दक्षिणीमामेको
वसुधां वशे य(च)-
- 35 क्रे ॥[२४*] एकोऽप्यनेकरूपी यो दृष्टो मेदेवादिभिरिवात्मा । परवल्ल-
लधिमपारन्तरस्वदीर्घ्या
- 36 रणे रिपुभिः [२५*] एको तिर्हतिरहं गृहीतशस्त्रा इमे परे बहवो [1*]
यो नैवविधमकरोच्चित्तं स्वप्नेपि
- 37 किमुवाजो ॥[२६*] सन्ध्याभिषेककलशैरभिषिञ्च्य दत्ता राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरसं
स्वपिन्ना । अन्ये-
- 38 नमोऽनृपति[भि*]र्बहुभिः समेत्य स्थादिभिर्भुजराजादवलुप्तमाना ॥[२७*]
एकोनेकनरेन्द्रहन्द-
- 39 सहितान्वस्ताश्चमस्तानपि प्रोत्थातासिद्धताप्रह्वारविधुरान्वष्टा महसंयुगे
लक्ष्मीमप्यच-
- 40 लां चकार विलसत्सखामरग्राहिणी² संसीदद्भुविप्रसज्जनसुहृद्भूपभोत्यां(यां) भु-
पि(वि) ॥[२८*] तद्युजोत्र गतो(ते)नाकमाकम्पितरिपुत्रजे । श्रीमहाराजशर्वाख्यः
ख्यातो राजाभ-
- 42 वद्गुणैः ॥[२९*] अर्थिषु यथार्थतां यः समभोष्टफलाप्तिलब्धतोषेषु [1*] वृद्धिं
निनाय पप-³

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 43 रमाममोघवर्षाभिधानस्य ॥[३०*] राजाभूतत्पितृव्यो रिपुभवविभवोद्भूत्यभावैकहे-
तुर्लक्ष्मीवानिन्द्रराजो गु-
- 44 णिन्द्रपनिकरान्तश्चमत्कारकारी । रागादन्यान्व्युदस्य प्रकटितविनया यं नृपान्से-
वमाना राजशौरेव चक्रे
- 45 सकलकविजनोद्गीततथ्यस्वभावं ॥[३१*] निर्व्याघावाप्तिवाना(?)सहितहितजनोपा-
स्वमानाः सुवृत्तं वृत्तं जि-
- 46 त्वान्धराज्ञा चरितसुदयवान्धर्वतो हिंसकेभ्यः । एकाकी हृत्तवेरिखलनकृतिसह-
प्रातिराज्येशशंकुर्जाटी-

¹ Read °bhūtaḥ | tyāgi.

² Superfluous.

³ One pa is superfluous.

- 47 यं मण्डलं यस्तपन इव निजस्वामिदत्तं ररच्च ॥[३२*] यस्याङ्गमात्रजयि-
न)प्रियसाहसस्य छापालवेषफ-
- 48 लमेव बभूव सैन्यं । मुक्ता च सर्वभुवनेश्वरमादिदेवं नावन्दतान्यममरेष्वपि
यो मनस्वी ॥[३३*] श्रीकर्करा-
- 49 ज इति रक्षितराज्यभारः सारङ्गलस्य तनयो नयशालिशौर्य¹ [१*] स्तस्याभवद्विभ-
वनन्दितबन्धुसार्थ)पार्थः
- 50 सदेव धनुषि प्रथमः शुचीनां ॥[३४*] दानेन मानेन सदाज्ञया वा शौर्येण
वीर्येण च कोपि भूपः [१*]
- 51 एतेन तुल्योस्ति न वेति कीर्तिः सकौतुका भ्राम्यति यस्य लोके ॥[३५*]
तेनेदमनिलविद्युच्चञ्चलमालोक्य
- 52 जीवितमसारं । क्षितिदानपरमपुण्य)प्रवर्तितो धर्मदायीयं ॥[३६*] स च
समधिगताशेषमहा-
- 53 शब्दमहासामन्ताधिपतिस्त्ववर्णवर्षश्रीकर्कराजदेवः सर्वानेव यथासंवल्यमानकाक्षा-
- 54 द्रुपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटायुक्तनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्तरादोन्मनुदर्शयत्यस्तु
- 55 वः संविदितं । यथा मया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिद्वये ।
कडुभरवा-
- 56 स्तत्र ¹ कौण्डिन्यसगोत्र ² वाजिसनेयसब्रह्मचारि ² भट्टदामोदरसुतनागकु-
माराय ² माहिषकद्विचत्वा-
- 57 रिङ्गत्यतिवद्ब्राह्मणपत्निकाभिधानग्रामो । यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतो ² नावडग्रामो
दक्षिणतो लिङ्गवल्ली-
- 58 नामाऽपरतो धाडियप्पनामा ग्रामः । उत्तरतःक्लवलोदकाभिधानग्रामः ।
एवमयं चतुराघाटनीपलक्षितः
- 59 सोद्वंगः सपरिकरः सदण्डदशापराधः सभूतवातप्रत्यायः सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकः
सधान्यद्विरण्य-
- 60 देयोचाटभटप्रवेश्यः सर्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः आचन्द्रार्काण्यवक्षितिसरि-
त्पर्वतसम-
- 61 कालीन)पुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोत्य(ग्य)पूर्वप्रदत्तदेवब्रह्मदायरहितोभ्यन्तरसिद्ध्या श-
कनृपका-
- 62 लातीनसंवत्सरशतेषु सप्तसु षट्चत्वारिङ्गदधिकेषु वैशाखशुद्धपञ्चदश्यां ² महा-
वैशाखपर्वणि

¹ Read -śauryaś | tasy=ā°.² Superfluous

[The page contains dense handwritten text in Devanagari script, which appears to be bleed-through from the reverse side. The handwriting is highly stylized and difficult to decipher.]

[illegible]

- 63 स्नात्वाद्योद(त)¹कातिसर्गेण ।² बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपंचमहायज्ञक्रियोत्स-
र्पणार्थं प्रति-
- 64 पादितो यतोऽस्योचितया ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या भुञ्जतो भोजयतऋषतऋषयतः प्रति-
दिशतो

Third Plate.

- 65 वा न केनचित् परिपत्यना करणीया । तथागामिनृपतिभिरस्मदंशैरन्यैर्वा
सामान्यभूमिदानफलमवेत्य
- 66 विद्युत्तोत्तान्यनित्यैश्चर्याणि तृणाग्रलम्नजलबिन्दुचंचलं च जीवितमाकलय स्वदा-
यनिर्विशेषो-
- 67 यमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्च यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्त्यादा-
च्छिद्य-
- 68 मानकं वानुमोदेत ।² स पंचभिर्भ्रातापतकैरुपपातकैश्च संयुक्तः स्यादित्युक्तं
च भगवता वेद-
- 69 व्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता
चानुमन्ता च तान्येव
- 70 नरके षसेत् । [३७*] विन्ध्याटवोष्ठी(ष्व)तोयासु शुष्ककोटरघ(वा)सिनकृष्णाहयो
हि जायन्ते भूमिदानं हर-
- 71 न्ति ये ॥ [३८*] अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्वेणवी सूर्यसुताश्च गावो(वः) [1*]
लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्दि दत्तं
- 72 यक्काञ्चनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥ [३९*] बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः
सगरादिभिर्भ्यः(भिः)यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि-
- 73 स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [४०*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रेर्हानानि
धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्मात्य-
- 74 वान्तप्रतिमानि तानि ।² को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ [४१*] स्वदत्तां
परदत्तां वा यद्वाद्रक्ष न-
- 75 राधिप । महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं ॥ [४२*] इति कमलद-
लाम्बुबिन्दुलोलं त्रि-
- 76 यमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च । अतिविमलमनोभिरात्मनोर्नैर्न हि पुरुषैः पर-
कीर्त्त-
- 77 यो विलोप्याः ॥ [४३*] इति ॥ दूतकोत्र श्रीदुर्गराजो(जः) । लिखितं च ।
साम्निषिष्यद्विक्रयीनारायणे-
- 78 न ॥ मतम्नम श्रीजगत्तुङ्गदेवसुतस्य श्रीमदमोघवर्षदेवस्य यदु-
- 79 परि लिखितं ॥ मतम्नम श्रीमदिन्द्रराजसुतस्य श्रीकर्कराजदेवस्य ।¹
- 80 यदुपरि लिखितमिति ॥

¹ Superfluous.

² Danda superfluous.

No. 14.—TIRUVĀLANGADU INSCRIPTION OF RAJĀDHIRĀJA II.

BY V. VENKATASUBBA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

This inscription¹ is engraved on the east wall of the first *prākāra* of the Naṭarāja shrine in the Vaṭanārāyaṇēśvara temple at Tiruvālaṅgāḍu, a small station near Madras on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway. It was copied in 1905, but in that year the inscription could not be copied in full as it was partially obstructed by later structural additions to the temple. In the subsequent renovation, most of the inscribed stones were lost so that only a portion of the record² is now preserved in the temple. On account of its damaged condition, its importance was not sufficiently recognised hitherto, but it now receives elucidation from two inscriptions copied at Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai³ and Tirumayānam⁴ in the Tanjore district. It is of great value since it throws new light on the Chōla, Pāṇḍya and Singhalese history in the third quarter of the 12th century A.D.

It is engraved in the Tamiḻ language and script of the 12th century A.D. and is particularly free from orthographical errors.

The record is dated⁵ in the 12th year and 157th day of the reign of the Chōla king Rājakēsarivarman *alias* Rājādhirājadēva (II) and commences with the usual preamble beginning with the words '*kaḍal-sūḷnda*', etc. The object of the inscription is the grant of 10 *vēli* of land in Rājarāja-Palaiyaṇūr situated in Neṁmali-nāḍu, a division of [Arumōḷi]dēva-vaḷanāḍu, free of taxes including *antarāyam* and *pāṭṭam*, to Vēdavaṇarāmuḍaiyāṇ Ammai-appaṇ *alias* Appaṇ Pallavarājaṇ of Palaiyaṇūr, evidently for his services to the State in frustrating the hostile attempts of the Singhalese king Parākramabāhu against the Chōla country.

This inscription is the only record so far known that gives a detailed account of the Singhalese activities in the war of the Pāṇḍyan succession, for which our only source has hitherto been the Singhalese chronicle *Mahāvamsa*; but this is biased in its version, especially as it does not give

¹ No. 465 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

² In the absence of the original inscribed stones, the impression preserved in the office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, is the only record now available for this valuable inscription.

³ No. 433 of 1924 of the Madras Epigraphical collection; *vide* also above, Vol. XXI, p. 184, where this inscription is published.

⁴ No. 261 of 1925 of the same collection. This is highly damaged and appears to be a duplicate copy of the present record.

⁵ As regards the initial date of this king there is some confusion. Prof. Kielhorn had fixed it between 28th February and 30th March 1163 A.D. But a record from Nandalūr (No. 571 of 1907), while giving astronomical details couples the 12th regnal year of the king with the cyclic year Hēmaḷamba which corresponded to A.D. 1177 (above, Vol. X, p. 127). In this case the regnal year intended must be 14th expired or 15th current and not 12 as cited in the record. This apparent difference in date is, curiously enough, reiterated in an inscription recently copied in the Chittoor District (No. 209 of 1932), where the 12th regnal year of this king is also stated to be his 14th year. This would suggest that Rājādhirāja II was a crown prince for two years before he became king.

There are, however, three inscriptions of this king (Nos. 571 of 1907, 428 of 1912 and 19 of 1913) which point to A.D. 1166 as the initial year. From the Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai inscription we know that Rājādhirāja II was crowned 4 years after his nomination. The initial date of his predecessor, Rājarāja II, is 1146 A.D. and his highest regnal year is 19 (No. 411 of 1909). Rājarāja II must therefore have lived till 1164-65 A.D. The whole position may now be summed up as follows:—

A.D. 1163 Rājādhirāja's nomination,

A.D. 1164-65 Rājarāja's death and Rājādhirāja's succession,

A.D. 1166 Rājādhirāja's coronation.

Since both A.D. 1163 and 1166 work correctly as the initial year, it will be evident that Rājādhirāja II, in some of his records, counted his reign from the year of his nomination and in others from that of his coronation.

any reverses sustained by the Singhalese forces. The present epigraph, however, lays special emphasis on this point, and therefore as a corrective to the *Mahāvamsa* and as a record of contemporary events, it is a valuable document.

It may be divided into two sections: in the first, the services to the country rendered by the Chōla general Vēdavaṇamuḍaiyāṇ Ammaiappaṇ *alias* Annaṇ Pallavarājaṇ in counteracting the hostile attempts of the Singhalese king Parākramabāhu are detailed and in the other is registered a grant of land made to him.

The inscription refers to the Singhalese king Parākramabāhu in contempt as *Īlattāṇ*. the record we learn that Parākramabāhu was hostile to the Chōla kingdom from the beginning of his reign and in pursuance of this policy, he made the following three attempts which were successfully foiled by the Chōla king:—

- (a) When the war of the Pāṇḍyan succession broke out, Parākramabāhu espoused the cause of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, one of the claimants to the throne of Madura and also sent an army into the Pāṇḍya country which forced Kulaśekhara, the rival claimant to the throne, to flee from Madura and seek the help of the Chōla king. The Chōla army sent to his assistance deposed Vira-Pāṇḍya, the son of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, who was set up on the Pāṇḍya throne by the Singhalese king Parākramabāhu, completely defeated the enemy's forces killing even their generals and finally placed Kulaśekhara on the throne of Madura.¹
- (b) On the failure of this attempt Parākramabāhu reinforced his strongholds by despatching forces into Ūratturai, Puḷaichchēri, Mātōṭṭam, Vallikāmam and Maṭṭivāḷ and constructed ships for a naval attack. But the Chōla king frustrated these measures with the assistance of Śrīvallabha, the nephew of Parākramabāhu, by carrying the war into the enemy's territory and destroying a considerable portion thereof.
- (c) Parākramabāhu then tampered with the loyalty of Kulaśekhara-Pāṇḍya to his Chōla ally and won him over to his side. He could not however satisfy both the Pāṇḍya claimants at the same time. The Chōla king, on the other hand, deposed the ungrateful Kulaśekhara and placed Vira-Pāṇḍya, the quondam ally of Parākramabāhu, on the throne of Madura.

This inscription in narrating the first attempt of Parākramabāhu (ll. 12-18) corroborates the *Mahāvamsa* in the main except the reverses sustained by the Singhalese forces. The details of the other two attempts (ll. 18-36) are, however, new information.

The present record raises an important issue about Śrīvallabha. His position is clearly explained in it. We know that his father Mānābharāṇa was a rival of Parākramabāhu for the overlordship of Ceylon. Śrīvallabha also appears to have aspired for the Singhalese throne. In the protracted struggle for sovereignty Śrīvallabha was captured² by the forces of Parākramabāhu, but he subsequently seems to have escaped from his uncle's custody and sought and obtained shelter under the Chōla king. Parākramabāhu evidently resented this assistance and so commenced his campaign of hostility against the Chōla kingdom. This persistent hostility of the Singhalese king is emphasised in our record in three places (ll. 12, 18 and 29). Śrīvallabha is called the nephew (*marumagaṇ*) of Parākramabāhu and is recognised in the inscription as the claimant to the Īlam country (*Īla-rājyattukkun-kaḍavarāy* l. 21). It is also

¹ The details given in this encounter are also corroborated by the Pallavarāyappēṭṭai record (*above*, Vol. XXI, pp. 186 ff.) wherein, however, Annaṇ Pallavarājaṇ's part in the fight does not find mention.

² *Mahāvamsa* Ch. 72, vv. 323-4.

stated that he had already gone (*munbē pōndirunda* l. 21), thus suggesting his previous arrival in South India, evidently as a refugee seeking shelter under the Chōla and possibly also his assistance for the overthrow of Parākramabāhu. Therefore when his help was sought by the Chōla king, he readily responded, so that if there was a chance he might gain the throne of Ceylon.

The part played by Śrīvallabha, in this connection, has hitherto been considered as that of a traitor.¹ But if it is understood that he was fighting along with his father Mānābharāṇa for the Singhalese throne against Parākramabāhu, it will be evident that such a charge cannot be levelled against him.

In the rivalry between Vira-Pāṇḍya and Kulaśēkhara for the throne of Madura, the Chōla king first took up the cause of Kulaśēkhara,² but when the latter proved a traitor by allying himself with Parākramabāhu, he was deposed and Vira-Pāṇḍya was placed in his stead. Though the present record stops with the restoration of Vira-Pāṇḍya, now with Chōla help, it is clear that he must also have rebelled³ soon after, for when Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III continued the war, he fought against Vira-Pāṇḍya⁴ and in favour of one Vikrama-Pāṇḍya whom he made the ruler of Madura.⁵

It may be pointed out here that the new facts gleaned from this inscription, *viz.*—that Rājādhirāja took up the cause of Śrīvallabha against that of Parākramabāhu, that the Pāṇḍya king Kulaśēkhara turned a traitor to the Chōla king and that Vira-Pāṇḍya was again installed on the Pāṇḍya throne through Chōla help—raise the following fresh issues which in the present state of our knowledge cannot be satisfactorily explained :

Did the Chōla king Rājādhirāja II actually send any help to Ceylon to assist Śrīvallabha in his struggle for sovereignty or did he only give shelter to him? Why was Vira-Pāṇḍya made the ruler of the Pāṇḍya kingdom and not Vikrama-Pāṇḍya after Kulaśēkhara turned a traitor? What was the relationship of Vikrama-Pāṇḍya to his predecessors and what were his claims to the Pāṇḍya throne?

The territorial divisions, **Jayaṅḡḇaśōla-maṇḍalam** (l. 8), **Arumolidēva-Vaḷanāḍu** (l. 36) and **Neṇṇmali-nāḍu** (l. 36) are already known. **Paḷaiyaṇūr**⁶, the native place of Vēdavaṇam-Uḍaiyāṇ may be identified with the village of the same name in the Tiruttani *taluk* of the Chittoor district. This village must be distinguished from Rājārājaṇ-Paḷaiyaṇūr⁷ (l. 36) in the Tanjore district, where 10 *vēli* of land was granted to this Vēdavaṇamuḍaiyāṇ. The village **Ēḷagam**

¹ See *A. R. on Epigraphy* for 1906, para. 23.

² Why Kulaśēkhara proved a traitor is not explained in the record. Probably he was enticed by Parākramabāhu.

³ His revolt is referred to in the historical introduction of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III. See *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 206ff.

⁴ Vira-Pāṇḍya seems to have occupied the throne for a second time from about 1175-1182 A.D. Like his predecessor Kulaśēkhara he also fell an easy prey to the machinations of Parākramabāhu and thus made himself the bitterest enemy of the Chōla king Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III. He made a desperate attempt along with his son to regain the Pāṇḍya throne till at last he lost his life in the battle at Neṭṭūr. Two records from Tribhuvanam in the Tanjore district (Nos. 191 and 192 of 1907) state that Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III who bore the title 'Pāṇḍyāri' killed Vira-Pāṇḍya. See also *A. R. on Epigraphy* for 1908, para. 64, and *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 217-18.

⁵ The Chōla rulers played the role of 'king makers'. Kulaśēkhara, Vira-Pāṇḍya, and Vikrama-Pāṇḍya were successively made rulers of the Pāṇḍya country by the Chōla sovereigns.

⁶ The Tiruvāḷaṅḡḇu plates of the Chōla king Rājendra-chōla I record the grant of this village to the Śiva temple at Tiruvāḷaṅḡḇu. In the *Tēvāram* this village is called Paḷaiyaṇūr-Āḷaṅḡḇu (*i.e.*) Āḷaṅḡḇu or Tiruvāḷaṅḡḇu near Paḷaiyaṇūr. In one inscription Tiruvāḷaṅḡḇu is said to be near Paḷaiyaṇūr (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 134).

⁷ This explains why the same inscription is found both at Tiruvāḷaṅḡḇu (Chittoor district), the native place of Vēdavaṇam-Uḍaiyāṇ, and at Tirumayāṇam (Tanjore district) where the lands presented to him were situated.

(1. 29) may be identified with Tiruvēḍagam in the Madura *taluk*. The subjugation of this village is also mentioned in inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III.¹ The river **Veḷḷāru** rises in the Vēlamalai to the west of the Pudukkottai State and falls into the Bay of Bengal to the north of Maṇamēlkuḍi in the Tanjore district. **Ūrātturai**, **Pulaichchēri**, **Mātōṭṭam**, **Vallikāmam** and **Maṭṭivāl** have already been identified.²

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti³ śrī³ [||*] Kaḍal-śūḷḷḍa Pār-mādaruṅ Kalai-mādarum aḍal-śūḷḷḍa Pōr-mā-
- 2 daruṅ=Chīr-mādarum ama[r*]ḷḍu vāḷa nār-kaḍal-śūḷḷḍa puvī-ēḷum pā[r]-kaḍal-śūḷḷḍa pugaḷ
- para-
- 3 ppa ādi-ugamāmeṇṇa=chchōḍi-muḍi puṇaindaruḷi aṟu-śamaiyamum aim-būda-
- mum ne-
- 4 riṇṇiḷ niṇṇu pāriṇṇa=tTēṇṇavaruṅ=Chēralaruṅ Śiṅgaḷarum mudalāya maṇṇavargaḷ
- tīrai
- 5 śumandu vantaṇḍi-chchēvippa ūḷi ūḷi oru śeṅkōḷ eḷu-pārum iṇid=aḷippa=ch-
- chempon Vīra-[si³]-
- 6 [ṇṇā]sa³nattu Ulaguḍai-mukkōkkiḷāṇaḍigaḷōḍum viṇṇirundaruḷiya Kōv=Irāja⁴kēsari
- panmar⁴=āṇa
- 7 Tribhu⁵vanachchakkaravarttiḷaḷ śrī³-Irājāḍhirājadēvarkku⁶ yāṇḍu panniraṇḍāvadu
- nāl nūṟṟaimbat-
- 8 tēḷṇināl Tribhuvanachchakra³vatti Kōṇēriṇmaikoṇḍāṇ Jayaṅkoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalattu
- Mēṇ-
- 9 malaip-Paḷaiyaṇūr-nāṭṭu=pPaḷaiyaṇūr-uḍaiyār Tiruvāḷaṅḍaḍuḍaiyār kōyilil dēva-
- kaṇmikkū-
- 10 m śrī³-māhēśvarak-kaṅḡāṇi-śeyvārgaḷukkum [r*] Paḷaiyaṇūr-uḍaiyāṇ Vēdavaṇamu-
- ḍaiyāṇ Ammaia-
- 11 ppaṇ=āṇa Aṇṇaṇ Pallava[rāja³]ṇ ḷḷattāṇ Parākkiramabāku āḷvāṇ-pōḍē
- tuḍaṅgi Śōḷarāja⁷ttukku
- 12 [vi]rōdam[āy-i]ruppaṇa pala vaḍigaḷāḷuṅ śe[yya-p]pārttu idukku uṟuppā-
- ga=pPaṇḍi-nāṭṭilē paḍai-
- 13 [yu]ravitṭu.....[Kulaśēkharapaṇaiyum Madu]raiṇṇiḷ niṇṇum Veḷḷārrukku
- vaḍakaraiyilē pō-
- 14 dappaṇṇi[ṇa-paḍiyālē].....⁸m śeyyappārtta-iḍattu idukku-pparikāramāga
- Kula-
- 15 śēkhararkku [vēṇḍuvaṇavuṅ=cheydu muda]ḷigaḷum paḍaigaḷum pōgaviṭṭu
- ḷḷattāṇ paḍaiyaiyu-

¹ S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 210.

² Above, Vol. XXI, p. 187.

³ Engraved in Grantha.

⁴ The letters *rāja* and *marā* are engraved in Grantha.

⁵ The letters *tribhu* are in Grantha.

⁶ The letters *Rājāḍhirājadē* are in Grantha.

⁷ *rāja* is engraved in Grantha.

⁸ The word *viṇaikkēḍugaḷum* may be inserted before *śeyyappārtta*.

- 16 m ippadaik[ku=kkāraṇavar=āṇa] Ila[¹kkāpura-Da]ḍḍanāyakkannum Jagat-
tra²ya-dDaḍḍanā [ya*]kkannum ullittā-
- 17 raiyuṇ-konṇu [Madurai- vāsaliḥ ivargaḥ talaigalai] taippittu iv-vārillē Kula-
śekharaṇaiyum puga-viṭṭu-chehe-
- 18 llā-niṇka..... ku virōdamāy-iruppaṇa śeyya-ppārttu ivaṇ taṇ paḍai-
- 19 nilaiyāṇa Ūratturai Pulaichchēri Mātōttam Vallikāmam Maṭṭivāḷ ullittā
ūrgalilē paḍaigalū-
- 20 m puguda-viṭṭu paḍavukaḷuṇ cheyvikkiṇa paḍi kēṭṭa idukku-pparikkāramāga
Iḷattāṇ maru-magaṇārāy Iḷa-rājya³ttukkuṇ-
- 21 kaḍavarāy muṇbē pōṇdirunda Śivallavarai alaippittu ivarkku vēṇḍuvāṇa-
vuṇ=cheydu ivaraiyum i-
- 22 varuḍaṇē vēṇḍum paḍaigalum Ūratturai Vallikāmam Maṭṭivāḷ ullittā ū-
rgalilē pugaviṭṭu=pPulaichchē-
- 23 ri Mātōttam ullittā ūrgalum alittu Iḷattāṇavāy iv-vārgalil niṇṇa āṇaiga-
ḷuṇ kai-kkoṇ-
- 24 ḍu Iḷa-maṇḍalattil kīl-mēl irupadin kāda mērpadaḍavun teṇ-vadaḥ muppadin
kāda mērpadaḍavum alittu it-
- 25 tuṇaiyil ivaṇ manichcharāy-irundāril kolvāraiṇ-konṇu piḍippāraiṇyum piḍittu
ivargalaiyum śa-
- 26 rakkāy=kkaikkonḍalavum piḍitta āṇaigalum alaippittu ivaṇ namakku-kkātṭi
Iḷa-maṇḍalattu=kkāriya-
- 27 m ellāppaḍiyālum ivaṇ aliya=chcheyvittapaḍikkum Pāṇḍiyaṇār Kulaśekharaṇ
tamakku muṇbu śeyda
- 28 naṇmaigalum pārādē Iḷattāṇuḍaṇē [sa⁴]mbandam-panṇavum ivaṇum ivaruṇ
kūḍa-niṇṇu Śōḷa[rāja⁵]ttuk-
- 29 ku virōdamāy-iruppaṇa śeyyavuṇ-kaḍavadāga nichchayittu idukku uru-
ppāga=pPāṇḍi-nāṭṭu Iḷagattārilum ma[r*]ra-chch-
- 30 āmantarilum namakku=chchērvupēṭṭu niṇṇuḍaṇ śeygira Irājarāja⁶kkagkkaḍi-
yarāyaṇum Irājaga⁶mbira Aṇjukōṭ-
- 31 t̥ai-Nāḍālvāṇum ullittārai [a]tturaigalil niṇṇum. Vēḷḷārrukku vada-karaiyilē pōḍa-
ppaṇṇi
- 32 Iḷaṅkāpuri-dDaḍḍanā [ya*]kkannum Jagattra⁷ya-dDaḍḍanāyakkannum ullittā talaigalay
Madurai-vāsaliṇ taichcha talai-
- 33 gaḷum vāṅgi-ppōgaḍuvittu ellā-ttīmaigalum śeyyakkaḍavadāga-kkaruḍi-chcheygira-
paḍiyum Iḷattāṇ Kulaśekharaṇ-uḍa-

¹ The letter *tra* is engraved in Grantha.

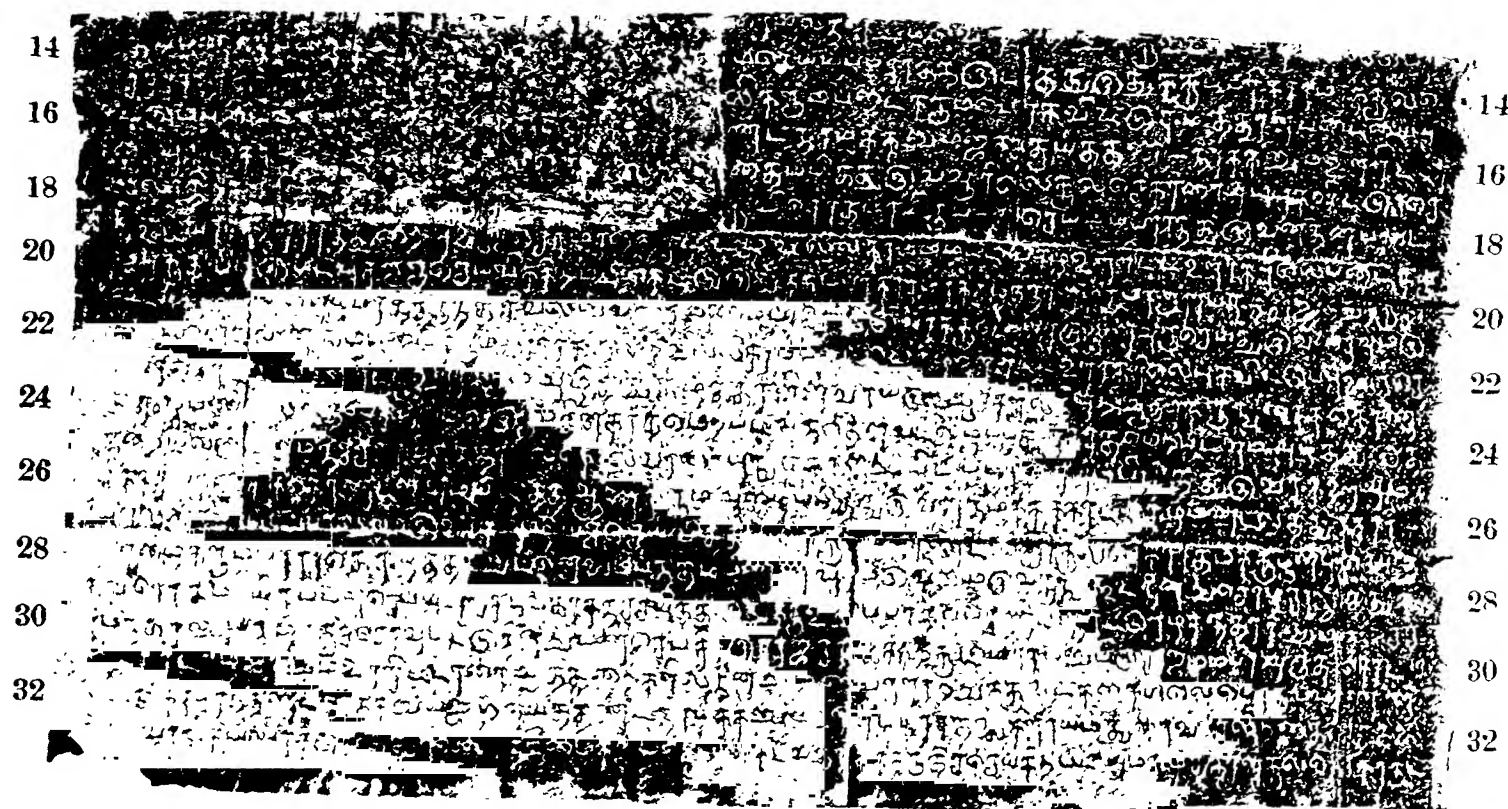
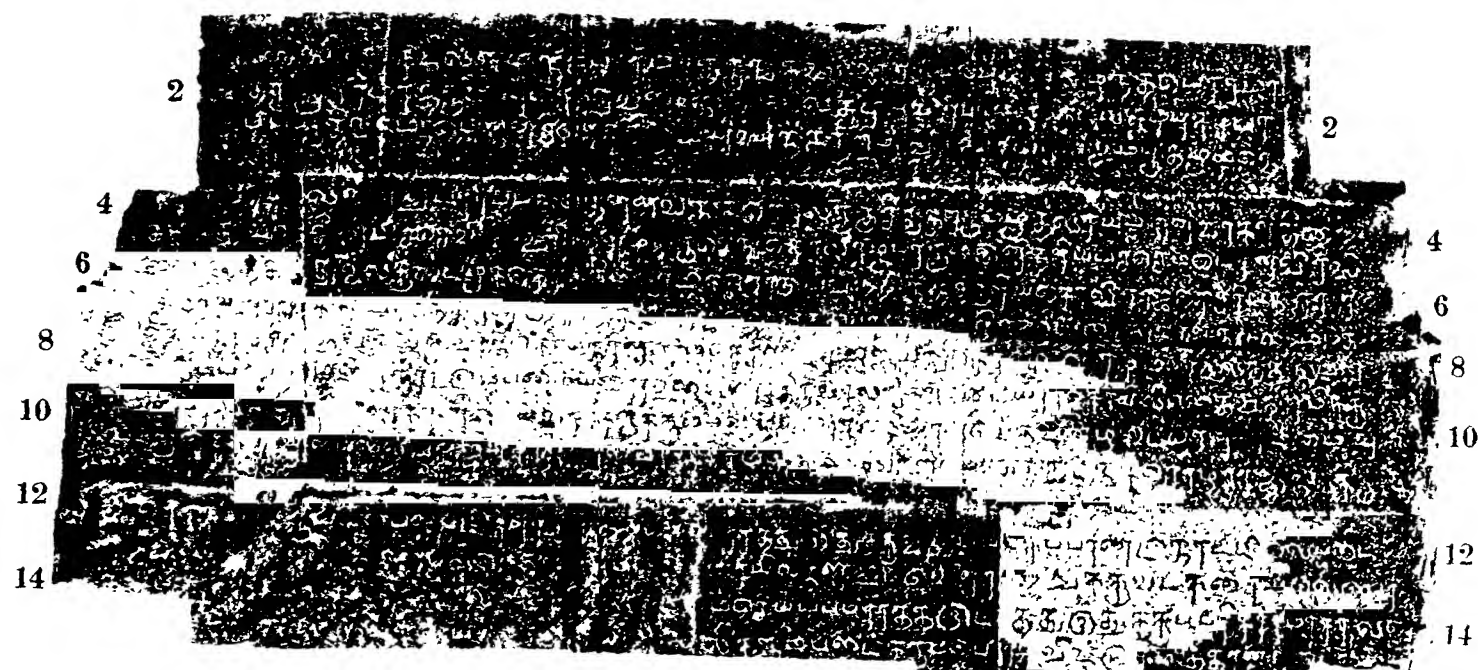
² Engraved in Grantha.

³ The letters *rājarāja* are engraved in Grantha.

⁴ The letters *rājaga* are engraved in Grantha.

⁵ The letters *jagattra* are engraved in Grantha.

TIRUVALANGADU INSCRIPTION OF RAJADHIRAJA II.



34

35

36

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83

39

- 34 *ṇ kūḍa niṇṇu udavi-ṣeygai śūṭṭi ivaruḍaṇ śārvupaṭṭu-ni ṛārkku vara-
kkāṭṭiṇa ḷaigaḷum va[stukkaḷum vaḷiḷilē iva¹paḍiyālum
Śōlarāja²ttukku virōdamāy-irukkaiyālē ivanai*
- 35 *aṅgu-niṇṇum pōkki muṇbē-piḍittu Maduraikku-kkāraṇavarāṇa Parākkirama-
Pāṇḍiyar maganār Vira-[Pāṇḍiya]dēvarai Madurai³ i=vastu³.
vāluṇ kudiraiyālum vēṇḍuvaṇavaiyirḷ namakku-chcho-*
- 36 *ḷi-chcheyyavēṇḍuvaṇavūṇ=cheyvittu allāḍaṇa ivanē migudippaḍa nērdum
cheydu śurukki[na*] nā[ḷai]kkulḷē Madurai⁴ dēva-vaḷanāṭṭu Neṇ-
mali-nāṭṭu Irājarāja⁵ṇ-Paḷaiyaṇūr⁶ilē paḍiṇṇu-*
- 37 *vēḷi nilam paṇṇiraṇḍāvadu mudal antarāyam pāṭṭam uṭpaḍa iraiyiliy=āga
iṭṭu ippaḍi Uḍaiyār TiruvālaṅgāḍuḍaiyāMūvēṇḍavēḷān ||-Ivai Nila-
gaṅgarayaṇ eḷuttu || ௨*
- 38 *Ivai Dipattarayaṇ eḷuttu ௩ Ivai Kaṇakarāja⁷ṇ eḷuttu ௪ Ivai Malaiyappi-
rāja⁷[n*] eḷuttu ௫ Ivai Maḷava.....*
- 39 *tu | ௬ Ivai Villavarāyaṇ eḷuttu ௭*

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-5)⁸

(Ll. 6-10).—In the **twelfth year and one hundred and fifty-seventh day** (of the reign) of the king **Rājakēsarivarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Rājādhi-rājadēva**, while he was pleased to be seated along with (his queen) **Uḷaguḍai-mukkōkkiḷānaḍaigaḷ** on the golden throne of heroes, (the following order was issued) to the **dēvakanmi** and **Śrī-māhēśvara-kaṅgāṇi-ṣeyvār** of the temple of **Uḍaiyār Tiruvālaṅgāḍuḍaiyār** at **Paḷaiyaṇūr** in **Mēṇmalaip-Paḷaiyaṇūr-nāḍu**, a subdivision of **Jayaṅgoṇḍasōḷa-maṇḍalam** (under the royal seat) **Tribhuvana-chakravatti Kōṇēriṇmaikoṇḍāṇ** :—

(Ll. 11-17).—**Vēḍavaṇamuḍaiyāṇ Ammaiappaṇ** *alias* **Anṇaṇ Paḷlavarājaṇ** of **Paḷaiyaṇūr** (acted thus) :

When **Parākramabāhu** of **ḷam**, from the time (he) assumed sovereignty acted inimically against the **Chōḷa** country by various means and as a part of this move, since he caused an army to enter the **Pāṇḍya** country and forced **Kulaśēkhara** also to flee from **Madura** to the north bank of the (river) **Vēḷḷāru**..... to counteract this (hostile) action, what ever (assistance) was needed by **Kulaśēkhara** was given (by us, i.e., the **Chōḷa** king)

¹ This portion is built in : before 'paḍiyālum' the letters 'eḷṭṭ' may be inserted.

² The gap may be filled up with the aid of the **Tirumayānam** inscription, with the words 'kōyil idakkadava-dēga ivanukku nām chollē beṭṭaṇṇam vēṇḍumūraṅgum pōgavēṭṭavāṇam [vīṭṭu].'

³ The letter *ṣ* is engraved in Grantha.

⁴ From the **Tirumayānam** inscription, a portion of this gap may be filled up with the words 'naippōkki Vira-Pāṇḍyaēvarai Maduraiyil puḡaṇṇa-paḍikkum ivanukku Arumōḷi'.

⁵ The letters *rājarāja* are engraved in Grantha.

⁶ Engraved in Grantha.

⁷ The letter *ja* is engraved in Grantha.

⁸ For translation see above Vol. XXI, p. 191.

commanders (*with*) forces were despatched, the army of Ceylon (*was destroyed*) and its generals **Laṅkāpura-Daṇḍanāyaka** and **Jagattraya-Daṇḍanāyaka** put to death, their heads mounted on the gates of Madura, and (*thereafter*) **Kulaśekhara** was allowed to enter this city (*i.e.*, Madura).

(Ll. 18-26).—When (*affairs*) stood thus hearing (*the report*) that, with the intent of making (*another*) hostile attempt (*against the Chōla country*), this (*Parākramabāhu*) had assembled forces into his strongholds at Ūrātturāi, Pulaichchēri, Mātōṭṭam, Vallikāmam, Maṭṭivāl and other places and was also constructing (*a fleet of*) ships (*therein*), (*we, in order*) to ward off this (*danger*), summoned **Śrīvallabha** the nephew of the Ceylonese (*king*) and a claimant to the kingdom of Ceylon and (*who*) had already arrived (*here*), did whatever was required for him (*and*) despatched him with the necessary forces to Ūrātturāi, Vallikāmam, Maṭṭivāl and other villages (*and*) destroyed Pulaichchēri, Mātōṭṭam and other villages, captured the elephants belonging to the king of Ceylon stationed in these places, laid waste in Iḷa-maṇḍalam more than twenty *kādam*¹ (*of land*) from east to west and more than thirty *kādam* from south to north, killed in this place such of his subordinates as had to be killed and captured those who had to be captured. This (*Anṇaṇ Pallavarājan*) sent for these (*captives*) along with the booty and captured elephants and displayed (*them*) to us (*and*) thus (*once again*) frustrated in every way the efforts (*of the king*) of Iḷa-maṇḍalam.

(Ll. 27-33).—The Pāṇḍya **Kulaśekhara** disregarding the good done to him before (*by us, i.e.*, the Chōla king), entered into an alliance with the (*king*) of Ceylon, (*and both*) this (*king of Ceylon*) and this (*Kulaśekhara*) decided to stand together and act against (*the interest of*) the Chōla kingdom. As an evidence of this move, (*they*) drove from (*their*) places to the north bank of (*the river*) Vellāru, our allies at Eḷagam in the Pāṇḍya country like **Rājarājakkarkuḍiyarājan** and **Rājagambīra Aṇjukōṭṭai-Nāḍālvāṇ** and other feudatories who were assisting our cause and removed from the gates of Madura, the heads of Laṅkāpuri-Daṇḍanāyaka, Jagattraya-Daṇḍanāyaka and others which had been pinned thereon, (*and in this way*) carried out the intent of working every kind of evil (*to us, i.e.*, the Chōla king).

(Ll. 34-39).—As the letters and presents sent to the adherents of **Kulaśekhara** by the king of Ceylon betokening assistance (*to the former, when intercepted*) on the way (*proved Kulaśekhara's*) hostility to the Chōla kingdom, we directed him (*Anṇaṇ Pallavarājan*) to oust him (*Kulaśekhara*) from there (Madura) and to (*reinstate*) in Madura **Vira-Pāṇḍya**, the son of **Parākrama-Pāṇḍya** who was from the beginning (*another*) claimant to the throne of Madura. (*Further*), we provided him (*Anṇaṇ Pallavarājan*) with all the requisites and directed him to indent on us (*when necessary*) for funds and cavalry and to manage the other things himself; and as he had so carried out (*our intentions*) within a short time (*and installed*) **Vira-Pāṇḍya** (*in*) Madura, (*we granted him*), from the **twelfth year**, ten *vēli* of land in **Rājarājan-Palaiyaṇūr** (*situated*) in Neṇmali-nāḍu, a division of [Arumoli]dēva-vaḷanāḍu, made free of taxes including *antarāyam* and *pāṭṭam* (*and commanded the engraving of the gift in the temple of*) Uḍaiyār Tiruvāḷaṅgāḍuḍaiy[ār] (*This is the signature of*) Mūvēndavēḷāṇ ே. This is the signature of Nilagaṅgarayaṇ ே. This is the signature of Dīpattarayaṇ ே. This is the signature of Kaṇakarājan ே. This is the signature of Malaiyappirājan ே. This [is the signature of] Maḷava This is the signature of Villavarājan ே.

¹ *Kādam* is the Indian league measure about 10 miles in distance.

No. 15.—THE KHAMKHED PLATES OF THE TIME OF PRATAPASILA.

BY PROFESSOR V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

This is a set of **three copperplates** discovered by a farmer while digging under a wall of his house at Khāmkhēḍ or Khāmgāon about 35 miles south-west of Mehkar in Berār. They reached the hands of Mr. Y. M. Kale, B.A., LL.B., M.L.C. of Bulḍānā, who kindly placed them at my disposal for editing.

The plates are strung on a circular ring 1·2" in thickness and 2·2" in diameter, passing through a hole about $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter in the centre of the top of each plate. The middle portion of the ring is flattened¹ to contain a **legend** in two lines and the crude figure of a male deity sitting cross-legged, with a halo surrounding his face. The ends of the ring do not appear to have ever been soldered and were a little apart from each other when the plates reached me, so that the latter could be taken out with ease. This makes it doubtful if the ring belongs to the plates at all. The suspicion is strengthened by the fact that the legend on the ring, though incised in the same characters as the inscription on the plates, does not contain any of the names mentioned in the plates. The plates and the ring together weigh 74 *tolas*. Each plate measures 6·7" × 2·3". After the plates were incised, it appears it was discovered that the hole of the first plate was wrongly cut at the centre of the bottom. It was, therefore, closed with a piece of copper rivetted into it and another was made at the centre of the top. Some portion on the right hand side of the first three lines is illegible owing to the corrosion and cracking of the first plate. The first and third plates are inscribed on the inner side only and the second, which is thicker, on both the sides. The letters are well cut and do not show through on the reverse. The ends of the plates are raised into rims to protect the letters. Each side of the plates contains six lines except the second side of the second plate which has five lines only. The **characters** are of the nail-headed or acute-angled variety of the North Indian alphabet. The engraver has, in the first two lines, shown the wedges clearly. Later on they are replaced by short horizontal top-strokes. The inscription thus shows the transitional stage when the wedges at the top of letters were giving place to horizontal strokes which in course of time developed into the characteristic top-lines of the Nāgarī alphabet.² The size of letters varies from ·1" on the first plate to ·2" on the rest. The initial *ā* which is differentiated from *a* by a downward stroke attached to the middle of the right hand vertical line of *a* occurs in *ādinya* (l. 9) and *āchchhētā* (l. 16). The initial *u* which has a curve at the lower end occurs in *uttarataḥ* (l. 22) and *uktam cha* (l. 12). The medial *ā* appears generally in the form of a downward stroke (cf. *Sagar-ādibhiḥ* l. 13) but occasionally appears above the line (cf. *rājānaiḥ* l. 13). The curve of the medial *i* often goes over the line to the left of the letter and, encircling it, appears again to the right, generally ending in a serif (cf. *kiñchī* l. 6). The medial *u* is shown in two ways—by lengthening the vertical stroke of the letter ending in a serif (cf. *Yudhishṭhira* l. 17) and by means of a curve open to the left (cf. *bhuktā* l. 13). The medial *ū* also occurs in two ways—(1) with a curve at the base of a letter, the end of which is either curled or turned sharply upwards (cf. *gavyūta* l. 7) and (2) with the sign for initial *ū*; (cf. *bhūmēḥ* l. 6). The *mātrās* for *ai*, *ō* and *au* generally stand above the line. They appear curled in some cases (cf. *Gōlamma* l. 10 and *ś=ch=aitad* l. 12); *k* and *m* generally show a loop on the left (see, however, *°kumāra* l. 8 and *raksha* l. 17, where *k* appears without a loop); *j* still appears in its old tripartite form (cf. *rājānaiḥ* l. 13); *ṭ* is flat at the top (cf. *Īśvarabhalla* l. 9); the base

¹ The seals of the Multāi and Tivarkhēḍ plates are similarly formed (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 231, and above, Vol. XI, p. 276).

² For a similar, but later, mixture of wedges and straight top-strokes see the Vanḍi-Diṇḍorī plates of Gōvinda III (see Plate II (b), *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 160).

stroke of *ṇ* is occasionally suppressed (see *Parṇṇikagrāmō* l. 21). The vertical stroke of *t* is generally on the left (cf. *sēnāpati* l. 10). *D* shows a slight serif at the lower end, *n* has a loop and *y* is generally bipartite (cf. *yadā* l. 14). Again the right hand upstroke of the sub-script *y* is drawn up as far as the top line of the whole letter (cf. *gavyūta* l. 7) and *r* shows a slight wedge at the lower end, which has not yet developed into a tail (cf. *purōkita* l. 9). The superscript *r* is generally placed above the line (cf. *svarggē* l. 15) but it appears as a short horizontal stroke in combination with *y* (cf. *sūrya-grahanē* l. 8). The characters thus resemble in a general way those of the Multāi plates of 708-9 A.D. (see Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*, Plate IV, XX).

The language is incorrect Sanskrit. See, for instance, the wrong forms *grāma* for *grāmanā* (l. 8), *pratipāditaṃ* for *pratipādītavān* (l. 9), *rājānaih* for *rājabhiḥ* (l. 13). The rules of *sandh* have, in some cases, been neglected. The marks of punctuation are, in many cases, not used at all, or are used wrongly (cf. ll. 8 and 10). The final *t* is wrongly dropped in *vasē* (l. 16) and *dānā* (l. 18). Except the imprecatory verses at the end, the whole inscription is in prose. As regards orthography we may note that the consonant following *r* is generally reduplicated (cf. *chaturddanta* l. 3, and *pūrvvasyām* l. 7). In some cases an *anusvāra* is used instead of a class nasal in the body of a word (cf. *sampannaḥ* l. 3). *V* is used for *ḥ* in *Vṛihaspatinā* (l. 12).

The object of the grant is to record the donation of the village Nandapura situated at a distance of only one *gavyūta* (about 4 miles) south-east of Parṇṇikhēta (also called Parṇṇikagrāma in l. 21) at the time of a solar eclipse. The donees were Sōmasvāmin, Shashṭhikūmāra, Nāgaśarman, Ādityaśarman and other Brahmins.¹ The gift was made by Davana-Druhāṭa (Druhāṭa?), the son of Utaragaṇa who was the eldest brother of the reigning king Pra[ṭāpa*]śīla. As no information about the dynasty of these kings is given and no date is recorded in this charter, it is not possible to identify either Utaragaṇa or his brother Pratāpaśīla and son Davana-Druhāṭa.² The names of some Kālachuri kings end in *gaṇa* but it is not known if they were related to Utaragaṇa mentioned in this charter. We can only say that the dynasty seems to have flourished in Berār in the beginning of the eighth century A.D. The use of the expression *Samadhiyata-pañcha-mahā-śabda* and the absence of any suzerain's name in the present charter seem to indicate that it was at first a feudatory royal family and made itself independent in Berār, when the power of the early Chālukyas of Bādāmi declined in the beginning of the eighth century A.D.

Among the names of officers who are asked to note the present gift occur those of the *Purōkita* Īśvarabhaṭṭa, Nāgammabhaṭṭa, the *Bhōgika* (district officer) Gōvinda, the *Śrēṣṭhika* Gōlamma and the *Sēnāpati* Durgahari. The grant was written by the last mentioned officer who describes himself as a bee issuing out of the lotus in the form of the foot of Gōvinda-Vishṇu. He was, therefore, a devotee of Vishṇu.

As for the geographical names occurring in this charter, Nandapura, the donated village, cannot be traced; its position is probably occupied by the present Khāmkhēḍ where the plates were found. Two of the villages that formed its boundary can be identified. Thus Parṇṇikhēta is probably Pāngārkhēḍ about 1½ miles to the north-west of Khāmkhēḍ and Vyāghraviraka is Vāghor about a mile to its north-east. The distance between Pāngārkhēḍ (the modern representative of Parṇṇikhēta) and Khāmkhēḍ (which now occupies the site of

¹ The names of some Brahmins are lost as some portion of the grant after *Sūryagrahanē* in l. 8 was omitted by the engraver. The latter part of one name (viz., *Sarmma*) appears after *Sūryagrahanē*.

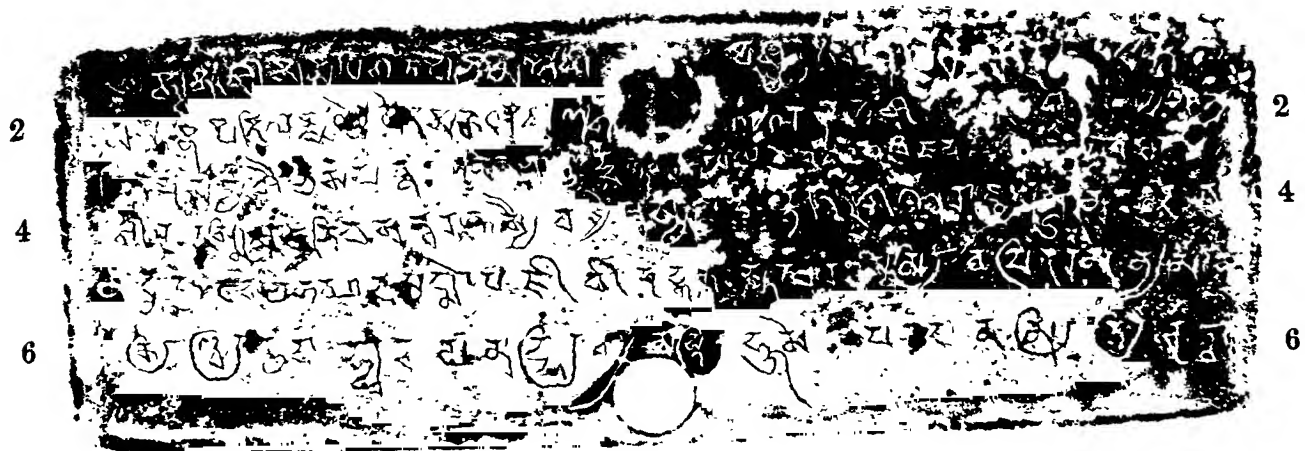
² These princes are not otherwise known. Again, the plates do not contain even a regnal date; the figure on the seal is crudely executed and its legend has no apparent connection with the plates. Though none of these grounds is conclusive by itself, their combination casts suspicion on the genuineness of the record.

THE KHAMKHED PLATES OF THE TIME OF PRATAPASILA.

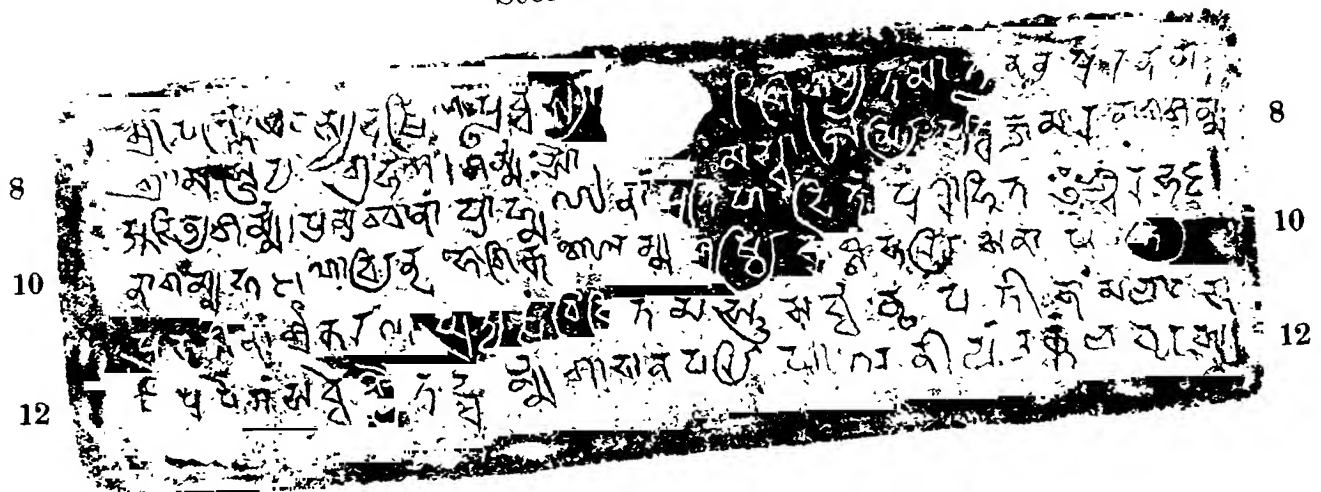
Seal.



First Plate.



Second Plate: First Side.



ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
श्री यथा ह्युक्तिः श्री यथा ह्युक्तिः श्री यथा ह्युक्तिः
अथ श्री यथा ह्युक्तिः श्री यथा ह्युक्तिः श्री यथा ह्युक्तिः
श्री यथा ह्युक्तिः श्री यथा ह्युक्तिः श्री यथा ह्युक्तिः
श्री यथा ह्युक्तिः श्री यथा ह्युक्तिः श्री यथा ह्युक्तिः

14

16

[illegible]

18

20

26

ancient Nandapura) is not one *gavyūta* (or four miles) as stated in the charter, but this mistake is probably due to the ignorance of the person who drafted the charter. The other villages cannot be identified.¹

TEXT.†

The Seal.

प(. .²)धम(मं)कख(स्थ)

First Plate.

1 ओमः स्वस्ति श्रीः ॥*] समधिगतपंचमहाशब्द[*] शु[त्र?]त[र]श्री(?)
प्रक[ट*]करजदा(?)त[स*]-

2 मस्तनृपतिलक्ष[णोपित][*] सकलगुणगणाल[क्ष]तशरी[र*] . . श[र*][न्ति*]-
[धै]र्य[शौर्य]-

3 [वि]नय[स]त्यशौचसंपन्नः अनेकच[तु]ईन्त[गजघटा]....⁵[प्राप्त*]विजयः [महारा*]जः
प्र[ताप*]-

4 शीलः⁶ तस्मिं [शास]ति वसुध्वरान्तस्वैव ज्येष्ठस्य [भ्रातुः] उत्तरगणराजः⁸ संतुः दवं-

5 नदृष्टः [1*] स च तत्पादपद्मीपद्मी तद्गतः⁹ स्तत्परः स्वमिव पितरं मन्यमा[नः]

6 किञ्चिच्छे[यो]भ्युदयमुद्दिश्य नास्ति भूमेः प[रं] दानमिति कृत्वा

Second Plate ; First Side.

7 श्रीप्रख्येष्टस्य दक्षिणपूर्वस्यां दिशि गव्यूतमात्रे नन्दपुरं नाम

8 ग्राम(ग्रामं) सूर्यग्रहणे¹⁰ ।¹¹ शमीः¹² सीमस्वामिषष्ठिकुमारनागशमी-

9 आदिन्वशमी¹³ ।¹¹ प्रसुखानां ब्राह्मणानां प्रतिपादित¹⁴ । पुरोहितैश्चरभट्ट-

10 नागभट्ट ।¹¹ गौविन्दमीगिकगौलक्ष्म्येष्टिदुर्गहरिसिनापति-

11 प्रसूतीनां श्रीकरचण्ड्यचं विदितमस्तु सर्वनृपतीनां¹⁵मचाटभ-

12 टप्रविशं सर्वैश्चैतद्वर्माशासनं परिपालनीयं [1*] एतं च वृहस्प-¹⁶

Second Plate ; Second Side.

13 तिना [1*] बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजानेः¹⁷ संगरादिभिः [1*] य[स्व] य-

¹ The accompanying plates have been prepared from excellent ink estampages kindly supplied by Mr. K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Superintendent, Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

† From the original plates.

² The second letter on the seal is illegible; the medial vowel seems to be *u*.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ [The reading from here to the end of the line is doubtful. The first two letters look like *ś-shata*.—Ed.]

⁵ About three letters are illegible here. [The reading is *chaturdanta* which is also found in the inscriptions of the Vishnukundin rulers; cf. above, Vols. IV, p. 196, and XI, p. 134.—Ed.]

⁶ [I cannot make out the first three syllables of this name from the plate.—Ed.]

⁷ Read तस्मिन्.

⁸ Read उत्तरगणराजस्य

⁹ The *visarga* is superfluous.

¹⁰ Some portion of the grant giving more names of Brahmins is dropped here.

¹¹ *Danda* not required.

¹² The *visarga* is unnecessary.

¹³ Read आदिन्वशमी.

¹⁴ Read प्रतिपादितवान्.

¹⁵ The *anuvāsa* is superfluous.

¹⁶ Read सतिना.

¹⁷ Read राजभिः.

- 14 स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं [॥*]¹ उक्तं च भगवता वेदव्या-
 15 सेन व्यासेन [॥*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [॥*]
 16 आच्छेता² चानुमन्ता च त³न्येव नरके वसे[त् ॥*]¹ पुनरपि चोक्तं व्यासेन [॥*]
 17 खदन्तां परदन्तां वा यद्वाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [॥*] मही-

Third Plate.

- 18 अहिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाश्रे(च्छे)योनुपालनं [॥*]¹ एवं ज्ञात्वा यद्व-
 19 तः परिपालनीयमिति [॥*] शिवमस्तु धर्मवृद्धिश्च ॥ चतुरोद्वा-
 20 टसमेतद्गामस्य पूर्वस्यां दिशि व्याघ्रविरकं नाम ग्रामः । दक्षिणेन भ्रमश-
 21 कं नाम ग्रामः । अपरतो(तः) ओषर्णिकग्रामो भवति [॥*] तस्य ग्रामस्य
 मर्यादावहो भ-
 22 वति [॥*] उत्तरतः च्छो(च्छो)बविरकग्रामः ॥ श्रीगोविन्दविष्णुचरणपंकजनिर्ग-
 23 तेन मृड्गेन दुर्गाहरिसेनापतिना लिखितमिदं ताम्ब्र⁵शासनमिति [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-12) Ōm. Hail! (There is) *Mahārāja Pra[tāpa]śīla* who has attained *Pañchamahā-śabda*, who is endowed with all the distinctive marks of royalty, whose person is decked with the multitude of all good qualities, who is possessed of tranquility, courage, bravery, modesty, truth and purity, who has attained victories with numerous four-tusked elephants While he is ruling over the earth *Davana-Druhaṭa* (Drubhaṭa?), the son of his own eldest brother King *Utaragaṇa*, who is dependent on his lotus-like feet, is devoted to him and is wholly engaged in (*serving*) him, who regards him as his own father and thinks that there is no higher gift than that of land for (*the attainment of*) any religious merit and good fortune, donates on (*the occasion of*) a solar eclipse the village *Nandapura* (*situated*) at a distance of only one *gavyūta* (4 miles) in the south-eastern direction of Śrī-Paṇikhēṭa to Brahmins, the foremost of whom are—Śarman,* Sōmasvāmin, Shashṭhikumāra, Nāgaśarman and Ādityaśarman. Let it be known to the *Purōhita* Īśvarabhaṭṭa, Nāgammabhaṭṭa, the *Bhōgika* Gōvinda, the *Śrēṣṭhīn* Gōlamma and the *Sēnāpati* Durggahari at (*our*) *Śrīkaraṇa* (record office) as also to all kings that this religious order, which prohibits the entry of *chāṭas* (courtiers) and *bhaṭas* (soldiers) (*in the donated village*), must be obeyed by all.

[Ll. 12-18 contain three of the customary verses.]

Knowing this, this order should be obeyed. May there be well-being and increase of religious merit! This village which has the (*following*) well-defined boundaries has the village Vyāghraviraka on the east, the village Bhramaśaka on the south, Śrī-Paṇikagrāma which forms the boundary of the (*donated*) village on the west and Chhōbaviraka-grāma on the north. This copper edict was written (*i.e.*, drafted) by the *Sēnāpati* Durggahari, who is a bee that has issued out of the lotus-like foot of Śrī-Gōvinda-Vishṇu.

¹ Metre :—*Anuṣṭubh*.

² Read आच्छेता.

³ Read तान्येव.

⁴ Read समेतग्रामस्य. [The plate shows *samētaṇ-grāmasya*.—Ed.]

⁵ Read ताम्ब्र.

⁶ The names of some Brahmins are dropped here.

No. 16.—A SARADA INSCRIPTION FROM HUND.

BY RAI BAHADUR DAYA RAM SAHNI, M.A., C.I.E.

In April last Captain E. H. Cobb, I.A., Assistant Commissioner, Mardan, North-West Frontier Province, sent me an eye-copy of an inscription, engraved on a rectangular slab of white stone, which he had discovered in the foundations of an old wall at Hund on the bank of the River Indus on the occasion of his visit to that place in company with Mr. O. K. Caroe, C.I.E., Chief Secretary to the Government of the North-West Frontier Province, now Deputy Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department. I have deciphered the inscription from inked estampages secured through the good offices of the discoverer.

Hund is the modern name of Udabhāṇḍa, the ancient capital of the Shāhi kings of Kābul from the 9th century A.D. till 1021 A.D. when this dynasty was extirpated by Maḥmūd of Ghaznī. It was at Hund that Alexander the Great crossed the River Indus before he proceeded on his conquest of India and through which later invaders passed. The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang visited this city in the 7th century A.D. and describes it as about 20 *li*, or just over three miles, in circuit and inhabited by rich and prosperous merchants. The site is now occupied by a small village surrounded by fortified walls of Muhammadan date with a perimeter of 1,400 yards. All round the village are extensive mounds marking the existence of important buildings of early date and coins of Indo-Greeks, Kushāns, Shāhi kings and the kings of Kashmīr have been found here in large numbers. No excavations have been carried out among these remains, but when they are, they may be expected to yield valuable antiquities of all kinds.

So far only a few inscriptions in Śāradā characters have been noticed on this site. Two of these were found by Lt.-Col. Sir Alexander Burnes of the Hon'ble India Company's Service in the early forties of the last century and deciphered by Mr. James Prinsep.¹ Another inscription in the same character was presented to my predecessor, Mr. H. Hargreaves, when he visited Hund in 1923-24. This inscription, according to Dr. Hirananda Sastri, dates from about the 10th century A.D. and records the construction of a Śaiva temple. All the three inscriptions require proper treatment.

The stone slab on which the inscription discovered by Captain E. H. Cobb is engraved measures 1' by 1' by 1'4" in thickness. The inscription consists of eight lines and is in a very good state of preservation. The characters are Śāradā of the 8th century A.D. and the language Sanskrit, which is not free from grammatical mistakes. The epigraph records the construction of a *dēvakula*, i.e., 'statue shrine' or temple by a *Mahārājñi Śrī-Kāmēśvarīdēvī* and its consecration between Saturday, the 8th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Āśvayuja in the year Saṁvat 168 and Thursday (?), the 12th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āshāḍha in the year Saṁvat 169. The architect (*navakarmapati*) who supervised the construction, was Jayantarāja, son of Upendra. He was an Āvantika or inhabitant of Avanti or Mālwa, and a Sūryadvija. The *pañchakula* was the Brāhmaṇa, Śrī-Pillaka, the son of Śrī-Vīrāditya. The exact meaning of *pañchakula* is not known. In his article² on the Siyadoni Stone Inscription, Professor Kielhorn defines this term as "an office apparently similar to the Marāṭhī पंच or पंचाईत" or "an assembly of five" who manage affairs of a town. If this interpretation is correct, we should assume Pillaka of the inscription under discussion to have been the head or

¹ J. A. S. B., Vol. VI, 1837, pp. 876 seq. and Pl. XLVI.

² Above, Vol. I, pp. 166 and 170.

foreman of an assembly of this nature. The Kāyastha, who composed this inscription, was Śrī-Bhōgika, a Sūryadvija, who was the son of Śrī-Vihēnda. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, following Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar¹, suggests that this term *Sūryadvija* may be taken in the sense of the Maga or Śākadvīpi Brāhmaṇas who were the special priests of the Sun-god and are traditionally supposed to have sprung from the Sun. The era in which the dates of this inscription are recorded is not mentioned. I have, however, no doubt that these should be referred to the **Harshakāla era** which began in the year 606 A.D. and was in ancient times in use in the Panjāb, the United Provinces, Bihār and Orissa, Nepāl, etc. If this assumption is correct, the years mentioned would be equivalent to 774 and 775 A.D.

In the above paragraph I have given the term *dēvakula* the alternative meaning of a 'statue shrine' on the analogy of the *dēvakula* of the Ikshvāku kings of Ayōdhyā in Bhāsa's play called the *Pratimā-nāṭakam*. This gallery of the heroes of the Ikshvāku race differed from a divine temple in having neither the banner of a god nor the statues of door-keepers. It was open to visitors, but the statues enshrined in it were not to be bowed to. A structure of this nature was excavated in a mound near Mathurā some 23 years ago. Another literary reference to a *dēvakula* occurs in the *Mṛichchhakatīkām* where, however, the precise character of the shrine is not quite clear. The earliest mention of such a structure in an inscription is that found in the inscription on the base of the headless statue of Vamatakshama (?) which was found in an ancient site at Mat near Mathurā. This site also yielded other statues of Kushāṇa kings, viz., one of Kanishka, a torso of the great Śaka *satrap* Chashtana, etc.

TEXT

- 1 श्री² स्वस्ति १ ॥ महाराज्ञी श्रीकामेश्वरीदेव्या सक्त
- 2 देवकुले नवकर्मपति उपेन्द्रपुत्रजयन्तरा-
- 3 ज आवन्तिको । सूर्यद्विजोः ॥ पंचकुल श्रीवीरादि-
- 4 त्वपुत्र श्रीपितृकव्राह्मणः ॥ ॥ कायस्थ श्रीविहे-
- 5 न्दपुत्र श्रीभोगिक सूर्यद्विजः ॥ ॥ इति
- 6 संवत् १६८³ आश्वयुजवति ८ शनीः शतो
- 7 दिना आरभ्य संवत् १६९ आषाढशुति १२ वही⁴ प्र-
- 8 तिष्ठा कृताः⁵ ॥ ॥ = ॥

No. 17.—JETHWAI PLATES OF THE RASHTRAKUTA QUEEN SILAMAHADEVI;
SAKA-SAMVAT 708.

BY PROFESSOR D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., PH.D. (HON.), CALCUTTA.

These plates were sent to me for decipherment by the late Mr. V. P. Bhandarkar when he was Huzur Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja Holkar. They were discovered some

¹ *Vaishnavism and Saivism*, pp. 151ff.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ [In ll. 6 and 7 the second digit of the year looks more like 5 than 6. But in neither case the date admits of verification from the particulars given in the inscription.—Ed.]

⁴ Perhaps shortened form of वृहस्पती.

⁵ The text as found in the inscription is retained without any corrections.

A SARADA INSCRIPTION FROM HUND.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे
 अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥
 द्रष्टव्यं धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता
 युयुत्सवः मामकाः पाण्डवाश्चैतानि ॥

thirty or thirty-five years ago in a small dilapidated fort on a hill near the village of Jethwai, about 8 miles west of Barwaha, in the Nimār district of the Indore State. One Babaji named Hirapuri, I am told, lighted upon them while digging into a brick and stone platform in the fort for materials for the construction of his house at Jethwai.

The plates are **three** in number, each measuring $9\frac{3}{4}" \times 6\frac{2}{5}"$. The middle one of these is thicker than the side ones. The edges of them are raised into rims to protect the writing. The plates are strung together on an oval ring with a diameter measuring between $2\frac{2}{5}"$ and $3"$. On the left side of the plates, a round hole is bored for the ring, and the second plate seems to have been slightly damaged through this boring operation. To the back of the ring is fixed a circular seal with a diameter measuring $1\frac{1}{2}"$. The seal bears the figure of Garuḍa. The inscription is engraved on the inner sides of the first and the third plate, and on both sides of the second. There are sixteen lines engraved on the first plate, sixteen lines on the first and seventeen lines on the second side of the second plate, and nineteen lines on the inner side of the third plate. The grant thus contains sixty-eight lines engraved in all.

The **language** in which the grant is written is Sanskrit throughout. The first thirty-five lines with part of the thirty-sixth, which set forth the genealogical account, line 40 and parts of lines 39 and 41 which contain a stanza descriptive of the transitoriness of human life, and lines 60-65, with parts of lines 59 and 66 which contain the benedictive and imprecatory verses are in verse and the rest in prose. The genealogical verses of the grant occur in one or other of the Rāshtrakūṭa charters hitherto published, except two, namely, stanzas 21 and 24, which are found only in the Surat Plates of Karkkarāja.¹ Stanza 21 contains mere stereotyped praise, but stanza 24 is historically important. The **script** used in this inscription is Nāgarī, as is generally the case with the Rāshtrakūṭa charters. As regards **orthography**, the consonants following *r* are, as a rule doubled, though indifference in this respect is noticeable in some cases, thus *k* and *n* are doubled in *Karkkarāja* (l. 7) and *Kārṇāṭakam* (ll. 10-11), but not in *ā-chandr-ār-k-ārṇava* (l. 53). The letter *b* is, as a rule, denoted by the sign for *b*, but also by the sign for *v* in a few cases, such as *svalp-āmvu* (l. 40), *saṁvadyamāna* (l. 42) and so on. The *anusvāra* is changed to *n* and *ñ* in conjunction with a following *n* or *ch*, once, in *dhvastin=nayan* (l. 2), and once in *kulañ-cha* (l. 4). The *visarga* is changed to *ś* in conjunction with a following *ś*, once in *niśśēsham* (l. 33) though it is retained in *niśśēshā°* (l. 16). *Ñ* is used instead of the *anusvāra* once in *rājasinhah* (l. 3). As regards **lexicography**, lines 48-52 contain some words such as *drōṅgarikā*, *vaha* and so forth, the exact import of which is not known.

The inscription is one of **Śīla-mahādēvī**, wife of the Rāshtrakūṭa king **Dhruva**, or, as she is described in lines 37-39, *Paramēśvarī Parama-bhaṭṭārikā Śrī-Śīlamahādēvī*, the great queen of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Dhārāvarsha*, the illustrious Dhruvarājādēva who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Akālavarshadēva, i.e., his father Kṛishṇa I. She is described as the princess of the illustrious Viṭṭarasa alias Vishṇuvardhana who bore the epithet of *Sarva-lōk-āśraya*, 'Support of the whole world'. The latter is doubtless Vishṇuvardhana IV. of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty ruling at Vēṅgī. In his account of this dynasty J. F. Fleet² says that he was son of Vijayāditya I. and reigned for thirty-six years from A.D. 764 to 799. He is called Vishṇuvardhana in all inscriptions except one. In this last his name is given as Vishṇurāja which is no doubt the Sanskrit form of Viṭṭarasa. No reasonable doubt can thus be entertained as to Śīla-mahādēvī being the daughter of the Eastern Chālukya king, Vishṇuvardhana IV.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of a village by Śīla-mahādēvī to two Brāhmaṇs. The village granted is **Kōlēpadra**, situated in the district of **Nāndīpuradvārī**. The

¹ See above, Vol. XXI, p. 142.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 100.

boundaries of the village have been specified. One of the donees was **Mārachcha**, son of Māradi. He was an *adhvaryu* and a religious student of the Kāṇva-*śākhā*. His native place was Kurugōṭa, and he pertained to the Śālaṅkāyana-*gōtra*. The other donee was **Durgāditya**, son of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa. He also was an *adhvaryu*, but was a religious student of the Mādhyandina-*śākhā*. His native place was Nāndipuradvārī. He was a member of the Community of Brāhmaṇs well versed in the four Vēdas (*chāturvīdya-sāmānya*) belonging to his place, and pertained to the Jātūkarnya-*gōtra*. The occasion of the grant was the eclipse of the sun which occurred in the **Śaka year 708 expired on the Amāvāsyā day of the dark half of the Aśvayuja** (Āśvina). This corresponds to Wednesday, 27th September, A.D. 786, when there was a solar eclipse.

It will be seen that the donor of the grant is a queen. And what is noteworthy about it is that she grants a village and issues the charter without any formal sanction or approval being given by her husband, king Dhruvarāja. This gives rise to an interesting question about the polity of Ancient India. Instances are not unknown of grants being made by queens. We have thus the Naihāṭi Plate of the Sēna king Ballālasēna, recording and sanctioning the grant of a village by his mother Vilāsadēvī on the occasion of a solar eclipse.¹ As Vilāsadēvī was the wife of Vijayasēna who was then dead, one can easily understand why her grant had to be approved and sanctioned by her son Ballālasēna who was then the living king. The case was different with Prabhāvatiguptā who issued the Poona Plates.² She was the *agramahishī* of the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasēna I. But when she issued the grant, she was Regent during the minority of her son Divākarasēna.³ This is, no doubt, an interesting item of information, because it shows that women could administer a kingdom when their sons were minors. But as she was practically the ruler, it is intelligible how she could issue a charter without sanction being accorded to it by an extraneous higher authority. Nevertheless, be it noted, the charter has a seal bearing not her own name, but that of her son, namely, Divākarasēna. Far more interesting perhaps are the grants of Tribhuvana-Mahādēvī and Daṇḍi-Mahādēvī, both of the Kara family of Guhēsvara-pāṭaka.⁴ The first of these was the daughter of Rājamalla, a king of the south, and Queen of Lalitabhāradēva. After the death of her husband, the feudatory chieftains of the kingdom approached her with a request to accept the sovereignty come to her in course of succession, and cited the instance of Dēvī Gōsvāmīnī who apparently belonged to the same family and who agreed to administer the kingdom under similar circumstances. And in compliance with their request, we are told, she ascended the lion-throne like Kātyāyanī. The name of the other female ruler furnished by this dynasty is that of Daṇḍi-mahādēvī, who was the daughter of the Kara king Śubhākara. That both Tribhuvana-mahādēvī and Daṇḍi-mahādēvī were real rulers is proved by the charters they issued on their sole authority, and, above all, by the titles which they bore, namely, *Paramabhaṭṭārikā Mahārājādhirājā Paramēśvarī*. The only difference between these two is that while Tribhuvana-mahādēvī was married into the Kara family, Daṇḍi-mahādēvī was apparently a virgin of that family. Whether the latter could have continued to be the ruler if she had been married is a most interesting point of law with which, however, we are not here concerned. Suffice it to say, both of these queens were rulers in reality, and it is therefore no wonder if they could issue grants in their own names, with their own dates and seals and without any extraneous sanction. But what about Śīla-mahādēvī, Queen of Dhruvarāja, who is the donor of

¹ Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 159ff.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 41f.

³ Another grant of Prabhāvatiguptā is known which she made when she was a hundred years old. Though the village was granted by her, the plates refer themselves to a regnal year of her third son, Pravarasēna (D. R., Bhandarkar's *List of North. Ind. Inscr.*, No. 1706; *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XX, pp. 58ff).

⁴ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 422-23, ll. 16-20 Bhandarkar's *List* Nos. 1413, 1416 and 1906.

our charter? She was neither a Regent during the minority of any one of her sons, nor an autonomous ruler. And yet she issues a grant on her own authority and without the approval of her husband, Dhruvarāja. This is rather a case which deserves further consideration. For an entirely different procedure seems to have been followed in the case of the Gāhaḍavāla family. It seems that Gōvindachandra of this dynasty had two *paṭṭamahādēvī mahārājñīs*, one Nayaṇakēlidēvī and the other Gōsaladēvī, both *paṭṭamahādēvīs*, apparently not at one and the same time. Both issue grants, Nayaṇakēlidēvī in V. 1176 and Gōsaladēvī in V. 1208¹. But though the grants are surely made by them, they have been issued with the express approval of Gōvindachandra in spite of the fact that each one of them is a *paṭṭamahādēvī* and is described as *samastarājaparakriyōpētā* which Kielhorn renders by "endowed with all royal prerogatives". Such was not, however, the case with Śīla-mahādēvī whose titles *paramēśvarī paramabhaṭṭārīkā* do not seem to be empty and unmeaning. Because in the prose portion of the inscription which really sets forth the details of the grant, she herself issues orders to the officers concerned with the village granted. At the end of the record also, the *Dūtaka* and the officer who drew up the document carry out their respective duties according to the orders, not of Dhruvarāja, but of Śīla-mahādēvī. And further there is nothing in the draft of the charter which shows that any approval or sanction was ever accorded to the grant by Dhruvarāja. This shows that the high-sounding royal titles which are coupled with her name are not an empty boast, but are a clear indication that she was a co-partner of her husband in the Rāshtrakūṭa sovereignty. Two questions here arise: first, how could she be a co-partner of her husband in royal sovereignty, and, secondly, are there any more instances of this kind?

It is well known that in ancient times wife and husband were jointly concerned in all the affairs of the life, not excluding the administration of a kingdom, and that in process of time this co-right of woman fell into desuetude in North India, but continued to be recognised for a long time in South India. Thus when a member of a royal family was crowned king, he was originally crowned along with his wife. Two instances will here suffice. The *Rāmāyaṇa* describes the coronation of Rāma, and the following significant line appears in that connection: *tataḥ sa prayato vṛiddhō Vasishṭhō brāhmaṇaiḥ saha | Rāmam ratna-mayē pīṭhē sa-Sītām samnyavēśayat||*². This shows that when Rāma was crowned king, he was crowned not alone, but along with Sītā. The coronation of another epic hero that is always uppermost in the mind of a Hindu is that of Yudhisṭhira, with reference to which the following verse occurs in the *Mahābhārata*, *upavēśya mahātmānam Kṛṣṇnam cha Drupad-ātmajām*.³ This also shows clearly that Yudhisṭhira was crowned sovereign not alone, but jointly with Draupadī. If this kind of coronation has a meaning (and certainly it was originally not a mere formality), it must mean that both husband and wife were co-sharers of the sovereignty so conferred upon them. This alone can explain why in the charter issued by Śīla-mahādēvī there is no approval or sanction given to it by Dhruvarāja. Being crowned along with her husband, she had as much authority to issue the grant in her name as he had in his.

It may, however, be contended that this line of reasoning, spacious as it is, is not convincing, unless more instances can be adduced to show that husband and wife jointly shared the ruling authority. And luckily such instances are by no means unknown though, so far as I know, they come from South India. Attention may be drawn to the Baṅkāpūr Inscription of the time of the Chālukya Sōmēśvara I. when in Śaka 977 the Kādamba chieftain Harikēśaridēva was administering the Banavāsi twelve-thousand, we are told, not alone and by himself, but in company with his

¹ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 108ff; Vol. V, pp. 117 ff.

² *Yuddha-Kāṇḍa*, *Sarga*, 128, v. 59.

³ *Śānti-P*, *Sarga* 40, v. 14 (Bengali Recension).

wife Lachchaladēvī.¹ Here is thus a clear instance of husband and wife jointly ruling over a province. If we, however, want to know whether, as a matter of fact, a crowned queen can issue a charter on her own authority, that instance is supplied by Vijaya-mahādēvī, wife of Chandrāditya who was the elder brother of the Chālukya king Vikramāditya I. of Bādāmi. We have not one, but two, copper-plate grants issued by her.² And these grants she has made independently and without reference to her husband or Vikramāditya I. This authority she must have derived from her position as *mahishī* or crowned queen, as she has actually been called, of Chandrāditya. But this joint rule by husband and wife is not a phenomenon of the mediæval period of Ancient India. We thus have another instance in Nāsik Cave Inscription No. 5 which contains an order to Sāmaka (Śyāmaka), the Officer at Gōvardhana, by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi of the Śātavāhana dynasty and the grant of a fresh plot of land in lieu of the old uncultivable one, to the Buddhist monks staying in his Cave.³ It is a regular deed of grant bristling with fiscal terms and containing at the end the name of the engraver and the dates of the original donation and the actual execution. But who issues this order to the Officer at Gōvardhana? Not Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi by himself, but he and his wife together. This clearly shows that Gautamīputra and his wife were both co-partners in the Śātavāhana sovereignty. It will thus be seen that in ancient times both husband and wife had joint interest in the exercise of sovereignty and that they could issue a grant jointly or separately in his or her name without reference to the other party. It is worthy of note that all the instances here adduced whether of a queen exercising joint authority along with her husband, or of a queen acting as Regent during the minority of her son or of a princess ruling sole sovereign as a virgin or a widowed queen are supplied from the history of South India. Whether there was such law applicable to North India in historical times we do not know.

We will now proceed to the consideration of other matters arising from our plates. There are two grants which refer to the reign of Dhruvarāja. The latter of these is the one whose contents we are discussing and which is dated Śaka 708. The earlier is the Pimpri Plates⁴ dated Śaka 697. This last comes into conflict with the Dhulia grant of Karkarāja, son of this Dhruvarāja, because this inscription which is dated Śaka 701 refers itself to the prosperous reign of Gōvindarāja II., though his younger brother Dhruvarāja, as we know from Pimpri Plates, was already ruling in Śaka 697. K. B. Pathak, who has edited these Plates, therefore, declares the Dhulia grant to be a spurious record. I agree with Pathak in his conclusion, but not for the reasons he has alleged. His main contention is as follows. He invites our attention first to the passage :

श्रीप्रभूतवर्षस्य प्रवर्धमानराज्ये [१*] तस्मानुजः श्रीध्रुवराजस्य (नामा) महा-
नुभावो विहितप्रतापः [२*] [१*] प्रसाधिताशेषनरेन्द्रचक्रः [३*] चूडामणि (क्रमेण)
वालार्कवपुर्वभूव । ... तस्य सुत श्रीकर्कराजस्तदाज्ञया सर्वानिव समा-
न्नापयति⁵

Here the expression तदाज्ञया, says Pathak, can only mean "by the command of Dhruvarāja". He therefore naturally asks : "how could Karkarāja order all his feudatories by the command of Dhruvarāja, in the prosperous reign of Gōvinda II., when Dhruva was not the reigning sovereign?" But the expression तदाज्ञया need not necessarily mean "by the command of Dhruvarāja". It may also mean "by the command of Gōvindarāja". If the latter view is

¹ Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 168, 171 (l. 28), and 174.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 164, ll. 13-15; *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 46, ll. 15-18.

³ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 73.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. X, pp. 85ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 186, ll. 26-30.

accepted, the objection raised by Pathak becomes null and void. His other objection, however, is more important though he has put it forth rather cryptically. In the quotation just given from the Dhulia grant, there is a stanza descriptive of Dhruva which begins with *tasya=ānujaḥ* and which occurs in many Rāshtrakūṭa records. But the last line of this stanza is not correctly worded, especially the initial part of it. It begins with *chūdāmaṇi* instead of with *kramēṇa* as in the other Rāshtrakūṭa inscriptions. Besides, *chūdāmaṇi*, as it is, causes a cæsura of the metre. And what is curious is that in the Rāshtrakūṭa charters where this stanza is given, it is followed by another beginning with *jātē yatra cha*. This stanza, however, contains the word *chūdāmaṇau* which was probably sticking to the memory of the scribe who was writing out the Dhulia grant and which unwittingly fell through his pen while he was writing the last line of the preceding stanza. It is thus plain that both the stanzas were known to the scribe who prepared the draft of the Dhulia grant. Now, it is a fact well-known to an epigraphist that in the Rāshtrakūṭa charters there are certain verses which are peculiar to certain Rāshtrakūṭa kings. These verses could have been composed by the court panegyrist only when those kings were on the throne. The verses beginning with *tasya=ānujaḥ* and *jātē yatra cha* could thus have been composed only when Dhruvarāja was the king. And the question naturally arises: how could these verses which must have been composed during the reign of Dhruvarāja alone find a place in the Dhulia grant which refers itself to the reign of his predecessor? The verse जाति यत्र च etc., as pointed out by Pathak, describes Dhruva as a paramount sovereign. When Dhruva was thus a sovereign, no Rāshtrakūṭa record can refer itself to the reign of his predecessor Gōvindarāja II., as the Dhulia grant undoubtedly does. Secondly, unless we suppose that the Dhulia grant is a forgery, a chronological discrepancy must arise which we cannot get over. As indicated above, whereas the Pimpri Plates of Dhruva are dated Śaka 697, his present plates are dated Śaka 708. We thus obtain a period ranging between Śaka 697 and 708 during which Dhruva reigned. And this period is disturbed if we consider the Dhulia grant as a genuine one. For if Gōvindarāja II. ceased to reign and was succeeded by his brother Dhruva about Śaka 697, how could he be ruling again in Śaka 701 as the Dhulia grant implies. Evidence thus points to the irresistible conclusion that the Dhulia grant is a spurious one.

The last date of their father Kṛishṇarāja is Śaka 694 supplied by the Bhāṇḍak Plates.¹ And the earliest date known for Dhruva is, as we have seen, Śaka 697 which is the date of his Pimpri charter. Gōvinda II. thus seems to have ruled between Śaka 694 and 697. This is no doubt a brief reign, but we know the cause of it, namely, that he was ousted from his throne by his younger brother Dhruva. To ascertain how he came to be so ousted, we will here quote accounts from three different charters and then piece them together so as to give a whole and intelligent story. The Dēoli and Karhād grants² of Kṛishṇa III. say that "sensual pleasures made Gōvindarāja careless of the kingdom, and that, entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother, Nirupama, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose". The Daulatābād Plates of the Rāshtrakūṭa Śaṅkaragaṇa record that "His younger brother was Nirupama, who, on perceiving him self-conceited, abandoned by (feudatory) princes, and even devoid of policy, assumed the royal authority placed (in the hands of a person) other than one possessed of devotion for the predecessors, in order that the sovereignty might not deviate from the family".³ The Paithān Plates of Gōvinda III. furnish the following information in two stanzas.⁴ "Although he (Gōvindarāja) brought kings in numbers, hostile as they were, (such as) the ruler of Mālava and so forth joined by the lord of Kāñchi, the Gaṅga, and (the prince) of Vēṅgī, he (Dhruvarāja) gave ruby

¹ Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 123ff.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. V., p. 193, v. 10; Vol. IV, p. 282, v. 11.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 194 and pp. 196-7, v. 11. ⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 107, ll. 30-34.

ornaments and a quantity of gold, and, over and above that, kept his mind unchanged towards (his) brother. Thereafter when, even after conciliation and other (remedies), Vallabha (Gōvinda) did not make peace, (Dhruvarāja), the great ruler, speedily vanquished him in a battle offered by the brother, expelled the enemies from the east and the north, and secured the sovereignty decorated with the insignia of the effulgent *pālidhvaja* ". If we now piece together these items of information, we arrive at the following conclusions : (1) Gōvinda II. entrusted the government of the kingdom to Dhruva, because he gave himself up to sensual pleasures ; (2) the consequence was that Dhruva became the sovereign *ipso facto* ; (3) Gōvinda became alive to the danger of the situation and entrusted the government to another who apparently was not a Rāshtrakūṭa in lineage ; (4) Dhruva thereupon revolted, and Gōvinda, to protect himself, entered into an alliance with kings who were otherwise inimical to the Rāshtrakūṭa family ; and (5) Dhruva made overtures to Gōvinda by offering him gold and precious stones, but as the latter gave a battle, Dhruva fought, defeated his brother, and made himself supreme.

The kings with whom Gōvinda II. formed an alliance were, as we have seen above, the ruler of Mālava, the Gaṅga prince and the lord of Vēṅgī. In this connection we may take note of a verse about Dhruva which is an important one for the Rāshtrakūṭa history and which is verse 24 of our grant¹. It says : " As (Dhruva) reduced to subjection forts (*ḍurga*) which were the cream of the three worlds, augmented his fame by obstructing the continuity of the (lineal) flow of the Gaṅgas and made his own the prosperity of (a ruler) whose exalted insignia was the bull, he, alone and in this world displayed the quality of Paramēśvara (Supreme Ruler) clearly and powerfully, just as Śiva, by decorating Durgā who was the quintessence of the three worlds, augmenting his fame by obstructing the continuity of the flow of the Ganges, and accepting the lofty Bull (Nandī) as his badge and ashes (for his use), displayed the quality of Paramēśvara (Supreme God) ". It is evident that this stanza is susceptible of *double entendre*. The mythological sense is clear enough. But so far as the historical sense is concerned, it supplies us with two facts of importance. The first is that Dhruva was a sworn enemy of the Gaṅgas. This follows from the verses quoted from the Paiṭhāṇ Plates. The Gaṅga prince was actually one of the allies who had come to the help of Gōvinda when Dhruva was ousting him. It was therefore natural that Dhruva could never forgive the Gaṅga king. His hostilities with the Gaṅgas have been referred to also in other Rāshtrakūṭa inscriptions. The second historical fact to be deduced from the same verse of our grant is that he made his own the prosperity of a ruler whose family insignia was the bull. Who could this prince be ? Obviously he could be no other than a prince of the (Eastern) Chālukya family of Vēṅgī who had the bull as their badge². And this prince again could be no other than his father-in-law, Vishṇuvardhana IV. The latter was no doubt an ally of Dhruva when our grant was issued. But it could not have been so originally, for we know that like the Gaṅga prince, the Vēṅgī also favoured Gōvinda II. and opposed Dhruva. Now Vishṇuvardhana IV., the Chālukya ruler of Vēṅgī, we have seen, ruled from A.D. 764 to 799, whereas Gōvinda II. from A.D. 772 to 775. Vishṇuvardhana therefore must have been the ally of Gōvinda II. and adversary of Dhruva about 775. But it seems that after Gōvinda II. was finally ousted, Vishṇuvardhana made alliance with Dhruva which was cemented by the latter marrying his daughter.

¹ The same verse occurs in the Surat Plates of Karkkarāja (v. 24) as stated above. Prof. A. S. Altekar, who has edited them, however, interprets it differently.

² [That the Eastern Chālukyas had boar as their badge and not bull is clear from the expression *vara-varāha-lāṅchhana* found in their inscriptions and the figure of a boar on the seals of many of the copper plates issued by them. The reference here is probably to the Pallavas of Kāñchī who had the bull as their emblem as is evidenced by their seals. We know from the Paiṭhāṇ plates that the Lord of Kāñchī was one of the kings with whom Gōvinda II. formed an alliance.--Ed.]

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 श्री² [1*] स वोव्य(व्या)देधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं [1*] हरश्च यस्य
क(का)न्तेन्दुकलया कमलंकृतं [11*]
- 2 आसीद्विषन्तिमिर³मुद्यतमण्डलाग्रो ध्वस्तिन्नयन्मभिमुखो रणशर्व्वरोषु [1*] भूपः
शुचिर्व्विधुरिवा-
- 3 अदिगन्ना⁴कीर्त्तिर्गोविन्दर(रा)ज इति राजसु राजसिङ्गः⁵ [2*] दृष्ट्वा चमूम-
भिमुखो सुभटाष्टाहसा⁶मुन्ना-
- 4 मितं सपदि येन रणेषु नित्यं ।(।) दष्टाधरेण दधता भुक्कुटि⁷ ललाटे
खड्ग⁸ कुलंश्च(च) हृदयं च निजं च सत्व⁹ ।[1 3*]
- 5 खड्गं करग्रा सु¹⁰खतश्च शोभ(भा) मानो मनस्तः सममेव यस्य । [म]ह(हा)-
हवे नम¹¹ निश(।)म्य सद्यस्त्रयं रि-
- 6 पु(पू)ष्पां विगलत्यकण्ठे¹² ॥ [4*] तस्यात्मजो जगति विन्नुतदीर्घकीर्त्तिरर्त्त
र्त्ति¹³हारिहरिविक्रमधमधरि¹⁴ [1*] भूपस्तृ(स्त्रि)वि-
- 7 ष्टपट्टपानुकृतिः कृतश्चः श्रीककर्णराज इति गोत्रमणिर्व्वभूव ॥ [5*] तस्य
दिभिन्नकरटश्चुतदानदन्तिदन्तप्रहर-¹⁵
- 8 इचिरोल्लिखितांसपीठः [1*] आषः¹⁶ धितो¹⁷ अपितश्चतुरभूतनूजः[1*] सद्राष्ट्रकू-
टकनकाद्रि¹⁸रिवेन्द्रराजः ॥[6*]
- 9 तस्योपार्जितमहसस्तनयश्चतुरदधिवल्लयमालिन्वाः [1*] भोक्ता भुवः शतक्र-
तुसदृषः¹⁹ श्री-
- 10 दन्तिदुर्गरजोभुत्²⁰ ॥[7*] काञ्चीशकेरलनरधिप²¹चोलपण्ड्य²²श्रीहर्षवज्रविभेदविधा-
नदत्तं [1*] कार्ष्ण-
- 11 टकं²³ बलमनन्त्य²⁴मजेयमन्यैर्भृत्यैः कियन्निरपि यः सहसा जिगाय ॥[8*] ²⁵अर्धवि-
भङ्गमगृह्णित²⁶निशातश-

¹ From the original plates and impressions.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read °सिधिर°.

⁴ Read °टाहसा°.

⁵ Read सल्लम्.

⁶ Read °काण्डे.

⁷ Read प्रहार.

⁸ Read कनकाद्रि.

⁹ Read नराधिप.

¹⁰ Read बलमनन्त्य°.

¹¹ Read °वास्तदिगन्त.

¹² Read भुक्कुटि.

¹³ Read कराग्राग्रा°.

¹⁴ Read °रार्त्तिर्त्ति°.

¹⁵ Read आषः.

¹⁶ Read सद्राष्ट्र.

¹⁷ Read पाण्ड्य.

¹⁸ Read अमू°.

¹⁹ Read सिङ्गः.

²⁰ Read खड्गं.

²¹ Read नाम.

²² Read धामधारी.

²³ Read धितो.

²⁴ Read राजोभूत्.

²⁵ Read कार्वाटकं.

²⁶ Read °गृहीत.

- 12 स्वमश्रान्तमप्रतिहतज्ञ¹मपेतयन्नं [*] यो वल्लभं सपदि दण्डबलेन जित्वा
राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरता-
- 13 मवाप ॥[9*] आसेतोर्विपुलोपलावलिलसन्नोलीर्धिमालाजन्तादाम्रालेयकलङ्किता-
मलशिलाजा-
- 14 लान्तुषाराचलात् ।(।) आ पूर्वापरव(वा)रिराशिपू(पु)लिनप्रान्तप्रसिद्धावधे² येनेयं
जगती स्वविक्रमबले-
- 15 नैकातपत्रा³ कृता ॥[10*] त[स्मिन्दिवं प्र]या[ते व]ल्लभराजे चतप्रजाबाधः ।[*]
श्रीकर्कराजसूतुर्भहोपतिः क-
- 16 णराजोभू[त्] ॥[11*] यस्य समुजपरक्रम⁴निः(॥)शेषोव्यादितारिदिक्रकं ।(।)
कृष्णस्येवाकृष्णं चरितं

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 17 श्रीकृष्णरजस्य⁵ ॥[12*] शुभतुङ्गुतुङ्गुरगप्रहृदरेणूर्ध्वरविकिरणं [*] श्रीशेषि
नभो निखिलं
- 18 प्रावृद्धालायते स्पष्टं ॥[13*] दीनानाथप्रणयिषु यथेष्टचेष्टं समीहितमजस्रं ।(।)
तत्क्षणमकालव-
- 19 र्धो वर्षति सर्वार्त्तिनिर्व्वयणं ॥[14*] राहृष्यमात्मभुजजातबलावलेपमाज्जो विजित्य
निश्रितासिलता-
- 20 प्रहारैः [*] पालिष्वज⁶वलिशुभममचिरे[ण यो हि रा]जाधिराजपरमेश्वरता⁷
ततान ॥[15*] क्रोधादुत्खातख-
- 21 ह्रप्रसृतवर्चिचयैर्भासमानं ⁸समन्ता ।जादुहृत्तवैरिप्रकटगजघटाटोपसंज्ञोभदञ्चं ।(।)
श्रीयं
- 22 त्यक्त्वारिवर्गा⁹ भयचकितवपुः का[र्]प¹⁰ दृष्ट्वैव सद्यो दर्पश्चातारिचक्रचयकरम-
गमयस¹¹ दोर्हण-
- 23 क(क)पं ॥[16*] पाता यद्वतुरं(र)म्बुर(रा)शिरयनालंकारभाजो भुवस्तस्थत्वाधि
कृतद्विजामरगुरुप्राज्याज्यपु(पु)-
- 24 जादरः ।(।) द(दा)ता म(मा)नभृदशणीर्गुणवतां योसौ त्रियो वल्लभो भोक्तुं
स्वर्गफल(ला)नि भूरितप-

¹ Read °प्रतिहताञ्ज°.

⁴ Read स्वभुजपराक्रम.

⁷ Read °तां ततान.

¹⁰ Read क्वापि.

² Read प्रसिद्धावधेयै°.

⁵ Read °राजस्य.

⁸ Read समन्तादाजावुद्ध.

¹¹ Read °दस्य.

³ Read पञ्ची°.

⁶ Read °ध्वजा°

⁹ Read वर्गा.

- 25 सा स्थानं जमाममरं ॥[17*] येन श्वेतातपचप्रहतरविकहवाततापासलीलं
जग्मे नासीरध्वली-
- 26 धवली(लि)तशिरसा वल्लभ(भा)व्यः सदाजौ [1*] स श्रीगोविन्दराजो जितज-
गदहितस्त्रैष्वैधव्यहेतुस्त-
- 27 स्यासीलतुरेका¹ क्षणरणदलित(ता)रातिमत्तेभकुम्भः ॥[18*] तस्मानुजः श्रीधु(धु)-
वराजनाम्ना मङ्ग(हा)नुभावो-
- 28 प्रहृतप्रत(ता)पः [1*] प्रसाधिताशेषनरेन्द्रचक्रः क्रमेण बलकं²वपुर्व्वभूव ॥[19*]
जते³ यत्र च राष्ट्रकु(कू)ट-
- 29 [ति]लके सङ्गपुच्छुटमणौ⁴ गुर्वो तुष्टिरथाखिलस्य जगतः सुस्वामिनि प्रत्यहं [1*]
सत्यं सत्यमिति प्र-
- 30 श(श)सति सति क्षामासमुद्रान्तिकामासीद्वर्ष्मपरे गुण(णा)मृतनिधौ सत्यव्रता-
धिष्ठिते ॥[20*] शशध-
- 31 रकरनिकरनिभं यस्य यशः सुरनगायसानुख्यैः [1*] परिगीयतेतुरस्तेर्विदधर-⁵
सुन्दरीनिव-
- 32 हैः ॥[21*] हृष्टोन्वहं योधि(यि)जनाय नित्यं सर्व्वस्वामानन्दितबधुवर्गः⁶ [1*]
प्रदा प्ररुष्टी⁷ हरति

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 33 स्म धगात्⁸ प्राणान्यमस्य(स्वा)पि नितान्तवीयः⁹ ॥[22*] रक्षती(ता) येन
निश्लेष(षं) चतुरंभोधिसंयुतं [1*]
- 34 राज्यं धर्मण¹⁰ लोकाना(नां) कृता तुष्टिः परा हृदि ॥[23*] योसौ प्रसे-
(सा)धितजगत्त्र(क्ष)यसारदुगो¹¹ गंगौ-
- 35 घसन्ततिनिरोधविहङ्गनीत्तिः¹² [1*] ¹³आत्मीकतोन्नतवषाङ्गविभूतिरुच्चैर्व्यक्तं तंतान¹⁴
परमेश्वर-
- 36 [र]तामिहैकः ।[1 24*] तस्य परमभट्ट(ट्टा)रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदकाव-
37 [व]र्ष(देव)प(पा)दानुध्यातपरमभट्ट(ट्टा)रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरधार(रा)वर्ष-
- 38 श्रीधुवराजदेवस्य महादेवो सर्व्वलोकाश्रयविष्णुवर्द्धनश्रीविहरसराजदु-

¹ Read °ल्लतुरेकः.

² Read बालार्क.

³ Read जाते.

⁴ Read चूडामणौ.

⁵ Read °रक्षैर्विद्याधर.

⁶ Read सर्व्वस्वामानन्दितबन्धु⁰.

⁷ Read प्रादाप्ररुष्टी.

⁸ Read वेगात्.

⁹ Read °वीर्य्यः.

¹⁰ Read धर्मण.

¹¹ Read दुर्गो

¹² Read कीर्तिः.

¹³ Read आत्मी⁰

¹⁴ Read °रुच्चैर्व्यक्तं ततान.

- 39 हिता परमेश्वरी परमभट्टारिका श्रीशीलमहादेवी ॥ तयेदमाप्नोष-
 40 तुणाग्रसन्नस्वल्पाभु(म्बु)वि(वि)न्धुवमाकलय [1*] नृजीवितं धर्मनिबद्धवृक्षा
 हिजा-
 41 तिदायोयमकारि भूरिः [॥ 25*] सा च धारावर्धश्रीमहादेवी कुशली(लिनी)
 सर्व(र्वी)ने-
 42 व यथासवध्यमानकावाङ्ग¹ पतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटकन(नि)युक्तयुक्ताधि-
 43 कार(रि)कमहत्तरादीन(न्) समादिशति [1*] अस्तु वो विदितं यथा
 मय(या) म(मा)तापि-
 44 श्रोतात्मनश्चैकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिष्यये² श्रीकुशगोटवास्तव्यशा-
 45 लंकायनसगोत्र-अध्यु³-काण्वसन्नञ्च(चा)रि-ब्राह्मण-मारदि-सूनु[र्मा]रक्षः ॥
 46 श्रीनान्दीपु(पु)रहारीवास्तव्य-तश्चातुर्विद्य⁴स(सा)मान्य-जातूकण्वसगोत्र⁵-अध्यु³-माध्यन्दि-
 47 नसन्नञ्चचारि-ब्राह्मण-भट्टनारायण-सूनु-दुर्मा(र्मा)दित्यः [1*] आद्या⁶ श्रीमन्नान्दीपु-
 48 रहारी-दिषयन्तर्गतः⁷ कोलव(प)द्रनामग्रामः यस्याघट्टनानि पूढतः⁸ तटनअ-
 49 पन्नासाखट्टानिस्त्रोयिसंगमश्चरणिफालग्रामश्च⁹

Third Plate.

- 50 दक्षिणतः निस्त्रोईकुण्डलावहाः निग्रदिपद्रग्रामश्च तत¹⁰ दोङ्गरिका च उखल-
 पद्रग्रामश्च
 51 तद्वहश्च पश्चिमतः उखलपट्टी नाम नदिका तोरणपद्रनाम ग्राम¹¹ भंकरि-
 पटनिस्त्रोईसं-
 52 गमः भद्रवटग्रामश्च उ[त्त]रतो द्रोगरिका¹² नवग्रामश्च एत[दा]घट्ट[नी]पलक्षितः
 सधन्यहिरण्यदेय¹³
 53 अचाटभट्टप्रावेश्य(श्यः) अखिलराजकीय(या)[नामहस्तप्रज्ञे]पथीयः आचन्द्रार्का-
 र्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्वतसम-
 54 कालीत(नः) भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन¹⁴ शकभूपालक[र्]ल[र्]तीतसंव]स्तरगतसप्तके अशोत्तरक¹⁵
 अश्वयुजकृष्णाम-

¹ Read °संवध्यमानकानाङ्ग°.² Read °शैटिका°.³ Read अध्यु.⁴ Read तश्चातुर्विद्य°.⁵ Read जातूकण्व.⁶ Read आद्या.⁷ Read विषया°.⁸ Read पूढतः.⁹ It is difficult to correct and punctuate the words from तटन to ग्रामश्च. Perhaps they may stand for तटन-चपन्ना-सारवहा-निस्त्रोयि-संगमश्चरणिफालग्रामश्च.¹⁰ Read ततो.¹¹ Read °नामा ग्रामो.¹² This seems to be the Sanskritised form of दोङ्गरिका in l. 50, and is probably the name of a river. [The word *ḍōṅgara* is found in other inscriptions also (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 120, ll. 31 and 33). According to Kittel *ḍōṅgara* or *ḍōṅgara* means 'a hill', 'a steep rock'. Possibly *ḍōṅgarikā* has been used here in the sense of 'a hillock'.—Ed.]¹³ Read सधान्यहिरण्यदेयः.¹⁴ Read भूमिच्छिद्र°.¹⁵ Read अशोत्तरके.

iii

[illegible]

- 55 वास्याया¹ महत्यादित्यप्रहणपर्वणि अद्य[तकति]सर्ग² बलिचक्रवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्र-
पञ्चमहयज्ञ-³
- 56 पक्रियोत्सर्पणाय प्रतिपादितः [1*] यतो नयोरेतभजानयोः(हुंजानयोः) भोजयतोः
प्रतिदिशतोर्व्व(र्वा) न केनचिद्वासेधे प्रवर्त्तितव्य⁴ [1*] तच्च⁵
- 57 मिमद्रनृपतिभिरस्त्रदंश्चैरन्ये(न्यै)र्वा स(सा)मान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेक्ष्य जलबुहु(हु)दच-
(चं)चलं च औचितमैश्वर्य-⁶
- 58 कलय्य स्वदायनिर्व्विशेषोयमस्त्र[हायः] पालयितव्यः [1*] यथाज्ञानतो व्याच्छि-
द्याद(दा)च्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदे-
- 59 त स 'पञ्चभि महपतकैस्त्रापपातकैर्यु'क्त स्यादित्येक्तुं⁸ भगव[ता] वेदव्यासेन [1*]
षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि
- 60 स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिद(दः) [1*] [आच्छेत्ता चा]नुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके
वसेत् [॥ 26*] विध्या(भ्या)टवीष्वतोयासु शुष्क-
- 61 कीटरवासिनः [1*] कृष्णहय⁹ [हि] जायन्ते भूमिदाय(यं) हरन्ति ये [॥ 27]
ब[हुभि]र्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि(भिः)
- 62 सगर(रा)दिभिर्यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य [तदा] फलं [॥ 28*]
य(शा)नीह दत्त(ता)नि पुरा नरेन्दैर्द(र्दा)नानि धर्मर्थय-¹⁰
- 63 शस्त्राणि [1*] निर्भुक्तमाख्यप्रतिमानि [ता]नि को नाम स(सा)धुः पुनरा-
ददीत [॥ 29*] स्वदत्ता(त्तां) परदत्ता(त्तां) वा यद्वाद्र-
- 64 च नराधिप [1*] मही(हीं) महीमता(तां) श्रेष्ठ दानात् श्रेयोनुपालनं¹¹ [॥ 30*]
इति कमदस्तापुयिन्दुलोका¹²
- 65 य(त्रि)यमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च [1*] अतिविमलमनोभिरात्मनीन न हि
पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो वि-
- 66 लोप्या(प्याः) [॥ 31*] इति धारावर्ष-श्रीपृथुवीवहभ¹⁴-महाद(दे)वी-समादिष्ट-सोम-
यावि-शंखय्य दूतकं¹⁵
- 67 लिखितं व(च) परमेष्ठयोऽग्न्या¹⁶ सप्तसेनसूनु[ना] महसच्चिविग्रहाधिकृतेन¹⁷
गुण-
- 68 भरापरनाम्ना वसुदेवेनेति श्री [1*]

¹ Read 'मावास्यायां.

² Read अदीदकातिसर्गोच.

³ Read महायज्ञी°.

⁴ Read प्रवर्त्तितव्यं.

⁵ Read तथागा°.

⁶ Read 'श्रेयं' चा°.

⁷ Read पञ्चभिर्वाहापातकैस्त्रोपपातकैर्युक्तः.

⁸ Read 'सुक्तं.

⁹ Read कृष्णाह्वी.

¹⁰ Read धर्मार्थ°.

¹¹ Read दानाच्छे°.

¹² Read कमलदस्तापुयिन्दुलोका.

¹³ Read 'रात्मनोनेनं.

¹⁴ Read पृथ्वी.

¹⁵ Read शंखय्यो दूतकी.

¹⁶ Read परमेष्ठयो°.

¹⁷ Read महासच्चिव°.

No. 18.—KULIDIKKI INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYA NANDISVARAVARMAN.

By V. VENKATASUBBA AIYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined inscription¹ is engraved on a hero stone fixed near the river Pālār at **Kulidikki** in the Guḍiyāttam taluk of the North Arcot district. The stone is in a good state of preservation and the letters are engraved in archaic **Tamiḷ**.

The **language** of the record is **Tamiḷ** prose and it is particularly free from orthographical peculiarities.

A few words used in the inscription have a special significance. The word *tiri* (ll. 8, 9) ordinarily means 'to wander'; but here it is used in the sense of 'to proceed'. The word *Pallavaraiyaṇ* (l. 5) is here used to denote the Pallava king.²

The epigraph is **dated** in the **52nd year** of **Vijaya-Nandiś varavarman** and it records the death of **Gaṅgadiyaraiyar Kaṇṇāḍu Peruṅgaṅgar**, the chief of **Kaṇkātṭūr**, who, at the instance of *māmaḍi* the Bāṇa king, fell on the day when the **Pallava** army marched against **Perumāṇaḍigaḷ**³ and destroyed (the fortress of) **Peṅkuḷikkōṭṭai**.

At the outset it may be pointed out that, from the high regnal year⁴ quoted in the record the king may be identified with **Nandivarman Pallavamalla**. The record may, therefore, be assigned to the second half of the 8th century A.D.⁵

The present inscription is important because it mentions a direct attack of the Pallava king Nandivarman (Pallavamalla) on the Western Gaṅgas (Permāṇaḍi). The reason for the attack is not stated, but it is clear that the raid must have been undertaken to check the

¹ No. 154 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

² In No. 35 of 1922 this word is similarly used. Compare also the word 'Iḷattaraiyaṇ' to denote the king of Ceylon (*S. I. I.*, III, p. 232).

³ The term 'Perumāṇaḍigaḷ' is an honorific title generally applied to the Divine Being and in inscriptions it is also used to denote kings. According to a Gaṅga record (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Nr. 35) the Pallavas had this title, but we find very few instances of its application to them, as for instance in No. 17 of 1899. It may probably be explained by the boast of the Western Gaṅga King Śrīpurusha who claims to have snatched this title from 'the king of Kāñchi'. From the time of Śrīpurusha, it invariably denoted the Gaṅga rulers.

In the present record, this term is dubiously used. It might be interpreted as referring to Nandivarman himself, in which case, "Pallavaraiyaṇ" (l. 5) would be some local chieftain who revolted against his overlord, when both Vāṇaraiyar and Gaṅgadiyaraiyar rushed to the rescue of the Pallava sovereign. Considering the context in which the term is used, the proximity of the Guḍiyāttam taluk, where this inscription is found, to the Gaṅga territory and the political situations of the time, it seems better to take it as referring to Śrīpurusha.

⁴ There are only a few stone records of Pallavamalla which, from high regnal years, can be definitely attributed to him, viz.—

- (a) *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 125, dated in the 47th year from Viriñchipuram,
- (b) No. 10 of 1895, dated in the 50th year from Pañchapāṇḍavamalai,
- (c) *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 108, dated in the 52nd year from Śaduppēri,
- (d) *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 42, dated in the 62nd year from Tiruvallam,
- (e) No. 666 of 1922, dated in the 65th year from Mahābalipuram and
- (f) No. 14 of 1893, dated in the *8th year from Conjeeveram.

Some of the inscriptions of Nandivarman without the distinguishing titles 'Pallavamalla' and 'Teḷḷārre-rinda' and with regnal years below 22 must remain unidentified, as they cannot be easily assigned to either the 2nd or 3rd king of that name.

⁵ Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar has fixed the initial date of Pallavamalla at 696 A.D. (above, Vol. XX, pp. 46 ff.); recently an attempt has been made to bring it down to 726 A.D. (*Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. VIII, pp. 1 ff.).

growing power of the Gaṅgas. Incidentally the record also mentions the relationship that existed among the three powers, viz., the Pallavas, Western Gaṅgas and the Bāṇas who came into conflict with one another too frequently in the 8th century A.D.

For a clear understanding of the record, the position of these powers during this period must be understood.

Nandivarman Pallavamalla accepted the Pallava monarchy when quite young at a time when the Pallava dominion was threatened with destruction. He had to contend against Chitramāya, another aspirant to the Pallava throne. The Western Chālukyas who were the hereditary enemies of the Pallavas took this opportunity and, under Vikramāditya II, they even succeeded in capturing Kāñchi and driving Pallavamalla to the south, where again at Nandipura near Kumbhakōṇam, the latter was besieged by a confederacy of Southern powers, from which his general Udayachandra saved him. Pallavamalla soon retrieved his position and established his power in the south also as is evidenced by his copper-plate records, nearly all of which come from the Tanjore district.¹ He was attacked on all sides which necessitated his general Udayachandra to 'bestow the whole kingdom many times on the Pallava' monarch.² The whole of his reign was crowded with military exploits as he came into conflict with all the neighbouring powers, viz., the Pāṇdyas, Rāshtrakūṭas, Eastern and Western Chālukyas and the Gaṅgas. Here we are directly concerned with his relationship with the Gaṅgas.

Regarding the Pallava-Gaṅga relationship, it may be pointed out that the Pallavas claimed overlordship over the Gaṅgas by claiming to crown the Gaṅga kings. The Western Gaṅga kings Harivarman and Simhavarman or Mādhava III were crowned³ by the Pallava monarchs Simhavarman and Skandavarman.⁴ When the Gaṅgas were subdued by the Western Chālukyas,⁵ the former must have come into conflict with the Pallavas along with the Chālukyas, their overlords. Bhūvikrama, the elder brother of the Gaṅga king Śivamāra I., claims to have defeated the Pallava king in the battle of Vilanda and also to have captured the whole of the Pallava dominions.⁶ Probably as a result of this battle, Śivamāra I. claims to have kept in his charge two Pallava princes.⁷ When the Western Chālukyas were overthrown by the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Gaṅgas under Śrīpurusha tried to assert their power, but soon the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Pallavas vindicated their claim for overlordship by claiming to crown Śivamāra II Saigoṭṭa.⁸

The contemporary of Pallavamalla on the Gaṅga throne at the time of our record was Śrīpurusha (725-788 A.D.) in whose time the Gaṅgas tried to expand their dominions. He seems to have extended his conquests⁹ as far as Kulidikki where the present inscription is found.

¹ Kāśākudi, Tanjantōṭṭam, Pattattālmāṅgalam or Korraṅgudi plates; the Udayēndiram plates alone do not belong to the Tanjore district.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 372.

³ This is said to have been performed in due form, i.e., according to customary rights (*yathārham*) (above, Vol. XIV, p. 333).

⁴ Above, Vol. XIV, p. 332.

⁵ A record of Vinayāditya, dated in 694 A. D., speaks of the Gaṅgas as the hereditary servants of the Western Chālukyas (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 303).

⁶ Rice : *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 37.

⁷ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Md. 113.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, Nl. 60. Though this is a spurious record, the late Dr. Fleet did not find any impossibility in the truth of the statement that the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III crowned Śivamāra II.

⁹ His inscriptions are also found at Oḍḍanpaṭṭi in the Salem district (Nos. 211 and 212 of 1910 of the Madras Epigraphical collection).

In fact a record from Hūmcha¹ states that Śrīpurusha slew the valiant Kaḍuvetṭi² of Kāñchi and appropriated to himself, from the Pallavas, the title '*Permāṇaḍi*' which was from this time onwards exclusively used to denote the Gaṅgas.³ Pallavamalla, however, did not keep quiet. The present inscription records one invasion against the Gaṅga king. In the Tanḍaṇ-tōṭṭam plates, dated six years later, i.e., in his 58th year, Pallavamalla claims to have taken from him a neck ornament which contained in it the gem called *Ugrōdaya*.⁴ Śrīpurusha, therefore, seems to have given trouble to Pallavamalla till late in the latter's reign.

The Bāṇa country, known as Perumbāṇappāḍi, lay to the west of the Āndhra country between the Pallava and the Gaṅga kingdoms. In the beginning, the Bāṇas offered opposition to Pallava expansion, but in the Pallava-Gaṅga fights, they had to join one side or the other. They first became the subordinates of the Gaṅgas. Diṇḍigarar, a Bāṇa king ruling over Kaḷbappu-nāḍu, was a subordinate of Śrīpurusha.⁵ A stone inscription⁶ of the time of the Gaṅga prince Mādhava Muttarasa at Tallapaḷla refers to his expedition against Māvali-Vāṇarasa and to the battle of Kōyāttūr, i.e., Laḍḍigam in the Chittoor district. Though forced by circumstances to join the Gaṅgas at times, the Bāṇas generally threw in their lot with the Pallavas. At the time of our record we see that the Bāṇa king sided the Gaṅga⁷ in checking the Pallava aggression. In this attack the Pallava king must have felt the necessity for creating a buffer state of the Bāṇa territory, for we find within the next few years the Bāṇa chiefs figuring as subordinates of the Pallavas and acting as the guardians of the frontier territory of their overlords.⁸ In our inscription the Bāṇa contemporary of Pallavamalla is merely called by the general title Vāṇaraiyar without giving his actual name. It is evident that he cannot be Vikramāditya I., the son-in-law of Prithivīpati I.,⁹ as he figures in the 17th year of Nandivarman III.¹⁰ We may identify him with Nandivarman, the historical founder of the Bāṇa kingdom.¹¹ Our record gives us to understand that this Vāṇaraiyar did not take an active part in checking the Pallava attack on Peṅkuḷikkōṭṭai, though it indicates his support of the Gaṅga cause. It will be seen from the present inscription that he stood in the relation of a

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Nr. 35. Though this record is about three centuries later than the time of Śrīpurusha and also contains some wrong statements, the adoption of the title '*Permāḍi*' (i.e., *Perumāṇaḍi*) by the Western Gaṅga rulers is borne out by their records; but the other statements made in it cannot be accepted as correct unless we get reliable evidence in support of them.

² It has been suggested that Paramēśvaravarman II was the Pallava king slain on the battlefield at Viḷarde. Though probable, we do not know much about this ruler to affirm it.

³ The Gaṅga chiefs seem to have adopted not only the title *Permāṇaḍi* but also other titles of the Pallavas as well. Vijaya-Narasimhavikramavarman and Vijaya-Īśvaravarman whose inscriptions are found at Baṅgavāḍi in the Kolar district, Kiḷmutṭugūr and Vēḷur in the North Arcot district and Hanumantapuram in the Salem district and who have been taken as Pallavas or rather Gaṅga-Pallavas hitherto, must really be Gaṅga chiefs adopting Pallava titles. These chiefs do not call themselves Pallavas and their inscriptions are in Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters which we do not find in Pallava records. From the elephant and *haṁsa* figures (above, Vol. IV, p. 177), carved in relief on one of the slabs containing an inscription of Narasimhavikramavarman, Dr. Hultzsch also concluded that Narasimhavarman was probably a Western Gaṅga chief (*ibid.*).

⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 517, verse 6.

⁵ *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1927, p. 109.

⁶ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Bp. 13. This inscription is assigned by Rice approximately to A.D. 725.

⁷ In the battle of Soremaṭi also the Bāṇa chief sided the Gaṅga ruler (No. 543 of 1906).

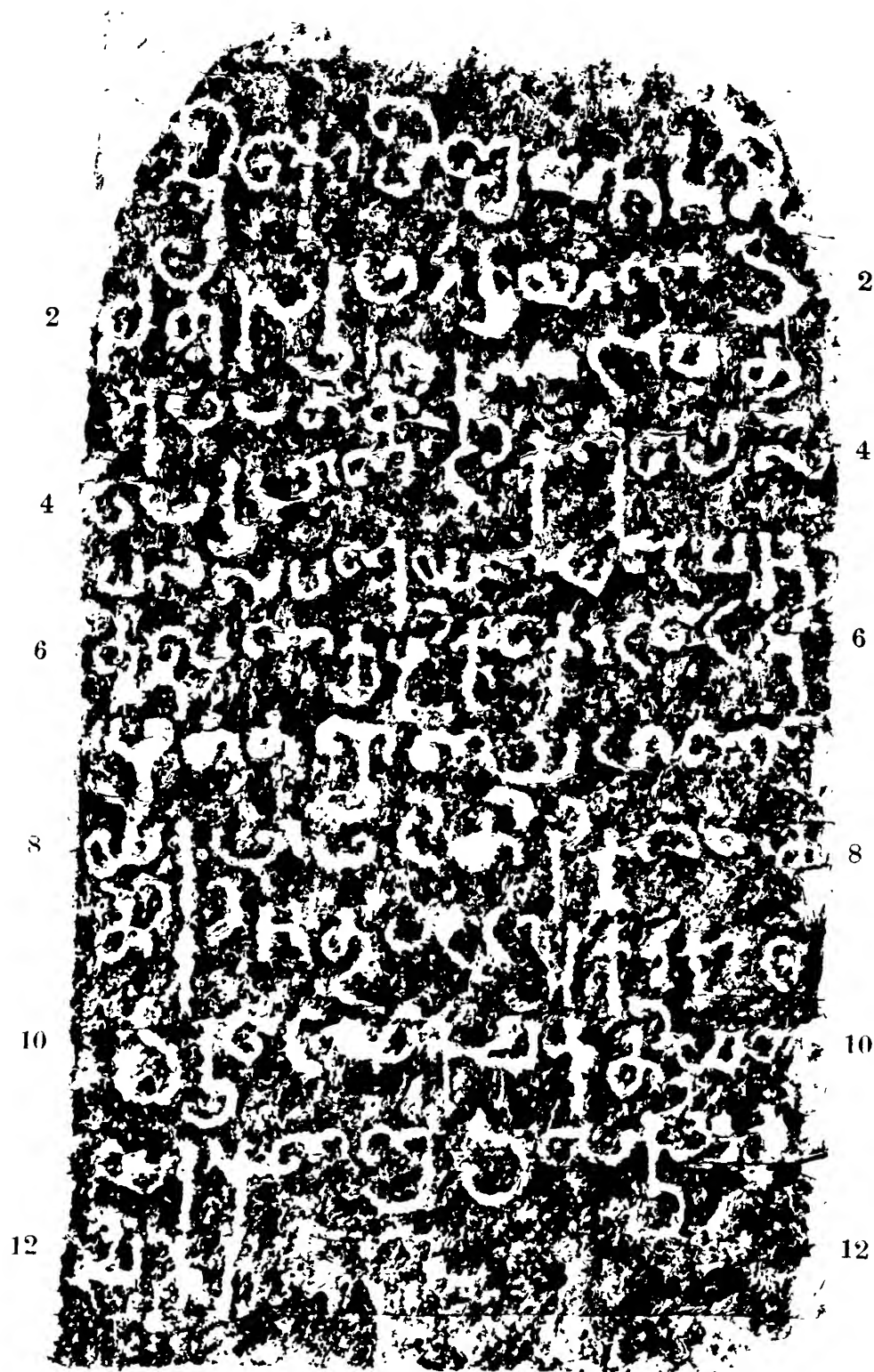
⁸ The Bāṇas figure as subordinates of Pallavamalla, Danti, Nandi III and Nripatuṅga (above, Vol. XI, p. 235).

⁹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, Nos. 47 and 48.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

¹¹ Above, Vol. XVII, p. 3. This Bāṇa chief must evidently have been so called after the name of his Pallava overlord Nandivarman (II).

KULIDIKKI INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYA NANDISVARAVARMAN.



maternal uncle¹ to the Gaṅga chief at Kaṛkāṭṭūr. After the storming of Peṅkuḷikkōṭṭai, the Bāṇas must have been subdued completely by the Pallavas, as we find a Mahāvali Vāṇaraiyar figuring as a subordinate in the 62nd year of Pallavamalla.² Subsequently, we find the Bāṇa chief ruling the Gaṅga six-thousand province³ also, which must evidently have been possible only with Pallava support. It will thus be seen that by storming the fortress of Peṅkuḷikkōṭṭai, Pallavamalla was able to check the growing power of the Gaṅga king Śrīpurusha and also to subdue the Bāṇas who from this time onwards accepted the overlordship of Pallavamalla and his successors.

The question why the death of Gaṅgadiyaraiyar should be recorded in an inscription of his adversary the Pallava king Nandivarman is easily answered. After the siege, the village Peṅkuḷikkōṭṭai belonged to Nandivarman and inscriptions of this place had necessarily to be put up in the name of its overlord.

From the fact that the Gaṅga chief of Kaṛkāṭṭūr is called *Kaṇṇāḍu* Peruṅgaṅgar, it may be inferred that his ancestors, like himself, died on battle field.

Of the places mentioned in the record, **Kaṛkāṭṭūr** may be identified with **Kaḷakattūr** near Palamanēr in the Chittoor district. This Kaḷakattūr was in Puli-nāḍu which was under the Bāṇas, but was subsequently conquered by the Nolamba king under orders of the Gaṅga ruler.⁴ **Peṅkuḷikkōṭṭai** may be identified with **Kulidikki** itself where the present inscription is found.

TEXT.

- 1 Śrī [||]kō-Viśeya-Nandī-
- 2 chchuraparumaṅku yāṇḍu
- 3 ambattiraṇḍāvadu
- 4 Perumāṇaḍigaḷ mēl
- 5 Pallavaraiyaṅ paḍai van-
- 6 du Peṅkuḷikkōṭṭai, a-
- 7 ḷitta nāṇru Vāṇarai-
- 8 yar māmaḍi tiriga enat-
- 9 tirindu paṭṭār Kaṛkāṭ-
- 10 tūr-uḍaiya Gaṅgadiyarai-
- 11 yar Kaṇṇāḍu Peruṅga-
- 12 ṅgar [||]

TRANSLATION.

Prosperity ! In the **fifty-second** year of (*the reign of*) king **Viśeya-Nandichchuraparumar**, **Gaṅgadiyaraiyar Kaṇṇāḍu Peruṅgaṅgar**, (*the chief*) of **Kaṛkāṭṭūr** died, (*when*) **Vāṇaraiyar**, (*his*) uncle (*directed him*) to proceed on the day (*when*) the Pallava (?) army marched against **Perumāṇaḍigaḷ** and destroyed (*the fortress of*) **Peṅkuḷikkōṭṭai**.

¹ One would look for the term *māmaḍi* to precede the proper name Vāṇaraiyar as in *Allu Tikka*, *Māmaḍi Sōmeśvara*, *Aḷiya Rāmarāya* etc. This word is so used in the present inscription that it might also mean that Vāṇaraiyar was the uncle of Perumāṇaḍigaḷ, i.e., Śrīpurusha himself.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 91.

³ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, p. VI.

⁴ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1913, pp. 90-91.

No. 19.—THE JESAR PLATES OF ŚILADITYA III: VALABHI SAMVAT 357¹.

BY THE LATE PROF. R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

The copper-plates on which the subjoined inscription is incised were discovered in 1915 in the village of Jesar, in the Bhāvnagar State of Kāthiāwār. They were lent in 1916 to Mr. (now Dr.) D. R. Bhandarkar, then Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, and a preliminary account of this inscription, along with that of another grant of Śilāditya III discovered in the same village,² were published by that scholar.³

The record is incised on the inner side of **two thick plates** of copper measuring 1' 2½" by 1' which are held together by a long ring of copper to which is attached an oval **seal**, of the same metal, with the **legend**, usually to be found on seals of grants of the Valabhī dynasty of Kāthiāwār, **Śrī-Bhaṭṭarka**. There is a bull *couchant* in the upper part of the area of the seal separated from the legend by two lines. Another round hole is to be seen in each of the plates for another ring, which however is missing. There are altogether sixty-two lines of writing of which the first twenty-nine are to be found on the first plate and the remaining thirty-three on the second plate. The whole of the record, with the exception of the three imprecatory verses in the second plate, is in prose. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit, abounding with high flown phrases copied from earlier grants. Mistakes of the mason are common. Consonants with the superscript *r* are usually doubled. The *upadhmānīya* and *jihvāmūlīya* are used very often in ligatures with the following consonants *p* and *k* respectively.

The **alphabet** of the inscription shows clear signs of southern influence, *cf.* the form of *la* in *ratn-ālaṅkāra* (l. 32). The base line of *ha* is suppressed. The place of the *anusvāra* is very often taken by *n* in ligatures, *cf.* *ansa* (l. 10) and *vidhvānsita* (l. 19). Noteworthy also is the vowel *ē* in *ēva* (ll. 25 and 44).

The first forty-five lines of the record are devoted to the genealogy. As usual in grants issued by the later princes of the Valabhī dynasty, the names of the sons of Bhaṭṭarka are omitted and the first prince to be mentioned, after the founder of the house, is Guhasēna, the son of Dharapaṭṭa, who was the fourth son of Bhaṭṭarka. Then in the order of succession comes his son Dharasēna II, his son Śilāditya I, surnamed Dharmmāditya, his younger brother Kharagraha I, and his son Dharasēna III. The latter was followed on the throne by his younger brother Dhruvasēna II, surnamed Bālāditya and he was succeeded by his son Dharasēna IV. After this prince the succession devolved upon Dhruvasēna III, the son of Pērabhaṭa, who was the son of Śilāditya I. Dhruvasēna III, was succeeded by his elder brother Kharagraha II, who again was followed on the throne by his elder brother Śilāditya II's son Śilāditya (III), the donor of the present grant. [The late Mr. R. D. Banerji read the date of this inscription as Saṁ 300 80 7 dvi-Pausha-ba 10. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar also read the date as Saṁ 387 dvi-Pausha-ba 4.⁴ Both these scholars, apparently depending on their reading of the date, attributed this inscription to Śilāditya IV, the son and successor of Śilāditya III. The genealogical portion of the inscription, however, stops with Śilāditya III, but Banerji held the opinion that the portion introducing Śilāditya IV, which is found in his own grants or those of his successors 'was omitted in this inscription'. I, however, read the date as Saṁ 300 50 7 dvi-Pausha-ba 4 and would attribute the inscription to Śilāditya III. The second numerical figure in the year is exactly similar to the figure for 50 found in the Lunsāḍi plates of Śilāditya III⁵.

¹ [See my note in paragraph 4.—Ed.]

² Now edited above, Vol. XXI, pp. 210 f.

³ *P. R. A. S., W. C.*, 1915-16, p. 55, para. 10.

⁴ *P. R. A. S., W. C.*, 1915-16, p. 55, and *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 1368.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 306 ff, and *Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kathiwar, etc.*, pp. 45 ff. and Pls.

Moreover, the donee of the present grant is evidently identical with that of Jesar plates of Śilāditya of Valabhī Samvat 347,¹ the difference being that he is here only mentioned as a *Dikshita* and his two names Saggala and Prakāśa found in the earlier Jesar plates have been omitted. It therefore appears that Śilāditya III, made a second grant to the same person ten years after the first grant was issued.—Ed.]

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of : (1) a reservoir of water (*vāpī*) extending over twenty-five *pādāvarṭtas* of land from the royal domain land (*rājakīya*) in the Maḍasara-*sthalī* in the village of Maḍasara in Surāṣṭ[r*]a to a Brāhmaṇa who was a *Dikshita* and was the son of Sāmbadatta of the Vājasaneyā-śākhā of the Yajurveda and of the Kauśika-gōtra and who had emigrated from Pushya-Sāmbapura. The boundaries of this gift were as follows : to the east Pāṇḍava-Khaṇḍa, to the south the *prachihā* known as the [Ka*]mpilikkā Khunḍaka (?) belonging to Datka (Datta), to the west the field known as Sīsagara and to the north the field of the householder (*kuṭumbin*) Saṅgilaka ; (2) one hundred and four *pādāvarṭtas* of land, in five pieces, situated in the northern boundary (of the village). The first piece belonging to an extinct family measured sixteen *pādāvarṭtas*. The boundaries of this piece of land were : to the east the *brahmadēya* field of the Brāhmaṇa Aṇahaka, to the south the family land (?) of Chachcha and Māṭṛila, to the west the field called Maḍhavānaka and the Sagara (?) leading towards the village Kōraṭapadraka and to the north the field known as *Pattiyānaka-durga-kshētra*. The second piece measuring thirty *pādāvarṭtas* also originally belonged to a family then extinct. Its boundaries were : to the east, the *brahmadēya* field of the Brāhmaṇa Śaṅkara, to the south the *brahmadēya* field of the Brāhmaṇa Aṇahaka, to the west the field of the householder (*kuṭumbin*) Bhōṭuka, to the north also the field of the same Brāhmaṇa Aṇahaka. The third piece measuring forty-three *pādāvarṭtas* was cultivated by Kikaka. Its boundaries were : to the east the path going towards the village of Suptāvasadhī, to the south the *brahmadēya* field of the Brāhmaṇa Saṅgaka, to the west the fields known as *Pattiyānaka* and *Māṭṛisthāna*, to the north the boundary of the village of Suptāvasadhī. The fourth piece was also under the cultivation of Kikaka and measured ten *pādāvarṭtas*. Its boundaries were : to the east the public road, to the south the *grāmaśikhara*, to the west the *prachchihā* of the nobleman (*kulaputraka*) Varuṇa, to the north the field belonging to Karkkaka. The fifth piece measuring five *pādāvarṭtas* was also cultivated by Kikaka. Its boundaries were : to the east the *brahmadēya* field of the Brāhmaṇa Chamasa, to the south the *brahmadēya* field known as Dāsānaka, to the west the public road (*rājaraṭṭā*), to the north the *brahmadēya* field of the Brāhmaṇa Śaṅkara. The *Dūtaka* of the grant was the prince (*Rājaputtra*) Kharagraha and it was written by the *Sandhivigrahādhikṛita Dirirapati Mahāpratīhāra Sāmanta Mammaka*. The prince Kharagraha is mentioned in the Bhāvnagar plates of Śilāditya III, of G. 356 and the Bhāvnagar plates of Śilāditya IV, of G. 372, the Devaṇ plates of G. 375 and the plates of G. 376. The date of the grant is the 4th day of the dark half of the second month of Pausa in the year 357 evidently of the Valabhī era and is equivalent to 675-76 A.D. The grant was issued from the victorious camp at Mēghavana, from which the Lunsadī plates of Śilāditya III, of the year 352 were also issued. I am unable to identify Maḍasara, Suptāvasadhī and other places mentioned in this record. I edit the inscription from the original plates which had been lent to me by the Bhāvnagar Durbar for this purpose.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Ōm² Svasti[|*] Vijāyaskandha(ndhā)va(vā)rā[t*] Mēghavana-bā(vā)śa(sa)kā[t*] prasabha-praṇat-āmitrāṇām Maitrakāṇām-atula-bala-sampanna-maṇḍal-ābhōga-saṁsakta-prahāra-śata-labdha-pratāpāt=pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-

¹ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 210 f.

² Expressed by a symbol.

- 2 mām-ārjjav-ōpārjīṭ-ānurāgād=anurakta-maula-bhṛitaḥ¹-śrēṇī-bal-āvāpta-rājya-śriyaḥ Parama-māhēśvaraḥ¹-śrī-**Bhaṭṭārkkād**=āvayachchhinna-rāja-vañśān=mātā-pitṛi-charaṇ-āravinda-praṇati-pravidhau-
- 3 t-a(ā)śēsha-kalmashaḥ śaisha(śa)vāt=prabhṛiti khaḍga²-dvitīya-pā(bā)hur=ēva samada-para-gaja-ghaṭā-sphōṭana-prakāśita-satva(ttva)-nikashas=tat-prabhāva-praṇat - ārāti - chūḍā - ratna-prabhā-saṁsakta-pāda-nakha-raśmi-
- 4 saṁhati[h*] sakala-smṛiti-praṇīta-mārgga-samyat(k)-paripālana-prajā - hṛidaya-rañjan-ānvarttha-rāja-śabdō rūpa-kānti-sthairyya-ga(gā)mbhīrya-buddhi-saṁpadbhi[h*] Smara-śaśāṅk-ādṛi(dri)rāj-ōdadhi-t[ri*]daśaguru-Dhanō-
- 5 śān-atisāyānaḥ śaraṇ-āgat-ābhaya-pradāna-paratayā tṛiṇavad=apāst-āsēsha-śva-kāryya-phala[h*] prārthtan-ādhik-ārttha-prajā(dā)n-ānandita-vidvat-suhṛit-praṇayi-hṛidaya[h*] pādachār=īva
- 6 sakala-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhōga-pramōḍa[h*] Paramama(mā)hēśvaraḥ śrī-**Guhāsēnas**=tasya sutas=tat-pāda-nakha-mayūkha-santāna-visṛita-Jāhnavī-jal-augha-prakshālīt-āsēsha-kalmashaḥ
- 7 praṇayi-śata-sahasr-ōpajīvyamāna-saṁpad=rūpa-lōbhād=iv=āsṛita[h*] sarabhasam=ābhi-gāmikair-ggūṇai[s*]=sahaja-śakti-śikshā-viśēsha-vismāpit-ākṣhila-dhanurddhara[h*] pra-thama-narapati-
- 8 samatisṛiṣṭhānām=anupālayitā dharmma-dāyānām=apākarttā praj-ōpaghāta-kāriṇām=upaplavānā[m*] darsayitā Śrī-Sarasvatyōr=ēk-ādhivāsasya saṁhat-ārāti-pakṣa-Lakshmī-paribhōga-dakṣha-vikramō vikramō³
- 9 vikram-[ō]pasa(sam)pra(prā)pta-vimāla-pārthiva-śrīḥ Paramama(mā)hēśvara[h*] śrī-**Dharasēnas**=ta,ya sutas=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ sakala-jagad-ānandan-āty-adbhuta-guṇa-samudaya-sthagita-samagra-dig-mamālā⁴ samara-śata-vi-
- 10 jaya-śobhā-sana(nā)tha-maṇḍal-āgra-dyūti-bhābhū(su)ratar-ān(m)sa-pīth-ōdūḍha-guru-manō-ratha-mahābhārah sarvva-vidyā-par-āpara-vibhāg-ādhigama-dhi(vi)mala-matir=api sarvva-taḥ subhāshita-lavēn=āpi sukh-ōpa-
- 11 pa(pā)danīya-paritōsha[h*] samagra-lōk-āgādha-gāmbhīrya-hṛidayō=pi su-charit-ātīśaya-suvyakta-parama-kalyāṇa-svabhāva[h*] khilībhūta-kṛita-yuga-nṛipati-patha-viśōdhan-ādhigat-ōdagra-
- 12 kīrti[h*] dharmm-ānuparōdh-ōj(jj)valatarikṛit-ārttha-sukha-saṁpad-upasēvā-niru(rū)ḍha-**Dharmmāditya**-dvitīya-nāmā Paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-**Silādityas**=tasy=ānujas=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ svayam=Upēndra-gu-
- 13 ruṇ=ēva guruṇ=āty-ādaravatā samabhiliashaṇīyām=api rāja-lakshmīm skandha-sa-kt[ām*] parama-bhadra iva dhuryyas=tad-ājñā-saṁpādan-aika-rasat⁵=aiv=ōdvahan khēda-sukha-ratibhyām=anāyāsi-
- 14 ta-sat(tt)va-saṁpatti[h*] prabhāva-saṁpad-vaśikṛita-nṛipati-śata-śirō-ratna-chchhāy-ōpagū-ḍha-pāda-pīth(ṭh)ō=pi par-āvajñ-ābhimāna-ras-ānālīṅgita-manōvṛittih praṇatim=ēkā[m*] parityajya prakhyāta-pauru-
- 15 sh-ābhimānair=apy=arātibhir=anāsādita-pratikṛi(kri)y-ōpāya[h*] kṛita-nikhila-bhuvan-āmōda-vimāla-guṇa-saṁhati-prasabha-vighaṭita-sakala-kali-vilassi(si)ta-gati[h*] nīcha-jan-ādhirōhibhir=aśē-

¹ The *visarga* is superfluous.

² Two dashes to the right of *ga* are superfluous.

³ Superfluous.

⁴ Read *dīn-maṇḍalaḥ*.

⁵ Read *rasatay*.

- 16 shair-ddōśair¹=anāmṛiṣṭ-ātyunnata-hṛidaya[h*] prakhyāta-pauruṣh-āstra-kausal-
ātīśayaḥ(ya)-gaṇa-titha-vipakṣa-kṣhitipati-lakṣmī-svayaṁgrāha-prakāśita-vīra-puruṣaḥ
(sha)-prathama-saṁkhy-ādhigamaḥ Paramamāhēśvara[h]
- 17 śrī-Kharagrahas=tasya tanayas-tat-pādānuddhyātaḥ sakala-vidy-ādhigama-vihita-
nikhila-vidvaj-jana-manah-paritōś(sh)-ātīśaya[h*] sat(tt)va-sapā(saṁpa)dā tyāg-audā-
ryyēṇa va(cha) vigat-ānusandha(dhā)n-āsamāhit-ārāti-
- 18 pakṣa-manōrath-ākṣa-bhaṅga[h*] samyag-upalakṣhit-ānēka-sāstra-kaushalāka-²charita-
gahvara-vibhāgō=pi paramabhadra-prakṛitṛi(ti)r=akṛitṛi(tri)ma-prāśraya-vinaya-gō(śō)bhā-
vibhūṣaṇa[h] samata(ra)-śata-jaya-patākā-
- 19 haraṇa-pratyā-ōdagra-bāhu-daṇḍa-vidhvan(m)ṣita-nikhilāḥ(la)-pratipakṣa-darpp-ōdayaḥ
sva-dhanuḥ-prabhāva-paribhūt-āstra-kausal-ābhīmāna-sakala-nṛpati-maṇḍal-ābhinandita-
śāsana[h*] Paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-
- 20 Dharasēnas=tasy=ānujas-tat-pāda(d-ā)nudhyātaḥ sach-charit-ātīśayita-sakala-pūrvva-
narapatir=ati-ddu(du)ssādhānām=api prasādhayit[ā] vishayāṇām mūrttimān=iva
puruṣakāraḥ parivṛiddha-guṇ-ānurāga-nirbharaḥ³-
- 21 chitta-vṛitta(tti)bhir=mManur=iva svayam=abhyupapannaḥ prakṛitibhir=adhigata-kalā-
kalāpaḥ kāntimā[n*]=nirvṛiti-hētur=akalanākaḥ kumuda-nātha[h*] prājya-pratāpa-
sthagita-dig-antā(ta)rāla-pradhvan(m)ṣita-dhvānta-rānsi(śiḥ) satat-ō -
- 22 t-ō⁴dita-savitā prakṛitibhya[h*] para[m*] pratyayam=artthavantam=ati-bahu-titha-
prayōjan-ānubandham=āgama-paripūrṇa[m*] vidadhānas-sandhi-vigraha-samāsa-ni-
śchaya-nipuṇaḥ sthānē=nuru(rū)pam=ādēśan=dada[d*]=guṇa-
- 23 vṛiddhi-vidhāna-janita-saṁskāra[h*] sābhūṇam⁵ rājja(jya)-Śālāturiyas(ya)-tantrayōr=ubha-
yōr=api nishnātaḥ prakṛiṣṭa-vikramō=pi karuṇā-mṛidu-hṛidayaḥ śrutavān=apy=agarv[ī*]
taḥ kāntō=pi prasa(śa)mī sthira-sauhrī[dayy]ō=pi ni-
- 24 rasitā dōshavatām=udaya-samaya-samupajanita-janat-ānurāga-parivi(pi)hita-bhuvana-
samarth[ī*]ta-prathita-Bālāditya-dvitiya-nāmā Paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-Dhruva-
sēnas=tasya sutas=tat-pāda-kamala-pra-
- 25 nāma-dharaṇi-kashaṇa-janita-kiṇa-lāñchhana-lalāṭa-chandra-sa(śa)kala[h*] śīśu-bhāva ēva
śravaṇa-nihita-mauktik-ālanākāra-vibhram-āmala-śruta-viśēsa⁶ pradāna-salila-kṣhālita-
āgra-hast-āravindaḥ kā(ka)nyāyā i-
- 26 va mṛidu-kara-graṇāpād=amandikṛit-ānanda-vidhir=vvasundharāyāḥ kārmma(rmmu)kē
dhanurvveda iva saṁmbhā(bhā)vit-āsēsha-lakṣhya-kalāpaḥ praṇata-sāmanta-maṇḍal-
ōttam-[ā*]jga-dhṛita-chchūdā-ratnāyā(ya)māna-sā(śā)sanāḥ Paramamāhēśvara.
- 27 Paramabhātāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Chakravarttiḥ(rtti)-śrī-Dharasēnas=tat-
pitāmaha-bhrāṭṛi-śrī-Śilādityasya Śārṅgapāṇēr=iv=āṅga-janmanō bhakti-
bandhur-[ā*]vayava-kalpita-praṇatēr=ati-dhavalayā dūram tat-pā-
- 28 d-āravinda-pravṛittayā nakha-maṇi-ruchā Mandākiny=ēva nityam=amalit-ōttamāṅga-
dēśasy=Āgastyasy=aiva rājarshēr=ddākṣhiṇyam=ātanvānasya prabala-dhavalimnā
yaśasām va-
- 29 layēna maṇḍita-kakubhā nabhasi yāminipatēr=vviḍambit-ākhaṇḍa-parivēśa-maṇḍalasya
payōda-śyāma-śikhara-chūchuka-ruchira-Sahya-Vindhya-stana-yugāyāḥ

¹ Read *dōshair*—² Read *kalā-lōka*—³ Read *nirbhara*—⁴ The second *tō* is superfluous.⁵ Read *sādhānām*—⁶ Read *viśēśaḥ*—

Second Plate.

- 30 kshiteḥ patyuh śrī-**Dērabhaṭasy**=āṇśa(ṅga)jaḥ kshitipa-saṁhatēr=anurāgiṇyāḥ
 śuchi-yaś-ōṇśuka-bhṛita[h*] svaya[m*]vara-mālām=iva rājya-śriyam=arppayantyāḥ
 kṛita-parigrahaḥ sau(śau)ryya-
- 31 m=apratihata-vyāpāram=ānamita-prachanḍa-ripu-maṇḍalam maṇḍal-āgram=iv=āvala-
 mbamānaḥ śaradi prasabham=ākṛiṣṭa-śilimukha-bāṇāsan-āpādita-prasā-
- 32 dhanānām para-bhuvā[m*] vidhi-vad=ācharita-kara-grahaṇaḥ pūrvvam=ēva vividha-
 varṇ-ōj(jj)valēna śrut-ātīśayēn=ōdbhāṣita-śravaṇaḥ punaḥ punar=uktēn=ēva ratn-āla-
- 33 űkārēṇ=ālaṅkṛita-śrōtra[h] parisphurat-kaṭaka-vikaṭa-kīṭapaksha-ratna-kiraṇam=avi-
 chchhinna-pradāna-salila-nivah-āvasēka-vilasan=nava-śaival-āṅkuram=iv=āgra-pāṇi-
- 34 m=udvahan=udhṛita¹-viśāla-ratna-valaya-jaladhi-vēlā-tatāyamāna-bhuja - parisva(shva)kta-
 viśvambharaḥ Paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-**Dhruvasēnaḥ** stasy=āgrajjō²=para-mahīpati-
 sparśa-
- 35 dōsha-nāśana-dhiy=ēva lakshmyā svayam=atīspasṭha-chēṣṭam=āśliṣṭ-āṅga-yasṭir=
 ati-ruchirātara-charita - garima - parikalita - sakala-narapatir=atīprakṛiṣṭ-ānūrāga-rasa-
 rabhasa-va-
- 36 śikṛita-praṇata-samasta-sāmanta-chakra-chchū(chū)ḍamaṇi - mayūkha - khachita - charaṇa-
 kamala-yugalaḥ prōddām-ōḍāra-dōrddanḍ-dalita-dvishad-vargga-darppa[h] prasarppat-
 paṭiya[h*]-
- 37 pratāpa-plōṣhit-āsēsha-śatru-vaṇśa[h*] praṇayi-paksha-nikshipta-lakshmīkaḥ prērita-
 gad-ōtkshipta-śu(su)darśana-chakraḥ pariḥṛita-bāla-kriḍō=nadhaḥkṛita-dvijātir=ēka-vi-
 krama-prasā-
- 38 dhita-dharitri-talō=naṅgikṛita-jala-śayyō=pūrvva-purush-ōttamaḥ sākshā[d*]-dharmma
 iva samyag-vyavasthāpitā(ta)-varṇ-āśram-āchārah pūrvvair=apy=urvviṇpatibhis=
 tṛiṣṭhā-lava-lubdhai-
- 39 r=yyāny=apahṛitāni dēva-ba(bra)hma-dēyāna(ni) tēṣhām=apy=ati-sarala-manaḥ-prasaram=
 utsaṅkalan-ānumōdanābhyām parimudita-tṛi(tri)bhuvan-ābhinandit-ōchchhrit-ōtkṛiṣṭa-
 dhavala-dharmma-
- 40 dhvaja-prakāśita-nija-vaṇśō dēva-dviya-gurut(rūn)=prati yathārha-manaḥṭa³-pravarttita-
 mah-ōddraṅ-ādi-dāna-vyasan-ānupajāta-santōsh-ōpāt-ōḍāra-kirtti-panti(pamkti)-param-
- 41 parā-danturita-nikhila-dik-chakravālaḥ spasṭam=ēva yath-ārttha[m*] **Dharmmaditya**-
 āpara-nāmā paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-**Kharagrahas**=tasy=āgrajanmanaḥ kumuda-
 shaṇḍa-śrī-vikāsi-
- 42 nyā kalāvataś=chandrikay=ēva kīrtiyā dhavalita-sakala-dig-maṇḍalasya khaṇḍit-
 āguru-vilēpana-piṇḍa-śyāmala-Vindhya-śaila-vipula-payōdhar-ābhogāyā[h*] kshōṇyāḥ
 patyuh
- 43 śrī-**Śilādityasya** sūnur=nnava-pr[ā]leya-kiraṇa iva pratidita(na)-saṁvarddhamāna-
 kalā-chakravālaḥ kēsar-indra-śīsūr=iva rāja-lakshmīm=achala-vanasthalim=iv=ālaṅ-
 kurvvāṇaḥ Śikhaṇḍi-kē-
- 44 tana iva ruchima[ch*]-chūḍā-maṇḍana[h*] prachanḍa-śakti-prabhāvaś=cha śarad-āgamē-
 (ma) iva pratāpavān=ullasha(sa)t-padmaḥ samyugē vidalayan[n*]=ambhōdharān=iva
 para-gajān=udaya ēva tapana-bāl-āta-

¹ Read -*udvahan-dhṛita*.² Read *śēnas=tasy=āgrajjō*.³ Read *manās=tat*. Bhavnagar Plates read *yathārham=anavarata*.

Second Plate.

30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48 50 52 54 56 58 60 62

30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48 50 52 54 56 58 60 62

...

- 45 pa iva sāmgrāmē mushṇā(shṇa)nn=abhimukhānām=āyūkshi¹ dvishatā[m*] Parama-
māhēśvaraḥ śrī-Śilāditya² kuśalī sarvvān=ēva samājñāpayaty=astu vas=
sa[m*]vidita[m*] yathā mayā mātā-pitrō³.
- 46 s=pun̄y-āpyāyanāya Pushya-Sāmbapura-vinirggata-tach-chāturvvidya-sāmānya-Kuśika-
sagōtra-Vājasaneyi-sapra(bra)hmachāri-brāhmaṇa-Sāmbadatta-putra-brāhmaṇa **Dī-**
- 47 **kshitāya Surāshṭēshu⁴** Maḍasara-sthalyā Maḍasara-grāmē pūrvv-ōttara-sīmni
rājakiyāt=pañchaviṇśati-bhū-pādāvarṭta-parisarā vāpī yasyā āghātanāni pūrvvataḥ
Pāṇḍava-khaṇḍa[h*]⁵
- 48 dakṣhiṇataḥ datka(tta ?)-satka-mpilikā⁶khuṇḍaka-samjñita-prachihā aparataḥ kshētra-
Sisagaraḥ uttarataḥ kuṭumbi-Saṅgilaka-prakripta(shta)-pattiyēṇaka-kshētram tathā
uttara-sīmni pañcha-khaṇḍ-āva-
- 49 sthitām chatur-uttara-bhū-pādāvarṭta-śata-parimāṇa-kshētram[||*] yatr=aika-khaṇḍam
utsanna-kuṭumbika-shōḍaśa-bhū-pādāvarṭta-parimāṇam yasya pūrvvataḥ brāhmaṇa-
Aṇahaka-satka-brahmadēya-kshētram dakshi-
- 50 nataḥ Chachcha-Māṭṭilayōs=satka-kōṭumba-kshētram aparataḥ Maḍhavānaka-kshētram
Kōratapadraka-grāmayāyī sāgaraś=cha|| uttarattaḥ(taḥ) pattiyāṇaka-durgga-kshētra-
samjñita-kshētram[||*] dvitīya-khaṇḍa[m*] utsanna-
- 51 kuṭumbikam=ēva triṇśad-bhū-pādāvarṭta-parimāṇam sa(ya)sya pūrvvataḥ brāhmaṇa-
Śaṅkara-satka-brahmadēya-kshētram | dakṣhiṇataḥ brāhmaṇa-Aṇahaka-satka-brahma-
dēya-kshētram | aparata[h*] kuṭumbi-Bhōṭuka-
- 52 satka-kshētram uttarataḥ brāhmaṇa-Aṇahakasy=aiva satka-kshētram[||*] tathā tri(tri)
tīya-khaṇḍam Kikaka-prakṛishṭam tri-chatvāriṇśad-bhū-pādāvarṭta-parimāṇa[m*]
yasya pūrvvataḥ Suptāvasadhī-grāma-yāyī panthā[h*] dakṣhiṇataḥ
- 53 brāhmaṇa-Saṅgaka-satka-brahmadēya-kshētram aparataḥ pattiyāṇaka-kshētram M[ā*]tri-
sthāna-kshētra[m*] cha uttarataḥ Suptāvasadhī-grāma-sīmā[||*] chaturttha-khaṇḍa[m*]
Kikaka-prakṛishṭam=ēva daśa-bhū-pādāvarṭta-parimā-
- 54 ṇamñ(ṇaṇ)=cha pūrvvataḥ rājavartmā di(da)kṣhiṇata[h] grāma-śikharam aparataḥ
kulaputraka-Varuṇa-satka-prachchihā uttarata[h] Karkkaka-satka-kshētram[||*] tathā
pañchama-khaṇḍam Kikkaka-prakṛishṭam=ēva pañcha-bhū-pādāvarṭta-
- 55 parimāṇam yasya pūrvvataḥ brāhmaṇa-Chamasa-satka-brahmadēya-kshētram da-
kṣhiṇataḥ Dāsānaka-samjñita-brahmadēya-kshētram|| aparataḥ rāja-vaṭṭā(rtmā)
uttarataḥ brāhmaṇa-Śaṅkara-satka-brahmadēya-kshētram[||*]
- 56 Ēvam=idam chatur-āghā[ṭana]-visu(su)[d*]dham vāpī-kshētram s-ōdraṅga[m*] s-
ōparikara[m*] sa-bhūta-vāta-pratyāya[m*] sa-dhānya-hiraṇy-ādēyam sa-daśāpar[ā*]-
dha[m*] s-ōtpadyam[ā*]na-vishṭika[m*] sarvva-rājakiyān[ā*]m=a-
- 57 hasta-prakshēpaṇiya[m*] pūrvva-pratta-dēva-brahmadēya-rahitam bhūmi-chchhidra-
nyāyēn=ācha[n*]dr-[ā*]rkk-ārṇṇava-kshiti-sarit-parvvata-samakālina[h*] putra-pautr-
ānvaya-bhōgya[h*] udak-ātisarggēṇa dharmma-
- 58 dāyō nri(ni)śṛishṭaḥ[||*] yatō=sy-ōchitayā brahma-dēyam(ya)-sthityā bhuñjataḥ
kṛishṭa[h*] karshayata[h*] pradiśatō vā na kaiśchid=vyāsēdhē varttitavyam=
āgāmi-bhadra-nṛipatibhir=apy=a[sma*]d-vaṇśajair=anyair=vvā

¹ Read *āyūmshi*.² The name of Śilāditya IV has been omitted. [See *ante*, p. 114 and note 1.—Ed.]³ Read *pitroḥ puny*.⁴ Read *Surāshṭrēshu*.⁵ *Kha* of *khaṇḍa* is written below the line and was added afterwards.⁶ Probably we have to read *Kampi*.

- 59 anityāny=aiśvaryyāny(ṇy)=astha(sthi)raṁ mānushyaṁ sāmānyaṁ=cha bhūmi-dāna-phalam=avagachchhadbhīr=ayam=asmad-[d*] āyō=numantavyaḥ paripālayitavyaś=ch=ēty=uktaṁ=cha|| Bahubhīr=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhi[h*] Sagar-ādibhiḥ[|*]
- 60 yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya ta[dā*] phala[m*] Yān=iha dāridrya-bhayān=narēndrair=ddhanāni dharm-āyatanīkṛitāni[|*] nir[b]bhukta-mālya-pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ punar=ādadita[|*] Shashṭi(shṭim)
- 61 varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē tishṭhati bhūmidah[.*] āchchhettā ch=ānumantā chaḥ(cha) tāny=ēva narakē vasēt || Dūtakō=tra Rājaputra-**Kharagrahaḥ**[|*]
- 62 Likhitam=idam Sandhivigrahādhikṛita-Divirapati-Mahāpratihāra-Sāmanta-Mammakēn=ēti || Sam 300 50 7 dvi-Pausa ba 4 [|*] Svahastō mama ||

No. 20.—THE BAYANA INSCRIPTION OF CHITTRALEKHA : V. S. 1012.

BY THE LATE PROF. R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

This inscription, which is being edited for the first time, was discovered by Carlleyle, one of the Assistants of the late Sir Alexander Cunningham, at Bayānā in the Bharatpur State.¹ This place (lat. 77° 21' E., long. 26° 54') is now a junction on the broad gauge main line of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway. It was a place of great importance in mediæval times and for some time was made the Imperial capital by Islām Shāh son of Shēr Shāh I. When Mr. Carlleyle saw this inscription for the first time, it was lying under one of the stone pillars of the balcony which surrounds the courtyard of the Ukhā Mandir at Bayānā. This Mandir is a late structure built about a century ago by a Thākur of the Bharatpur State, by converting a portion of the Masjid built in 720 A. H. by Sulṭān Qutbuddin Mubārak Shāh of the **Khilji** dynasty of Delhi.² The inscription was found in the same position in 1885 by Fleet, and was referred to by him in his article on the Bayānā inscription of Vijayādhirāja dated V. S. 1100.³ It continued there till I visited Bayānā in 1918, when at my request Mr. C. C. Watson, I.C.S., C.I.E., then Political Agent for the Eastern Rajputana States, asked the Bharatpur Durbar to have the slab removed and it has since been placed in the compound of the Ukhā Mandir. The inscription is incised on a thick slab of yellow sandstone, quite different from the red sandstone used in the construction of the Ukhā Masjid or the Ukhā Mandir and almost of all the ancient monuments at Bayānā. The upper left corner of the inscription is broken and the letters on one-eighth of the entire slab towards the right have flaked off. With the exception of these two parts the rest of the record is in a tolerably good state of preservation. The flaking off of the right side of the slab makes all the lines incomplete and therefore difficult to decipher. The breaking off of the upper left corner has made the beginning of the first five lines incomplete ; out of these lines again, the first three have lost more letters than the fourth and the fifth which have lost only ten and four syllables approximately.

The inscribed surface measures 3' 6" × 1' 9" and the average height of letters is 1½". The slab bears twenty-five lines of writing which on the whole is very neatly done. As regards **palaeography**, in many cases, the *anusvāra* is enclosed within a circle (*cf. jagatām* l. 4), while in other cases it is a plain dot (*cf. vaśśasya* l. 4). A peculiar form of *tha* is noticeable in *lōkanūthah* (l. 7) where the upper part of the upper loop is open, which is usually closed in other instances, as for example, in *prathitah* (l. 18) or *prithu* (l. 22). The initial form of the short *i* is

¹ Cunningham, A. S. R., Vol. VI, p. 50.

² *Ibid.* Vol. XX, p. 72.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 9-10.

to be found in *ity=ālōchya* (l. 20), *iva* (l. 21), etc. The usual form of the palatal *śa* used in this inscription is the transitional form in which the curve in the upper part of the letter touches but does not coalesce with the vertical straight line which forms the left limb as in *śrīṅgāritāḥ* (l. 11). Very often this curve does not touch the straight line on the left as in *chārudaśanaḥ* (l. 16) or *Śrīpālēna* (l. 25). As regards the **orthographical** peculiarities it might be stated that consonants under a superscript *r* are usually doubled (cf. *śauryya*² *svarggē*, *sarvēshu*, l. 3., etc.). Occasionally consonants with a subscript *r* are also doubled (cf. *ttrātā* in l. 8). The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and the whole inscription with the exception of a portion of the last line is written in verse.

After referring to the Moon, the lunar race, and Kṛishṇa the record speaks of the Śūrasēna kings, in which clan was born a king named **Phakka**. The name of a king Phakka has been found in an undated inscription of circa eighth century A.D. on a pillar built into the inner wall of the main gate of the Chaurāsi-Khamba Masjid at Kāmā or Kāmavana, in the Bharatpur State, which was discovered by Sir Alexander Cunningham and published by the late Pandit Bhagavan Lal Indrajī.¹ The Kāmavana record provides us with a genealogy of the Śūrasēna kings for seven generations. According to the Bayānā inscription, in the family of Phakka there was a king named **Vappuka**, who is styled 'an Indra on the earth' (l. 9). His son was **Rājayika**, who married a lady named **Sajjanī** of the **Māyūrika** family. As mentioned in the Jodhpur inscription² dated V. S. 894 (=A.D. 837), the Pratihāra chief Bāuka defeated a chief named Mayūra from whom Sajjanī appears to have been descended. Sajjanī, who was the grand-mother of **Chittralēkhā**, the donor of the present inscription, must have been living in the earlier part of the tenth century A.D., as the latter was a middle-aged matron in V. S. 1012, having four grown-up sons. The name of Rājayika's son is lost, but from l. 13 we learn that he married a lady named **Yaśaskarī** of the **Pramāra** family from whom was born Chittralēkhā (l. 14). Chittralēkhā was married to a chief named **Maṅgalarāja**, about whose descent no details are furnished. The person referred to in l. 16, whose name is lost, is probably the eldest son of Maṅgalarāja and Chittralēkhā. Fleet proposed to identify this Maṅgalarāja with the chief of that name of the Kachchhapaghāta family, who is mentioned as the ancestor of the king Mahīpāla in the Sāsabhū temple inscription in Gwalior Fort dated V. S. 1150 (=1093-94 A.D.).³ If this identification be accepted then the eldest son of Chittralēkhā, who is mentioned in l. 16 of the Bayānā inscription, is probably **Kirttirāja**, who succeeded his father. Three other sons of Chittralēkhā are mentioned in this record. The second was named **Indrajit** (l. 18), the third **Lakshmanarāja** and the fourth **Chāmuṇḍarāja** (l. 19). The **object** of the inscription is mentioned in l. 20 whence we learn that Chittralēkhā caused to be built a temple of Viṣṇu and gave two villages named Gōgrapura and Nāgapallī as well as certain fields in Hāḍhapallī to the deity (*Chakrin*). From l. 23 we learn that three *drammas* were to be collected for the god (*Śārṅgin*) in the *maṇḍapikā* of Śrīpathā and a similar sum in the *maṇḍapikā* of Vusāvaṭa. From the same line we also learn that a gift of one *dramma* was to be set apart for the god, probably whenever a horse was sold. It may also be that this sum was levied as *octroi* duty on every horse-load of merchandise carried through the village precincts.

Almost all the **geographical** names mentioned in the record can be identified. **Śrīpathā** has been identified as Bayānā itself by the late Dr. J. F. Fleet.⁴ Though phonetically the ancient and modern names cannot be connected, there is some support for this identification as the same

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 34-35.

² Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 95 ff.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 36.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 10.

6

7

8

- 4stu sa[r]vvam=ama[m]galaṁ || [5 ||*]. Varṇśasya tasya mahimā bhuvana-
prasiddhaḥ kiṁ varṇṇyatē sa bhagavān=jagatām nivāsaḥ | Kans(m)s-ārir=ādipurushaḥ
svayam=ēva janma jagrāha yatra sura-dānava-vandit-ānghriḥ || [6 ||*] Vāḍhaṁ
gāḍha ————
- 5 ————ra-namyā va(ba)hubhir=api parair=mmārggaṇaiḥ śrīyamānāḥ | varṇśēr(śē)
tasminn=abhūvann=adhika-kṛita-bhay-ōḍḍāyit-ārāti-kākā bhrātaḥ kiṁ chāpa-daṇḍā
na hi sarala-matē bhūbhujāḥ Śūra-sēnāḥ || [7 ||*] Nētr-ānanda-karēṇa kānta-vapushā
———[saubhā*]-
- 6 gya-kōśēna cha | chandrēṇ=āpi kalaṁkinā nija-kulasy=ādyēna vandy-ātmanā lajjantē
khalu nishkalaṁka-charitā yē=dy=āpi kālē kalau || [8 ||*] Bhuktṡvā bhuktṡvā dharittrīm
chatur-udadhi-payah-prāvṛitām nihsapatnām kṛitvā kṛitv=Āśvamē[dhān=niyata]
———
- 7 [di]m=avani-bhujāḥ gachchhatām puṇya-bhājām madhyē kāla-kramēṇa kraśita-ripur=
abhūt=**Phakka**-nāmā narēndrah || [9 ||*] Vra(Bra)hm-Ēndr-Ōpēndra-Chandra-Draviṇa-
pati-Yamair=apy=ayaṁ lōka-nāthaḥ sārddham yōddhum samarthaḥ sakalam=api jagan=
manyamānas=trijāya | kēśēshv=ā[kramya]———
———[La*]-
- 8 kshmr=bhaya-chakita-manā yat-kulē=pi sthir=ābhūt || [10* ||] Gōttrē yatra pavitr-
ātmā satām ttrātā dvishām vishām | va(ba)bhūva **Vappukō** nāma yaśō-
rāśiḥ pratāpavān || [11 ||*] Sēvā-sannihitaiḥ surair=iva nripai Rambh-Ōrvvaśibhyām
samair=mmāṇiky-ābharaṇaiḥ surūpa ————[*]———
- 9 [vabhāi]r=[uchchaiḥśravaḥ]-sannibhair=asvair=Indra iv=āparaḥ kshiti-talē yō drīk-sahasraṁ
vinā || [12 ||*] Tasya **Rājayikō** jātō Jāmadagnya iv=ātmajaḥ raṇē rājanya-mūrddhānō
nirlūnā yēna lilayā || [13 ||*] **Māyūrika**-kula-bhūtām tēn=ōḍhvā **Sajjan**=īti vikhyātām
[1]......[Hṛida* ?]-
- 10 yēshu dvi[shām] bhūpaḥ sa[bhayē]shu divā-nisām | tishthann=api na saṁsprishṭō na
cha drishṭō bhayēna yaḥ || [15 ||*] Na prākārair=nna sārāiḥ kari-turaga-narair=nn=
ādrībhis=tumga-śrīmgair=nn=āmbhō-gambhira-garttair=jjala-vikala-bhuvām na sthalair=
nna drum-aughaiḥ | n=ānyair=mmā[yā-purair=]———
- 11 ṇaṁ pravi[śad=a]ri-puraṁ nirddahad=v(b)ambhajach=cha || [16||*] Divyair=ābharaṇ-
āṁga-rāga-vasanaiḥ pushpaiś=cha śrīmgāritāḥ sarvvatt=ōtsava-gīta-tūrya-rasitair=
ānanda-sāndrāḥ prajāḥ | praty=av(b)daṁ vasudhām cha sasya-saphalām=ālōkya yō
vismitair=lōkair=———[17||*] —[jvā ?]-
- 12 lā-māli[nō]=pi jvalita-huta-bhujō gharmma-kālē=ntarālād=bhaṅga-vriḍām vahantaḥ
smṛita-kula-charitā vi(bi)bhyati [sm=ā ?]tta-sat(tt)vāḥ | dusṭ-ārusṭa-dvipēndra-sthita-
subhaṭa-kar-ākṛānta-kunt-āgra-raudraṁ saṁgrāmaṁ bhāvayanti pratinīyata-
vadham strī-sabhām(bhaṁ) yē niku[mbhāḥ] || [18||*]......—
- 13 mv(b)udha—...ś=chandramā iva vai rukaḥ(chā ?) || [19||*] **Pramāra**-kula-sambhūtā
sādhvi tēna mahātmanā | **Yaśaskar**=īti vikhyātā pariṇitā yaśō-rthinā || [20||*] Tēn=
ādhīpēna tanayā sa-nayā su-rūpā puṇya-priyā savinayā śubha-lakṣhaṇā cha | tasyām
.....[sama ?*]-
- 14 jani **Chittralekhā** || [21||*] Tēna **Marbgalarājēna** sā śāstr-ārtha-vidā satā | sādhyi
bhrātṛmatī rājñā pariṇitā priyamvadā || [22||*] Pativratām vīkshya kalau yugē tām
lōkaiḥ kṛita-strīshu mahā-satīshu | Arundhati-Parvvata-rāja-puttrī-La[kshmi ?]———
.....[23||*]......

- 15 ..[tan-nāma] grihn(ṇ)atī nṛiṇām | śravaṇā[v=api ?] śṛiṇvantau galit-ākṣhila-kalmashau bhavataḥ || [24||*] Śēshō=pi bhūri-vadanō na guṇāms=tadiyān śāknōti vaktum=achirāt-kimu mādrisō=nyaḥ | Manv-ādi-kirttita-manas=tu(?) su-kirtti y=aiva strī-dharmmam =āśu ○—○—○—○—||[25||*] —○—○—○—○—
- 16 sutō=bhūt=priya-sat(tt)va-satyah | āśvētayad=yah sva-yaśah-prabhābhīr=vra(bra)hmāṇḍa-madhyam vidhut-āri-chakraḥ || [26||*] Dilīpa-Raghu-Rāmāṇām charitam chāru-darśanaḥ | anukṛitya prajānām yō jagāma priyatām vibhuḥ || [27||*] Ākramya dru[ma]-saṁgini [dalita-] —○—○—○—○—○—○—
- 17 [tyakta-bhīḥ] kasuśikah | chakr-āhva-dvitayāni yānti vibhidām prauḍha-kshap-āsaṁ-kayā yasy=ānēka-va(ba)l-augha-dhūli-ṭaḥalair=āchchhādītē bhāsvati || [28||*] Dhāvantiyā sakhi sambhramēṇa galitā n=[ā]grāhi kāmchī mayā hārō yasya samarpitas=tvaritayā tam na smarāmi sphuṭam | —○—○—○—○—○—
- 18 d=uttārya bhagn-āsmi=aham sōchant=īti ripu-striyāḥ sva-puratō yat-sainik-ōdvāsitaḥ || [29||*] Indrajid=anu cha sutō-bhūd=yasyāḥ saṁgrāma-lōlupaḥ prathitaḥ | jitvā va(ba)hu-bhūp-ēndrān=upahasitō Rāvaṇir=yēna || [30||*] Saujanyasya nidhir=ddayālu-hṛidayah kalpa-drumō mārgga[nē]—○—○—○—○—○—
- 19 sat(tt)v-ādhikah satya-giḥ | su-prītiḥ pratipanna-pālana-vidhau chaṇḍa-dvishām=antakah pūrṇ-ēndu-dyuti-śubhra-bhūri-charitō yō vidyay=ālamkṛitaḥ || [31||*] Tad-anu cha **Lakshmaṇarājō** jātas=tasyāḥ sutaḥ Prīthu-prakhyah | **Chāmunda-rāja-nāmā** paśchād=Bhīm-ādhikah sva-guṇaiḥ || [32||*] Kusuma.....[saubhā ?]-
- 20 gya-rūpa-rājyāni | muktīḥ svargga-nivāsō na bhavanti vin=ārechha[nam] Viśṇōḥ || [33||*] Ity=ālōchya chirāya chāru-charitā sā Chittralēkhā satī sarvvaṁ chaṁchalām=ākalaṇya jagatō rūpam vapur=jīvitam | Viśṇōḥ kārayatē sma mandiram=idam hēm-āṇḍa-chūḍā-maṇi-vyālamv(b)-[ārdhaka]-daṇḍa—○—○—○—[pa*]-
- 21 tāk-āśmukaiḥ || [34||*] Kēyūra-tāra-hārair=maṇi-nūpura-kanaka-kāmkaṇ-āvalibhiḥ | kaladhauta-mēkhalābhīr=yāḥ kalpa-latā iv=ābhānti || [35||*] Yāsām darśana-lōbhān=na kshaṇam=api Madhu-ripur=nnijām pratimām | muṁchati na cha Rambh-ādyāḥ svargga-strīḥ saṁsmaraty=a[dhunā] || [36||*] [Prativimvi(bimbi)tā (?)][ni*]-
- 22 rmmala-kapōla-phalakēshu | anubhavati [s-ērshya]-Lakshmī kalaham manyē smitaḥ satatam || [37||*] Kuvalaya-dala-nayanābhiḥ prīthu-jaghanābhiḥ śaśāṅka-vadanābhiḥ | prēkshaṇakam=aṁganābhis=tābhiḥ siddham tayā dattam || [38||*] **Gōgrapura-Nāgapallyau** dvau grāmau Chakriṇē tatō dat(tt)vā | kshē[ttrāṇi **Hāḍha pallyām** (?)]......
- 23 [m=a]sya || [39||*] Dramma-ttritayam dattē prati-divasam **Śrīpathā**-stha-maṇḍapikā | aparam ttrikam **Vusāvaṭa**-maṇḍapikā Śārṅgiṇē satatam || [40||*] Prati-ghōṭakam cha dānē drammo dēvasya bhagavatō vihitah | ēshā kṛitā vyavasthā rājñyā śrī-Chittralēkhayā bhaktyā || [41||*] Mahārājādhirājēna śrī-**Mahīpāla**-bhūbhujā.....
..○—.....
- 24 Cha[shṭha]-maṇḍalē || [42||*] Yāvad=dadhāti vasudhām sa-dharām phaṇ-indrō yāvaj=jalam cha vimalam marud-āpagāyām | prālēyaśaila-śikhar-ākṛiti-chittra-chāru tāvad=vibhātu bhuvi harmmyam=idam Murārēḥ || [43||*] **Ēkē varsha-sahasrē dvādaśabhir=vvatsarair-yutē Māghē** | dvādaśyām śubhrāyām [pratishṭhitam śaśi-dinē ?]......[||44||*]
- 25 Viprēṇa **Sajjana**-nāmnā virachitā praśastiḥ Karaṇika-**Śrīśaktinā** likhitā **Śrīpālēn**=ōtkirṇṇā suvarṇnakārēṇa || Bhadram=astu || **Aluvadraka**-nāmānam grāmam=aamai ravi-grahē Indrajid=da○—.....○—○—[||45||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.).....From (*his*) mouth was born the fire and from the head the sky.....

(V. 2.) From the moon sprang the royal family (*tree*) which had a thick foliage, had kept off the heat (or suffering) of the people through its thousand branches and was productive of much fruits (or good) and which, though high (or noble), was free from encountering shocks and breaking down (or fear and destruction).

(V. 3.) (*In which family*).....rejoiced together and where was born Purūravas, the common abode of beauty and valour.

(V. 4.) Where was born Nahusha, whom when he obtained the kingship of the gods in heaven, all the gods, Yama and others.....

(V. 5.) (*may remove ?*) all evils.....

(V. 6.) The greatness of this family is well known throughout the world. What more to say, where the Lord of the creation (*i.e.*, Vishṇu) and the enemy of Kāṁsa, who is the refuge of all creatures and whose feet are worshipped (*equally*) by the gods and demons, himself took his birth.

(V. 7.) In that family were born (*those*) who were honoured by.....and resorted to by numerous other supplicants, who made the crow-like enemies fly with their fear increased. O brother, were they the bows ? No, simple minded (*fool*), they were the Śūrasēna kings.

(V. 8.) Who, even today, in this Kali age, being of spotless character feel ashamed of the moon, the originator of their race on account of his having a stain though it has a beautiful form pleasing to the eye.....and is honoured (*by people*).

(V. 9.) In course of time, amongst the righteous kings who had passed away, each in his turn, after enjoying the earth extended to the four oceans and free from all enemies and performing the Horse-Sacrifice.....there was born a king named **Phakka** who had exterminated (*lit.* thinned) his enemies.

(V. 10.) This lord of the people was able to fight even with Brahman, Indra, Upēndra, the Moon, Kuvēra and Yama and regarded the whole earth (*as contemptible*) as a blade of grass. Dragged by hair, Lakshmī....with her mind struck with fear became settled in his family.

(V. 11.) In that family was born **Vappuka** who was a mass of fame and was powerful, whose soul was pure and who was the saviour of the good (*but*) was (*like*) poison to his enemies.

(V. 12.) Who, through having princes, who were like gods and who had come to him for (*rendering*) service, through (*women*) adorned with diamonds and equalling Rambhā and Ūrvaśī (*in beauty*)... and through horses that were like Uchchaiṣravas—was like another Indra on the face of the earth ; (*only he was*) without his (Indra's) thousand eyes.

(V. 13.) To him was born a son (*named*) **Rājayika** who was like Jāmadagnya (Paraśurāma) inasmuch as he cut off the heads of warriors in battle with (*perfect*) ease.

(V. 14.) He having married the well-known **Sajjanī** born in the **Māyūrika** family.....

(V. 15.) The king, though residing day and night in the enemies' hearts possessed of fear, was neither touched nor (*even*) seen by that fear.

(V. 16.) (*The king not daunted by*) ramparts, nor by the (*army consisting of the*) best of elephants, horses and men, nor by hills with high peaks, nor by the deep ravines caused by (*the rush of*) water, nor by land and forests of trees nor by phantom cities.....entering the city of the enemy, burning (*it*) and completely annihilating (*it*).

(V. 17.) (*Whose*) subjects, adorned with beautiful ornaments, perfumes and clothes and decked with flowers, were full of enjoyments everywhere through festivities, songs and sounds of drums. And every year seeing with wondering eyes that the earth was full of crops, who.

(V. 18.) Even (*men*) of strong character (?), bearing the shame of defeat, feel frightened being reminded of the family of him (*who was unbearable like*) the fire with a garland of flames during the hot season—those wicked demons (?) who look upon the battle—which is made fierce by the heads of spears held in the hands of the best of warriors seated on the wicked and angry elephants—like an assembly of women.

(V. 19.)like the moon in splendour.

(V. 20.) By that great soul, who wanted fame, was married (*the lady*) named **Yasaskarī**, who was chaste and was born in the **Pramāra** family.

(V. 21.) By that king was begotten on her (*i.e.* Yasaskarī)a daughter (*named*) **Chittralēkhā** who was well-behaved, beautiful, fond of (*acquiring*) merit, well-disciplined and auspicious.

(V. 22.) By that good king **Maṅgalarāja** who knew the proper interpretation of the **Śāstras**, she, who was devoted to her husband, who had brothers and who spoke pleasantly, was married.

(V. 23.) Seeing her devotedness to her husband, in the Kali age, the people (*placed her*) among women of the Kṛita age who were great *Satis* (chaste women) like Arundhatī, the daughter of the mountain (*i.e.*, Gaurī) and Lakshmi.

(V. 24.)by uttering her name, even hearing (*her name*) the ears of men are rendered free from all sins.

(V. 25.) Even Śēsha, possessing many mouths, cannot speak of her qualities, quickly ; how can one like myself (*do so*) ?

(V. 26.)(*She*) had a son to whom were dear energy and truth (*and*) who, having destroyed the circle of his enemies, brightened the interior of the universe by the rays of his fame.

(V. 27.) This king of beautiful form, following the conduct of Dilīpa, Raghu and Rāma, obtained the love of his subjects.

(V. 28.)The sun being covered by the mass of dust (*raised by the feet*) of the multitude of his armies, the owl is without fear and the *chakravāka* pairs separate fearing that the night was far advanced.

(V. 29.) The wives of his enemies driven out of their own city by his soldiers thus lament : O friend, while flying in confusion, my girdle which had dropped was not picked up by me ; I do not remember distinctly the person to whom I entrusted my necklace....

(V. 30.) Her younger son was **Indrajit** who was well-known, and eager for battles. Having conquered many kings the son of Rāvaṇa (*i.e.*, Indrajit) was jeered at by him.

(V. 31.) (*He was*) the abode of civility, was kindhearted and was like a *kalpa-druma* (wish-giving tree) to the supplicants....., was full of energy and truthful, took a great delight in protecting those who had approached (*him*), and was like the god of death to rampant enemies. His numerous acts were white like the rays of the full moon and he was adorned with knowledge.

(V. 32.) After him was born unto her a son named **Lakshmanarāja**, who was as celebrated as Prithu and after him another (*son named*) **Chāmundaarāja** who was greater than Bhīma through his own qualities.

(V. 33.) good fortune, beauty, kingdom, emancipation and abode in heaven cannot be obtained without worshipping Vishṇu.

(V. 34.) Having thought of this for a long time and having found out that everything on this earth (*as well as*) beauty, body (*and*) life are transient, she, Chittralēkhā, the chaste and of esteemed character, caused to be made this temple of Vishṇu with a crest-jewel shaped as a golden egg and which was....(*adorned with* ?)....and flags.

(V. 35.) (*The girls*) who with armlets, shining necklaces, jewelled anklets and bracelets of gold, (*and also*) with the girdles of gold appear like (*so many*) wishing-creepers (*kalpa-latā*).

(V. 36.) Owing to the temptation of seeing them, the enemy of Madhu does not leave his own image even for a moment nor does he now remember the heavenly damsels like Rambhā and others.

(V. 37.) They being reflected (?) in (*his*) pure cheeks, the smiling (*Vishṇu*) always experiences the anger of the jealous Lakshmī.

(V. 38.) A show given by these ladies whose eyes were like the petals of lotus flowers, whose hips were heavy and whose faces were like the moon was also arranged by her.¹

(V. 39.) Having given to Vishṇu the two villages **Gōgrapura** and **Nāgapalli** (*she also gave*) fields at **Hāḍhapalli**.

(V. 40.) Three *drammas* were given, every day, to the holder of the Śārṅga bow (*i.e.*, Vishṇu) by the market-place² at **Śrīpathā** and also another three by the market place at **Vusāvaṭa**.

(V. 41.) A gift of one *dramma* per horse was fixed for the god, the lord. This arrangement was made by the queen, the illustrious Chittralēkhā, out of devotion.

(V. 42.) By the illustrious king, the *Mahārājādhirāja* **Mahīpāla** in Chashṭha-*maṇḍala*.

(V. 43.) As long as the lord of the snakes bears the earth along with the mountains, as long as there is pure water in the celestial river (*i.e.*, the Ganges), so long may this temple of the enemy of Mura (*i.e.*, Vishṇu) which is (*as high as*) the peak of the Snowy Mountains (*i.e.*, the Himālaya) and which is conspicuous and beautiful, continue to shine on this earth.

(V. 44.) In the year **one thousand increased by twelve years, on Monday (?) the twelfth day of the bright half of Māgha** was (*this temple*) dedicated.

Line 25. This eulogy was composed by the Brāhmaṇa named **Sajjana**, written by the *Karaṇika* **Śrīśakti** (*and*) incised by the goldsmith **Śrīpāla**. Let there be good (*for all*). **Indrajit** (*gave*) to him (*i.e.*, the god Vishṇu), the village of **Aluvadraka** on the occasion of a solar eclipse

No. 21.—THE GURGI INSCRIPTION OF PRABODHASIVA³.

BY THE LATE PROF. R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

The slab on which this inscription is engraved was discovered about half a century ago, among the ruins of the great temple called Gurgaj, at **Gurgi**, a village about two miles due east of Rewah town, in the state of that name, in the Baghelkhand Agency of Central India. Gurgi is situated in lat. 81° 27' and long. 21° 30' (*vide* sheet No. XIII of the Rewah Topographical Survey, issued by the Survey of India in 1873). Though Rewah had been visited by older members of the Archaeological Survey of India such as Sir Alexander Cunningham, Mr. J. D. M. Beglar and H. B. W. Garrick, this inscription has not been noticed by any one of them.⁴ It is now placed in the front wall of the palace at Rewah just below the Throne Room or Durbar Hall. Its existence was brought to my notice in April 1920 by Rai Bahadur Pandit Janaki Prasad, M.A., LL.B., then Home Member of the Council of Regency of the Rewah State who also gave me information about its place of discovery.

¹ Probably in verses 35-38 we have a reference to the dancing girls (*dēva-dāsī*) given to the temple.

² *Maṇḍapikū*—a market place (*maṇḍavō* in Gujarātī and Marāṭhī).

³ [The text and translation of this inscription were published in Mr. Banerji's *The Hāshayas of Tripuri and their Monuments* (Archæological Survey of India Memoir No. 23) pp. 122 ff., but as they contained a number of errors the inscription as revised by me is re-edited here.—Ed.]

⁴ [Probably the stone inscription referred to by Beglar in Cunningham, *A. S. R.* Vol. XIII, p. 13, note 1, is identical with the present inscription.—Ed.]

The inscribed slab measures about 4' 1" by 3' 4" and the average height of each letter is 7". The entire surface with the exception of about two inches at the top and six inches at the bottom is covered with writing. There are altogether forty-nine lines of writing on the slab. With the exception of the invocation at the beginning, the entire inscription is in verse. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and the record has, on the whole, been very carefully incised. Consonants with a subscript *r* are not doubled, but there are exceptions, e.g., *tridaśa* (l. 3). Consonants with a superscript *r* have been doubled in all cases. The characters of the inscription are similar to those of the Chandrehe inscription of Prabōdhaśiva of the Kalachuri year 724.¹ The initial form of *i* consists of two dots placed side by side and a comma below them : cf., *iva* (ll. 7, 20) and *ittham* (l. 13). Among consonants the following forms call for notice. There are two triangles in the lower part of *kha* one at the foot of each of the vertical lines, cf., *akhila* (l. 8). Two forms of *tha* have been used : the older form consisting of two spheres one over the other and the later form in which the upper loop has become open, cf., *mīthy* (l. 3) and *prathita* (l. 15). An angle is present in the back of *da* in all cases, cf., *jagad* (l. 2). The upper part of *dha* is undeveloped and the letter consists of a loop attached to the left side of a vertical straight line. An acute angle is also to be seen in the lower part of *bha*, cf., *mahōbbhiḥ* (l. 7). *Ra* is wedge-shaped, cf., *ripu* (l. 3). In *la* there is only one curved line in the left limb of the letter instead of two as in later forms, cf., *rāla* (l. 1). The palatal *śa*, in all cases, is of the transitional form, in which the right limb of the letter consists of a straight line which is not touched by the left limb. This left limb is formed of a curve shaped like the Roman letter 'S' with a triangle at the bottom, cf., *śrēṇi* (l. 1). The sign of *avagraha* has been used occasionally in this inscription, cf., *tasy=āspadē= 'gra* (l. 30) and *Mahēndrē=rvudē* (l. 31). The final form of *t* is to be found in *abhūt* (l. 38) and of *m* in *saiddhāntikānām* (l. 5) and *dōsham* (l. 6). A peculiar form of the ligature *kra* is noticeable in *ākraṇḍa* (l. 2).

The inscription, so far as is left of it, is not dated and from its fragmentary nature it is difficult to say with certainty to the reign of which Kalachuri king it belonged. It falls into two different parts : the first part consisting of the spiritual genealogy of the ascetics of the **Mattamayūra** clan and the second of a short account of the rulers of the **Haihaya** dynasty of **Tripurī** and the landed property belonging to the Śaiva ascetics. In this respect the Gurgi inscription resembles the Bilhari inscription² of the rulers of Chēdī.

The first two verses contain an invocation of Śiva. In the third verse we are introduced to Madhumatī an abode of the *Saiddhāntikas* and the clan of "mad-peacocks". The fourth verse also refers to this clan of Śaiva ascetics. In this (religious) family of Śaiva ascetics was an ascetic named **Chūḍāśiva**. His disciple was called **Prabhāvaśiva**. **Yuvarājadēva I.**, son of **Mugdhatuṅga** (Prasiddhadhavalā), having brought him (to the Chēdī country), made him accept a monastery which was built at the cost of a large sum of money. His disciple **Prasāntaśiva** is the most prominent figure in this inscription as well as in that found at Chandrehe. From verse 11 of the present record we learn that he had built a temple of Śiva close to the palace built by Yuvarājadēva I. In addition to this temple he had dedicated images of Umā, Śiva and Durgā (i.e., Ardhanārīśvara), Kārttikēya (Shāḍānana), Gaṇapati and Sarasvatī in the temples close to the palace (v. 12). This abbot also built for himself a retreat for meditation (*tapas sthānakam*) on the banks of the Śōṇa, an account of which we also find in the Chandrehe inscription. He was succeeded by his disciple whose name cannot be read (v. 17).³ This disciple of Prasāntaśiva gave his place (as head of the monastery) to a younger brother disciple named Prabōdhaśiva (l. 25).

¹ Above, Vol. XXI. pp. 149 f.

² Above, Vol. II, pp. 25 ff.

³ [I read the name as *Īśānaśambhu*.—Ed.]

From the 26th line the record becomes almost entirely illegible with the exception of a few letters at the extreme right. **Prabōdhasiva** appears to be the abbot in whose time the inscription was incised. The **object** of the record was very probably to commemorate repairs to an object caused to be built by his spiritual preceptor (*sva-svāmi-nirmmāpita* l. 26) as well as some monument erected by himself (*sat-karma-nirmmāpitam* l. 29). Verses 36-43 also seem to record certain grants made by **Yuvarāja (II)**. The account of the rulers of the Haihaya dynasty probably began from v. 27 introducing the family of the moon to which the Kalachuris belonged. The last few words in l. 35 indicate the defeat of a **Gūrjara** king, evidently a king of Kanauj. The **Kōkalladēva** mentioned in l. 40 is probably the second king of that name who was the son and successor of **Yuvarājadēva II**. There is a reference to the defeat of a **Gūrjara** ruler and a king of **Gauḍa**. The country of **Vanavāsa** and the lord(?) of **Kuntala** appear to have been mentioned in l. 42. These two countries are most probably mentioned in connection with the campaigns of **Gāṅgēyadēva**, the son of **Kōkalla II**. and the father of the great conqueror **Karṇa**, whose conquest of the Kuntala country is mentioned in the Khairhā plates of his grandson **Yaśaḥkarṇa**.¹ The mention of the campaigns of **Gāṅgēyadēva** indicates that **Prabōdhasiva** was alive in his reign and therefore the record is later in date than the Chandrehe inscription. The next five lines contain the property bestowed on the Śaiva ascetics possibly by **Yuvarājadēva I**. who is mentioned in l. 47 and also by his surname **Kēyūrararsha**, in l. 43. In l. 43 are mentioned **Sārasaḍōllaka**—which is identified by Rai Bahadur Pandit Janaki Prasad with modern Sahdol, a station on the Bilaspur-Katni section of the Bengal Nagpur Railway—**Vakaḍōllaka** and three other villages. In l. 44 we have **Ābhīrapallī**, **Kavacha-Kshētra** and a third name **Sarasvatī** which may be that of a village or of a river. In the next line a number of villages are mentioned of which the following only are legible : **Sāmantapāṭaka**, **Bhadvachiurā**, **Tujumbā**, **Kukkuḍiyā** and **Rajōgrāma**. It is stated in l. 47 that **Karōḍhaka**, **Brahmapurī**, **Nannēsvara-Kshētra** and another village, the name of which is not clear, were given to the god **Sōmanātha**. The *prasasti* was composed by **Madhu**, the son of **Trayivarddhana** of the **Bhāradvāja-gōtra**. It was written on the stone by **Śivanāga** the son of **Avvōka** and incised by the *sūtradhāra* **Mādhava** the son of **Mahēsvara**. I am unable to identify the localities mentioned and edit the record from the original stone which I examined on several occasions in 1920 and in 1921.

TEXT.

[Metres :—vv. 1-5 and 16 *Sragdharā*; vv. 6-8, 12, 17, 20, 24, 26, 28, 30-33 and 35 *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 9-11, 13-15, 18, 19, 21-23, 25 and 27 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 29 and 34 *Mālinī*; vv. 36-46 *Anuṣṭubh*].

1 Ōm² ——— vāya || Lāṅkā-[vīrēndra(?)]-vā(bā)hu-vyatikara-chaṭula-[sphā]ṭik-ādr-indra-kōṭi-śrēṇi-saṁghaṭṭa-vi(bi)bhyad-gaganachara-vara-chchhanna-dik-chakravālaṁ

¹ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 210 ff. [The context does not give us any justification of bringing in **Gāṅgēyadēva**. It shows, on the other hand, that the credit of the conquests mentioned in verse 34 must go to **Kōkalladēva (II)** who is introduced in the verse immediately preceding it. Moreover, since both the Chandrehe inscription (973 A.D.) and the present record belong to the time of **Prabōdhasiva**, it is very unlikely that he could flourish at the time of **Gāṅgēyadēva** (1037 A.D.) also. It is more likely that the grants were made by **Yuvarājadēva (II)**, as indicated by v. 43, probably towards the end of his reign and recorded at the time of his son **Kōkalla (II)** who is mentioned as *nripati* in l. 41. If my surmise is correct then v. 34 gives us some new information about the achievements of **Kōkalla II**. and v. 35 indicates that **Yuvarājadēva (II)** also bore the surname of **Kēyūrararsha** like his grandfather, **Yuvarāja (I)**.—Ed.]

² Expressed by a symbol.

(V. 2.) Nandin, who is the (*lady*) that has entered ... ? I think she is Dēvī. This is not true ; I am not she ; (*she is*) another person..... You simple minded, he is an *asura* who has assumed your form. See how I have felled him before me and by what weapon. Let Śiva who was (*thus*) silenced being conquered by the harsh(?) words of Dēvī, protect you.

(V. 3.) There is in this world, **Madhumatī**, the abode of the Saiddhāntikas, where the peacocks dance and shriek with joy at the unseasonal rise of clouds formed by the mass of smokeand which is smiling (*in derision*) as it were, at the heaven through the mass of the rays of the big jewels shining on high in the rows of mansions.

(V. 4.) Where appeared the foremost of ascetics whose mind was restrained by vows and who taught the great doctrine of Śiva which is devoid of all faults ; whose well-known fame the splendour of which (*was as white as if it had been*) washed with nectar, whitens the universe even today like the rays of the moon gladdening the mass of *kumuda* flowers which were the prosperous and learned men.

(V. 5.) In this great family of Śaivas was (*born*) the illustrious ascetic **Chūḍāśiva** who was honoured by sages and who in his shining glory was like the forest fire to the dry fuel of sin ; whose fame was exceedingly white having arisen out of the perfection of knowledge acquired through meditation on the feet of Bhava (Śiva).

(V. 6.) His disciple was the sage, the illustrious **Prabhāvaśiva** whose feet were worshipped by the rays of the crest jewels on the head of all the kings bowing (*in reverence*) and who was learned and famous in the three worlds.

(V. 7.) Having brought him out of a natural desire, **Yuvarājadēva**, the son of the illustrious **Mugdhatuṅga**, who was versed in polity, in order to gain good fame arising out of the welfare of (*all*) beings, made him accept a monastery which was established at an enormous expense.

(V. 8.) His disciple was the ascetic the illustrious **Praśāntaśiva**, who was famous in the whole world through his spotless austerities and force of learning which was (*always*) increasing and who was the sole abode of exceedingly good qualities.

(V. 9.) Attracted by (*his*) long accumulated austerities, Lakshmī, who was eager to have a bodily contact with him who was averse to pleasure on account of his desire of final emancipation, received his order to do good to others and obtained fixity (*i.e.*, became stationary), like a very devoted wife, in the houses of the good who were his (Praśāntaśiva's) friends.

(V. 10.) Having taken to charity as the (*supporting*) pillar, having obtained the sprinkling of the water of shining knowledge, with all its tips protected by the increasing force of austerities, grew his wish-yielding tree (*kalpadruma*) which was his fame and which in time completely filled the vase-like interior of the universe.

(V. 11.) By him was established a temple of Śiva (*built*) to the north of the palace which was built by the illustrious Yuvarājadēva and was like the shining peak of the Kailāsa mountain, which (temple) aspired to be as high as the peak of the Sumēru mountain, was famous on the earth, caused wonder in the three worlds and acted like a stair-case to his fame marching towards heaven.

(V. 12.) He, whose vast fame was well-known and who was learned, dedicated the images of Umā, Umā mixed with Śiva (Hara-Gaurī) and Shadānana in the temples adjacent to the palace as well as those of Sarasvatī and Gaṇapati at the gate.

(V. 13.) He who had quenched all desires of hosts of supplicants by the gift of gold which had emerged (*purified*) from burning (*i.e.*, sacrificial fire ?), built another abode for the *Siddhas* on the bank of the river Śōṇa having entered which the *Yōgins* who had exterminated anxieties caused by impediments through (*the performance of*) vows, (*who were*) free from passions, who had attained success in meditation and whose mind was clear, acquire the position (*fit*) for (*obtaining*) emancipation.

(V. 14.) He, the sage; for the absolute rest of those who had a mind to live in a holy place, built an abode (*for performing*) austerities on the banks of the divine river (Ganges), taking resort to which the inhabitants of Benares, devoted to the worship of Mahēśvara, think the ocean of existence, though vast, to be as small as the impression of a cow's foot (*in the soil*).

(V. 15.) Seated in a solitary place, he, who had won a mastery over (*all*) the postures of sitting (*āsana*) and whose mind—devotedly fixed to the meditation of Śiva (*who was always present*) inside his lotus-like heart—possessed the inner satisfaction, passed his days in making gifts.....in company of qualified men who were adepts in supreme knowledge and could stand the test.

(V. 16.) His disciples who shine in their own majesty bright like the mass of rays of the sun explaining....everyday to those who were in darkness(?) (as the sun removes the darkness) and whose fame is vast on account of the good done through the gift of sight (*ālōka*) (as the sun gives light), roam about honoured by the best of sages whose orders are held (*reverently*) by the kings (*bhūbhṛit*) on their heads (as the sun is honoured by the summits of mountains which it beautifies).

(V. 17.) His (disciple) was the illustrious [*Isānaśambhu*].....whose fame was sung by all principal poets, and whose lotus-like feet were reddened by the splendour of the jewels of the garlands on the crowns of all the kings.

(V. 18.) Having conquered.....of all the supplicants by him, who was the remover of the misery of poverty, was placed the goddess of fortune (*Śrī*) in a position to be enjoyed (*by all*); (he who was?)in the matter of destroying the obstruction of the bondage of existence through true learning.....

(V. 19.) He, who was a lion (*pañchānana*) in the act of subduing the rutting elephant of death in the shape of Kali age, who was the forehead mark (*tilaka*) of the illustrious **Mattamayūra** clan, who was the store house of perfect bearing, (*who in the*) assembly of the learned....., of him who was the source of all the (good) qualities.....

(V. 20.) He having given place to his younger brother (*disciple*) named **Prabōdhaśiva**.....

(V. 21.) By him, who was the receptacle of charity, austerities and meditation (*was built a matha*¹ *near*) the one built by his master (*i.e., guru*), which the.....do not cross in the sky for fear of obstruction to their success (or perfection).

(V. 22.) Also a well² (*was dug by him*).....and also the host of supplicants (obtained?)an abundant....(*even*) of what was not desired before.

(V. 23.)caused to be built by (*his*) good works.....

(V. 24.)then the high-souled one.....in his abode.....

(V. 25.)on high on the Mahendra or the Arbuda hills.....

(V. 26.) **Sāmantapātaka**.....

(V. 27.) (*In*) the family of the moon.....(*who*) taking by force the famous sword.....

(V. 28.)having defeated the lord of the **Gūjaras**.....

(V. 29.)the protection of the family.....

(V. 30.)the crest jewel.....

(V. 31.)was born the valiantseeing whose beauty even as drawn in a picture

(V. 32.) From him (*was born*).....the king, the treasure house of valour, the terrible fighter, who was like....to the host of poets..

(V. 33.) From him (*was born*) the king **Kōkalladēva** who was the lord of the good, who excelled the god of love in physical (*beauty*) and was of unequalled valour.....

¹[Probably the damaged portion contained a reference to the *matha* built by Prabōdhaśiva which is also found in the Chandrehe Inscription of Prabōdhaśiva, see above, Vol. XXI, p. 15, v. 16.—Ed.]

²[For a reference to this well see also Chandrehe Inscription, v. 16.—Ed.]

(V. 34.) The Gūrjara (*lord?*) enters the Himālaya devoid of power and the lord of Gauḍa lies in the watery fort of the sea. There lives in Vanavāsa the lord(?) of Kuntala.....

(V. 35.) The King Kēyūravārsha (*gave*).....to the ascetic who possessed merit and whom he had himself honoured.....

(Vv. 36-37.) (The villages) Pakka...., as well as Sārasaḍōllaka, Vakkaḍōllaka, Rājyau-chchvēkō(?),.....nāsa-puṇḍikā,.....pura, Khayēllikā(?),.....Ābhīrapalli.....and Sarasvatī.

(Vv. 38-40.) The twelfth part of these as well as the Kavacha-kshētra Sāmanta-pātaka and Vata...., Bhadyachiurā, Tujumvā and Kukkuḍiyā along with the village of Rajō (*the king*) gave by means of a grant to the great (*ascetic*) who was versed in the Vēdāntas.

(V. 41.) The king made the grant with all honours and out of devotion to him (*and also gave?*) a city crowded with citizens.

(V. 42.) (*He also*) gave to the Śiva called Sōmanātha, (*the villages of*) Karōḍhaka, Brahmapurī.....kapōṇḍikā and Nannēśvara-kshētra.

(V. 43.) May this allowance (*vritti*) to the Śaiva-ascetics granted by the illustrious Yuva-rājadēva last till the end of kalpas, being protected by the future kings.

(V. 44.) The praiseworthy Madhu who was the son of the illustrious Trayivardhana of the Bhāradvāja lineage, composed this eulogy with sweet words.

(V. 45.) This (*prasasti*) was written on stone with clear letters by the scribe, the intelligent Śivanāga, the son of Avvōka.

(V. 46.) (*It was*) incised by the engraver Mādhaba....who was the son of Mahēśvara, was gifted and was (*as clever as*) Viśvakarman.

No. 22.—THE MAHAKOSALA HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S PLATES OF MAHABHAVA-GUPTARAJADEVA.

BY PANDIT L. P. PANDEYA.

In October 1932, this important charter was presented to the Mahā-Kōsala Historical Society, Bālpur (*via Rāigarh, District Bilāspur, C. P.*), by a gentleman in whose family it had been lying for years. Definite information about its find-spot is lacking but it is said that the plates were discovered in a field in the course of digging.

This charter consists of three copper-plates each measuring about 8·1" in length and 4·2" in breadth which are strung on a big circular ring of the same metal. The ring is 4·2" in diameter to which is fixed a circular seal measuring 1·6" in diameter. On the seal is engraved the figure of a standing bull with two horns and a raised hump facing the proper right. Above the figure of the bull is the mark of a crescent moon and below it the legend in two lines, which reads:—(1) *Śrī-Mahābhavagupta* (2) *rājadēvasya*. The plates have no raised rims and they with the ring and the seal weigh 120 tolas.

Of the three plates, the first is inscribed on the inner side only while the second and third plates bear writing on both sides. The first plate contains nine lines of writing, the second seven lines on each side and the third has eleven lines on the inner and four lines on the outer side. The letters on both the sides of the second plate are comparatively big, each measuring $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of an inch. In the inner side of the third plate the letters in the last five lines are smaller than those of the first six lines. The writing on the plates excepting a few lines on the first side of the third plate is in good preservation.

The characters belong to the 'acute angled' type of the Northern script, attributable to the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. The letters have been nicely and clearly engraved and the majority

of them resemble those of the Sirpur stone inscription of the time of Mahāśivagupta.¹ The language is Sanskrit and prose throughout with the exception of the imprecatory and benedictive verses.

As regards **orthography**, the following points may be noted :—The *visarga* is omitted in *namaḥ* (l. 1) and *antaḥpāti* (l. 4); *ī* is used for *i* in *-ābhī*² (l. 13), *Sagar-ādībhīḥ* (l. 20), etc.; *b* and *v* have not been distinguished. The rule of *sandhi* has been overlooked in *yadī ākshara* (l. 36).

The exact **date** of the record cannot be verified from the details given in the inscription and the reading of the day of the fortnight is not certain, though it appears to be 6. Accepting this reading to be correct, the record is dated the **6th day of the dark half of Bhādrapada of the 11th regnal year** of the M. P. P. Mahābhavaguptarājadēva, the forehead ornament of the Sōma family (*Sōma-kula-tilaka*) and the Lord of Trikalīṅga. The charter records the grant of the **Liñjira** village in the neighbourhood of the *Prithurā-bhukti* to a Brāhmaṇa who was the son of Chakradhara and belonged to the *Kapishṭhala-gōtra*,³ *Vasishṭha-pravara* and the *Maitrāyaṇī-sākhā* (of the Black Yajurveda). The donee is simply called *Bhaṭṭa* in the inscription and it is not clear whether this was his name or the usual brahmanic title. He was an inhabitant of *Ullakhēṭa* and had originally emigrated from *Madhura* in the Mid-country (*Madhya-dēśa*). The gift was made on the *Simha-saṁkrānti* and the record was issued from the victorious camp at *Kisarakēllā*. The writer of the charter was the *Mahāsandhivigrahin* *Rudradatta*, the son of *Dēvadatta* who had emigrated from *Ayōdhyāpura*. The usual device on the seal of the Sōmavaṁśi kings is the *gaṇa-Lakṣmī* but in the present inscription the device is, as has been noticed above, different and is similar to that used in the inscriptions of the Early Gaṇa kings. Though the dates of the two known Mahābhavaguptas of the Sōmavaṁśa have not been properly fixed, their personal or birth names, *viz.*, *Janamējaya* and *Bhīmaratha* are usually found in their grants. But the grant under publication does not give such a name to the donor Mahābhavagupta. It is, therefore, not certain if he is to be identified with either of the Mahābhava—guptas already known or is an altogether different ruler of the family.

Of the **geographical** places mentioned in the grant *Kisarakēllā* may be identified with the village of *Kesarkelā*, about six miles to the east of *Bolangir* in the *Patna State of Sambalpur District*. The village *Liñjira* may be identified with the village of the same name close to *Baramakēllā* in the *Sarangarh Feudatory State*. *Prithurā* is the present day *Pithorā* in the *Padampur tract*, about 45 miles to the north-west from *Sambalpur town*. The distance between *Pithorā* and the *Liñjira* village in the *Sarangarh State* is about 20 miles. These two are on the opposite banks of the *Mahānadi*, which flows through the borders of both the *Sarangarh State* and the *Padampur tract*, forming respectively their northern and southern boundary. *Ayōdhyāpura* is to be identified with the modern *Ayōdhyā* in the *Faizabad District of United Provinces*. *Ullakhēṭa* may be the present *Ulakhara* village in the *Sarangarh Feudatory State*. It is about 20 miles to the west of *Liñjira*.

TEXT.³

First Plate.

- 1 ॐ⁴ ३ नमः[*]शिवाय ॥ स्वस्ति [॥*] किरकोलसमावासितमहाविजय-
- 2 कटकात्परममाहेश्वरमातापितृपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिरा-

¹ Above, Vol. XI, pp. 190 ff.

² This *gōtra* is mentioned in *Pāṇini*, VIII-3-91.

³ From the original plates.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.



ib.

ii. a.

N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 3377 E'35-425.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

iii. a.

iii. b.

33

- 3 जपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकसोमकुलतिलकस्त्रिकलिङ्गाधिप-
- 4 तिन्नीमहाभवगुप्तराजदेवः कुशलो ॥ पृथुराभुक्त्यन्तः[*]पा-
- 5 तिलिञ्चिरग्रामे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणान्सम्पूज्य तत्प्रतिनिवासिकुटुम्बि(म्बि)नः समा-
- 6 हर्तृसन्निधार्तृ(तृ)दण्डपाशिकचाटभट्टराजवल(ल)भादीत्व(त्स)र्वास(त्स)मा-
- 7 प्रापयति विदितमस्तु भवतां यथास्माभिस्सन्निधिः सोपनिधि-
- 8 अदशापराधो निषिद्धचाटभट्टप्रवेशः सर्वोपरिक-
- 9 रिक्कर¹करादा[न]समेत(तः) सर्वपौडापरिवर्जितः कपि-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 10 छल्ल(ल)गोत्राय एकार्षे(र्षि)वसिष्ठप्रवराय मैत्रायि(य)णीशा-
- 11 खाध्यायिने मध्यदेशमधुरविनिर्मात² उल्लखेटवास्त-
- 12 व्य³ भट्टब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय चक्रधरसुताय सिद्ध(सिंह)सङ्क्रान्तौ माता-
- 13 पित्रोरत्ननक्ष पुन्याभौ(स्त्राभि)वृद्धये सलिलहा(धा)रापुरःस-
- 14 रेख चन्द्रतारका⁴र्द्धितितलसमकालो(लमु)पभोक्तुन्तां(त्र)स-
- 15 शासनेनाकरीकृत्य प्रतिपादितोयमित्यवगत्य स-
- 16 सुचितभोगभामकरहिरक्षा(स्त्र)कमुपनयन्निर्भवतिः

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 17 सुखेन प्रतिवस्तव्यमिति ॥ भाविभिश्च भूपतीभि(तिभि)र्द्धर्मागौ-
- 18 रवादस्मा(स्म)दनुरोधा[त्] स्वस्वदत्तिरिवानुपालनीया तथा चैव-
- 19 म्यव्यते धर्मशास्त्रे ॥ व(व)हुभिर्व्यसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सग-
- 20 रादीभि(दिभिः) [1*] र्य(य)स्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फ-
- 21 लं [1*] माभू(भू)दफलशङ्का वः परदते(त्ते)ति पाथि(र्थि)व ।(।) स्वदा-
- 22 नारफलमानन्त्यम्यरदत्तानुपालने [1*] भूमिं यः
- 23 प्रतिगृह्णा(ह्ना)ति यश्च भूमौ(मि)म्ययच्छती(ति) [1*] उभौ तौ

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 24 पुन्य(स्त्र)कर्माणौ नौ(नि)यतौ स्वर्मागामौ(मि)नौ ॥ षष्टिस्वर्ग-
- 25 सहस्राणौ(चि) स्वर्मे मोदति भूमौ(मि)दः [1*] पाच्छेत्वा(त्ता) चानुम-
- 26 न्ता च तावे(न्ने)व नरके वसेत् ॥ सुवर्षमेकह्नामेकाम्भूमेरप्य-

¹ Read sarva-ōparikara.

² Read vāstavyāya.

³ Read vinirgyatāya.

- 27 ईमङ्गलनहर¹तनरकमायाति यावदाहृतसंभ्र(भ्र)वम् #
- 28 अग्नेरपत्यम्रयमं सुवर्णं भूर्वेणवी सूर्यसुताश्च गावो(वः) [1*]
- 29 दत्तास्त्रयस्तेन भवन्ति लोका यष्काञ्चनङ्गाश्च महीश्च दद्या-
- 30 त्वा(त् ॥ सा)मान्द्योयन्मर्मेसेतुनृ(नृ)पाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवन्तीः-
(द्विः) [1*]
- 31 सर्वान्ने(ने)ताम्बा(न्भा)वौ(चि)नः पाथि(र्थि)वेन्द्रा[न*] ॥² भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥
- 32 इति कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु)वि(वि)न्दुलोला(लां) श्री(श्रि)यमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजी-
वितश्च [1*] सक-
- 33 लमिदमुदाहृतश्च बुध्वा(बुद्धा) न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयौ विलाप्य(लीप्याः) ॥
प्रबर्हमा-
- 34 नविजयराज्यसम्बत्सरे एकादशमे भाद्रपदव[दि]दौ(दि)न[६] [1*] महासन्धी-
(न्वि)[वि]ग्रहीकश्यी-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 35 रुद्रदत्तेन देवदत्तस्य सुतेन अयोध्यापुरकिर्निर्मतेन
- 36 लिखी(लिखि)तमिदं शासान(सनम्) ॥ ☉ ॥ यदि आक्षरपरी(रि)भ्रष्टं
- 37 मात्राहीनस्तु⁵ यज्ञे(ज्ञवेत्) [1*] चान्तमरहशीविदास्तु⁶ कस्य न
- 38 खलते(ति) मनः[?] ॥

No. 23.—DRAKSHARAMA INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGA, L. 33RD YEAR.

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AYEER, B.A., COMBATORE.

The publication of the texts of South Indian Inscriptions has placed before the student of ancient Indian history a mass of material which will serve to clear up doubtful points in the history of the various dynasties of the Dekhān. The inscription edited below is one such. It is engraved on a slab in the south wall of the Bhīmēśvara temple at Drākshārāma in the Ganjām district and is registered in the Madras epigraphical collection for 1893⁷ 'as being on a third slab from the bottom between the third and the fourth pillars.' The text of it in Telugu script is given in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume IV.⁸ For the interesting historical information which it furnishes it is edited here.

¹ Read = *āṅgulaṁ* | *haran*=*narakam*=

² Probably it was intended to write *Yaś kāśchanaś*.

³ The *daṇḍas* are unnecessary.

⁴ Read *yad aksharam* or *yady=aksharam*.

⁵ Read *-hīnaś=cha*

⁶ Read *kshantum*=*arhata vidvānsaś*.

⁷ No. 349.

⁸ No. 1239, pages 428-9.

As will be seen from the transcript, the inscription is not well preserved. The language employed is Sanskrit throughout and the alphabet Telugu. In several cases the writer uses the *anusvāra* in place of the conjunct: see for instance *Maṇḍalamjēri* (l. 5). There are instances of the omission of (1) *visarga*, (2) *rēpha* and (3) *anusvāra*. For (1), see *dhara* (l. 3), *vishaya* (l. 5), *abhihita* (l. 10); for (2), see *dhama* (l. 6), *kashann-* (l. 9), *kūti* (l. 9) and *hammyāya* (l. 13); and for (3), see *Gaṅga* (l. 10) and *tapasvinā* (l. 12). There are also few instances of needless doubling of consonants.

The inscription belongs to the time of the Chālukya-Chōla king Kulōttunga I. and is dated in the 33rd year of his reign (=A.D. 1103). He is styled *Samastabhuvanāśraya*, *Prithivīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhaktāraka*, *Pāṇḍyakulāntaka*, *Chōlakulaśekhara*, *Vīramahendra*, *Vikramachōla*, *Rājarājendra*, *Rājakesarivarman*, and *Tribhuvanachakravartin*. All these epithets except the last three are not usually met with in his Tamil inscriptions but are found in some of his Telugu records.

The importance of the inscription consists in recording the military achievements of one of the king's chief officers variously named as *Vaṇḍuvarāja*, *Pallavarāja*, *Tiruvaraṅga* and the crest jewel of the Śūdra family. He was the son of a certain *Śirilaṅgō*, a resident of *Maṇḍalamjēri* in *Tirunāraiūr-nāḍu* a subdivision of *Chōlamanḍalam*. He is described as a good *Vaiṣṇava*, 'the resort of the poor' and 'the abode of heroism.' By being devoted to the feet of *Rājendra-Chōla*, i.e., *Kulōttunga I.*, he obtained prosperity in the world and was the very sprout of the creeper, viz., his fame. At the command of the king he effected the conquest of the quarters, killed the enemies and espoused the goddess of heroism. Filling the battlefield with the blood of his foes, ploughing it with the hoofs of his war steeds, sowing therein the seeds of pearls issuing from the heads of elephants which were cut to pieces by his sword, he caused to grow his master's fame-creeper. He reduced to ashes the whole of the *Kaliṅga* country, defeated the *Gaṅga* king, destroyed in battle *Dēvēndravarmān* and others, and planted a pillar of victory on the borders of the *Ōḍra* country which was as it were the raising aloft of *Rājendrachōla's* fame.

The immediate object of the inscription is to register the facts (1) that this illustrious chief constructed with black granite a temple of Vishṇu in the *agrahāra* village of *Alavēli*, making provision for its offerings, (2) that, for feeding five *tapasvins*, ten *Brāhmans*, and five *Vānakarmīns* in its vicinity he gave some lands at *Ōlarāppākkam* (3) and that he provided also for offerings to the temple of *Pañchavaṭi-Hari* on the banks of the *Gōḍavarī* in *Vēṅgī-maṇḍalam*. Reference is made in the damaged portion at the end of the inscription to a pavilion, probably erected by him, at *Drākshārāma*.

The proper import of the inscription can be well estimated with the help of the Tamil work *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* of *Jayaṅḡṇḍāṇ* composed in the reign of *Kulōttunga I.* The book says that the king, while he was yet a *yuvarāja*, led an expedition into the north and destroyed *Chakkarakkōṭṭam* (X, v. 23): then went to the south and was crowned there (*ibid*, v. 34). After removing the chaotic condition that was prevailing in that part of the land, he was conducting his rule with justice, pleasing himself by hunting on the banks of the *Kāvēri*. After some time he set out with all his paraphernalia for *parivēṭtai* on the banks of the *Pālāru* (*ibid*, v. 47), reached *Adigai* where he worshipped the god *Naṭarāja* and proceeded to *Kāñchi*. By the way, reference is made to his conquest of the *Chēra* and *Pāṇḍya* kings (*ibid*, vv. 66-68). On an occasion when he was seated there in the *chitramanḍapa* on the western side of his palace, surrounded by his ministers *Vaṇḍaimāṇ-Tonḍaiman* and others,—provincial chiefs (*maṇḍalīkas*) and kings waiting at his gate,—it was reported to him that the king of the north *Kaliṅgas* had failed to pay his tribute twice (i.e., for two years) (XI, vv. 3, 4, 16 and 27). On the emperor's ordering that the *Kaliṅga* country should be subdued and its king brought there, *Vaṇḍainagar-araśaṇ*, who is variously

called Karuṇākaraṇ, Pallavarkōṇ, and Vaḷavaivēndaṇ, (vv. 52-54) volunteered to undertake the invasion of the seven Kālīṅgas, and, obtaining the king's permission, set out on his march (vv. 29-31). On the way, he successively crossed such rivers as the Pālāru, Poṇṇugari, Peṇṇai, Pērāru, Gōdāvarī, Pampānadi, and Gōtamai (vv. 55-57). The fight that ensued was a severe one in which many were killed and wounded. "Invading Kālīṅgam at the sea," says the book, "planting a pillar of victory, capturing elephants and treasure, Vaṇḍaiyarkōṇ secured the grace of the feet of Abhaya of powerful army and sword (XII, v. 68)." The poem closes with an exhortation to sing the achievements of the king, viz., the defeat of the five Pāṇḍyas and the Chēra king, the tribute that was being brought from the north; and also the fame of the cities Vaṇḍai, Mayilai and Mallai and of their chief, Toṇḍaiyavēndaṇ who, capturing the elephants of the Kālīṅgas, bestowed *Kālīṅgapparaṇi* on the king (XIII, v. 65). Verse 44 of Canto II (*Kaḍaitirappu*) states in unambiguous words that the king was at Kāñchī while the chief led the expedition to Kālīṅga and reduced it.

It will be seen from this short summary of the *Kālīṅgattupparaṇi* that the account about the Kālīṅga war agrees with what is given in the inscription under publication. There does not appear to be any room for doubting that the chief referred to in the poem is identical with the one mentioned in the inscription and that the war described in both is the same. This being the case, the information furnished by the one is not only corroborated by the other but is greatly supplemented. The inscription gives the name of the chief as Vaṇḍuvarāja and Pallavarāja while the poem adds to these the names Karuṇākaraṇ and Toṇḍaimāṇ, the latter being only a synonym of Pallavarāja. With Karuṇākara we may compare the epithet *dīna-nidhāna ēkaḥ* of the inscription. This work gives us the additional information that the chief was the lord of Vaṇḍai, Mallai and Mayilai and that he had invaded Ceylon. Both the book and the inscription declare that the chief invaded the Kālīṅga country at the command of the king, the former stating that the king was at Kāñchī while the chief successfully prosecuted the war and the latter adding that the chief reduced to ashes the whole of the Kālīṅga country, defeated the Gaṅga in battle and destroyed Dēvēndravarmaṇ and others with the help of Kōsala. Both the documents state that the chief set up a pillar of victory, the inscription specifying that it was on the borders of the Ōḍra country.

The name Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimāṇ is not unknown to inscriptions. In the Arulāla-Perumāḷ temple at Conjeeveram, there is an inscription of the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga I., dated in the 43rd year of his reign with the introduction *pugaḷ-mādu*, registering a grant made by Aḷagiyamaṇa-vāḷaṇi-Maṇḍaiyālvār, the wife (*dēviyār*) of Vēḷāṇ Karuṇākaraṇ Toṇḍaimāṇ. Here it is stated that the chief was a native of Vaṇḍalañjēri in Tirunaṇaiyūr-nāḍu, a subdivision of Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu in Chōḷamaṇḍalam. The name of the donor and the temple to which the gift was made may be taken to show that Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimāṇ professed the Vaishṇava creed while the title Vēḷāṇ is indicative of his being a Śūdra by caste and these facts are in accord with what is reported in the Drākshārāma inscription. Vaṇḍalañjēri is but a variant of Maṇḍalañjēri and Vaṇḍai is perhaps connected with it. The subdivision to which the village belonged is the same in the two inscriptions: and it may be noted that Tirunaṇaiyūr and Vaṇḍalañjēri are places in the Kumbakōṇam *taluk*.

Having shown how the two documents *Kālīṅgattupparaṇi* and Drākshārāma inscription refer to the same Kālīṅga war, we here take up the question regarding the date of this war. Before doing so, it may be useful to know if there was only one war with Kālīṅga or more. As the earliest notice of the conquest of Kālīṅga in the records of Kulōttuṅga I.—without any mention of the details connected with it—occurs in a stone inscription dated in the 26th year of the reign corresponding to A.D. 1096 and as this is found repeated in the inscriptions of the

30th year and after,¹ one is strongly inclined to believe that this should have taken place in or a little before A.D. 1096. Some of the inscriptions of the king dated in the 42nd and 45th years of his reign² refer to an invasion of Kalinga in which the king himself is said "to have left his throne, crossed the Vēṅgī-maṇḍalam in the north, set fire to Kalinga, destroyed in battle a number of chiefs and took possession of the seven Kalingam³." From the fact that the king himself is said here to have taken the lead in this war, and greater details are furnished regarding it than in the earlier records, it appears to be different from and later than the one already mentioned and may have to be assigned to A.D. 1111 or thereabout. But as the historical introductions of Kulōttuṅga I. do not regularly record all his achievements, adding year by year the later conquests, as do those of the early Chōla kings, it will not be safe to assign these events to the years in which we find them noticed at present.

If the capture of Kalinga mentioned in the 26th year record (A.D. 1096) proves to be the one effected by the king himself, whether it is identical with or different from the Kalinga war described in detail in the 42nd and the 45th year inscriptions (A.D. 1111-14), the war celebrated in the *Kalingattupparaṇi* and referred to in the Drākshārāma inscription has to be assigned to a much earlier date as will be seen from the sequel. In enumerating the achievements of Kulōttuṅga I., *Kalingattupparaṇi* speaks chiefly of his conquests of the Pāṇḍya and the Chēra, the capture of Śālai and the destruction of Viḷiṇam with a passing reference to Navilai and Maṇalūr which were perhaps connected with his war against Kuntala. The book is quite positive about the king's stay at Kāñchī while the chief Vaṇḍaiyarkōṇ, at his instance, invaded Kalinga, waged a deadly war, planted a pillar of victory there, returned with heaps of treasure and elephants and bestowed *Kalingapparaṇi* on him. The inscription under publication confirms this account in the main and adds a very important statement that he defeated Dēvēndravarman and others as we have already noted. Dēvēndravarman here referred to cannot be any other than the Eastern Gaṅga king Rājarāja I., who, according to the Vrihatkōḍila grant, bore that surname⁴ and had his coronation performed in A.D. 1070, the very year in which Kulōttuṅga was also crowned. His son and successor Chōḍagaṅga, for all that we know about him, does not seem to have borne the surname Dēvēndravarman but was Anantavarman which name, we may note, was assumed by all his successors. Dēvēndravarman Rājarāja I. reigned for 8 years⁵, i.e., up to A.D. 1078. He was a supporter of the cause of Vijayāditya VII., for the Korni plates record that when Vijayāditya grew old and like the setting sun left Vēṅgī which was like the west and was about to sink in the ocean of troubles caused by the Chōlas, Rājarāja of Kalinganagara, the refuge of the distressed, caused him to enjoy prosperity in that region.⁶ Here is evidence to show that Rājarāja was an enemy of his Chōla contemporary who was none other than Kulōttuṅga I. Thus the invasion of Kalinga, undertaken solely by the chief and minister Vaṇḍuvarāja-Pallavarāja, at the instance of king Kulōttuṅga I. as detailed in the *Kalingattupparaṇi* and the inscription under publication, must have taken place before A.D. 1078 and probably about A.D. 1076-7.

Now if there is any truth in the statement of the *Kalingattupparaṇi* that the Kalinga king withheld the payment of tribute twice, it must have reference to a treaty or agreement probably

¹ Kielhorn's *Southern List*, Nos. 777, 782 and *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 72.

² No. 608 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904 is dated in the 42nd year and No. 44 of the same collection for 1891 is dated in the 45th year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I. and have the same introduction.

³ *S. I. I. (Texts)*, Vol. IV, No. 445 lines 22 to 27; the chiefs overcome in the war are here mentioned by name.

⁴ C. P. No. 4 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1918-19.

⁵ His coronation took place in Saka 992, Jyēsthā, śu. 8 (= A.D. 1070, May 20) (*A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy* 1918-19, p. 86) and that of his son Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga in Saka 999 (= A.D. 1078) (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVIII, p. 161ff).

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 171.

made between the Gaṅga king Vajrahasta III., the father of Rājarāja I., and Virarājendra whom practically Kulōttuṅga I. succeeded. The Kanyākumari inscription of Virarājendra clearly states that that king regained Vēṅgi and Kaliṅga which were neglected by his two predecessors.¹ In his Tamil historical introductions, Virarājendra actually claims to have driven the Chālukyas at Vijayavāḍai, i.e., Bezvada, and crossing the seven Kaliṅgas, and reaching the Mahēndragiri, to have bestowed that country on Vijayāditya who, it is said, sought his refuge.² This seems to have taken place in A.D. 1065. Further troubles arising in this quarter, Virarājendra, after his successful war in Ceylon in A.D. 1066 against Vijayabāhu, is said to have sent a large army into Kaliṅga and to have defeated the Chālukyas and their allies at Chakkarakkōṭṭam.³ It might be on this last occasion, i.e., immediately before Kulōttuṅga's assumption of power, that the Kaliṅgas were probably made to pay tribute to the Chōlas.

To the student of Tamil literary history the inscription has no less an interest as it serves to determine the date of composition of the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* which may be taken to be contemporaneous with the Kaliṅga war of Vaṇḍuvarāja. With the help of a number of manuscripts, Mahāvidvān K. Subbaraya Mudaliyar brought out an early edition of this work which is now out of print. In it as well as in the edition of the late V. G. Suryanarayana Sastri published several years afterwards in 1898, verse 63 of Canto XI has at the end of the first line the words 'adipan vīram' which has been changed into 'Anantapanman' in the recent edition of Mr. N. Gopala Iyer; and there is no alternative reading given for it. The difference is indeed very vital and one would certainly wish to know in this particular case of the introduction of a proper name, on which manuscript the reading 'Anantapanman' which is not found in the two earlier editions, is based and the age of that manuscript also. If indeed the name Anantapanman is found in a trustworthy early manuscript not available to Messrs. Mudaliyar and Sastri, it would be worth a consideration. The Drākshārāma inscription shows, as we have seen already, that the date of the Kaliṅga war must be earlier than A.D. 1078. And being conducted by the same minister of the king as is mentioned in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, the introduction of the name Anantapanman in the poem, supposing that it actually occurs in an early and trustworthy manuscript, calls for an explanation. Besides, the following questions also naturally arise. Did Vaṇḍuvarāja conduct two wars against Kaliṅga, both in the absence of the king, or only one? If two, was one waged against Dēvēndravarman Rājarāja I. and the other against his son Anantavarman? And does the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* celebrate the latter, omitting the general's other achievement? And if only one, how does Anantavarman figure in the poem and Dēvēndravarman in the inscription? It seems to me that the easiest way of getting over the difficulty is to suppose that while the war was actually waged in the reign of Dēvēndravarman, his son Anantavarman took an active part in it as we do find in many instances. Among the numerous records of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, there are several which furnish both the Śaka and regnal years which work out for his accession A. D. 1074-5.⁴ This date, it will be observed, is three years earlier than the date given in the plates for the king's coronation. The difference has to be accounted for by supposing that Anantavarman was nominated for rulership in A. D. 1074-5 but was actually crowned in A. D. 1078. Since stone inscriptions generally count the regnal years of kings from the date of nomination, it is clear that during the first three years, i.e., in the period A. D. 1074-5 to 1078, he must have been co-regent with his father Dēvēndravarman

¹ *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 148, v. 77.

² See above Vol. XXI, p. 243.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 244

⁴ Nos. 246, 380, 386, 387, 388, 392 and 393 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1896.

Rājārāja I. and this is perhaps the reason why, in the large collection of his epigraphs, there is almost none dated in the first three years of his rule. The above fact shows further that, being associated with his father in the government of the country, he could well have figured in the Kalinga war referred to in the Drākshārāma inscription as having been waged against Dēvēndra-varman.

The names of villages that occur in this inscription are **Ālavēli**, **Ōlarāppākkam**, and **Drākshārāma**. The last mentioned place is well known and I am unable to identify the first two.

TEXT.

- 1
 2 prāk-pratyag-dakṣiṇ-ā[śā-vi]ja
 3 [dhara][h*] śrī-Kulōttuṅga¹-Chōḍaḥ[||*] Svasti[||*] Samastabhuvanāśraya-
 Śrī-Prithivī-vallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramē[śvara]-[Paramabhāṭṭāraka-Ravi-kula-
 tilaka-Chōḷa]²-kula-sēkhara-Pāṇḍya-kul-āmtaka-[Samasta-rājāśraya-Rāja]-³
 4 rājēmdra³-Viramahēmdra-Vikramachōḍa-Vijayābharāṇa-śrī-Rājakēsarivarmmaṇas-Tribhu-
 vanachakravartti-śrī-Kulōttu[ṅga-Chōḍadēvasya] trayas-trimśatimē samvatsarē.....
 Chōḍama-
 5 ṇḍalam=akhila-maḥi-maṇḍanam lasa-jana-sēvyam tasmin=⁴Tirinaṇayūr-nāḍ-iti
 vishaya[h*] sarva-sasya-sō[bhī]taḥ tatr-āsīt=sukha-dhāmani Maṇḍalamjēri viśrutā
 lōkē punnāga-.....kāsti purī.
 6 j-ēti rambh-ādhya[||*] Tan-mukhyas=⁵Śīralaṅgōv⁵-ity-āsīt sach-chhūdra-puṇḍavaḥ [||*]
 satya-tyāga-dayā-yuktō Vaishṇavō dha[r*]mma-vatsalaḥ⁶[||*] Tasy-ātmajas=
 T[iruvā]raṅga-var-ābhidhānas=sad-vaishṇavō jagati dīna-nidhāna ēkaḥ-[||*] satya-
 7 — śrīta-vīra-lakṣmī Rājēmdra-Chōḍa-charaṇ-āśraya-[la]pḍha⁷-
 Lakṣmī⁸ [||*] Rājēmdra-Chōḍa-dharaṇipati-kirtti-vallī-sat-pallavō —
 — llavarāja-nāmā [||*] śrī-dvāra-chāmara-ghan-ātapa-vāraṇaika-samkha-dhvaja-
 pramukha-rājita-rājya-bāhuḥ⁹[||*].
 8 Kṛitvā dig-vijayan=nihatya cha ripūṇ=Rājēmdra-Chōḍ-ājñayā vīra-śrī-lalanā-svayam-
 vṛita-patir-yyas=Chōḍa-chāmdraḥ prabhuh[||*] yaṭ-prasthāpita-dariti-(da)dāna-salila-
 klinnam prabhōḥ prāmaṇam tach-chhauryyam dvishatām kapāla-ni-
 9 vahā gāyanṭi vāyu-cha(chchha)lāt¹⁰[||*] Ka[r*]shann-aśva-khurair=dvisham su-rudhirair-
 -āpūrayann-āhava-kshētram tiva-kṛipāna-kṛitta-radani-prōnmukta-muktam[kurān]
 uptvā kī[r*]tti-latānī vivardhayati yō Rājēmdra-Chōḍa-prabhōs=sō-yam [Vandū]-
 10 varāja ity-abhihita[h*] sach-chhūdra-chūdāmaṇi¹¹[||*] Bhasmikṛitya Kalīṅga-dēsam=
 akhilam niṇjjitya Gaṅga[m*] rāṇē bhaṇ[k*]tvā Kōsala-khaṇḍavāla-nivahair=[Dē]
 vēndravarm-ādikān [||*] vīraḥ Pallavarāja ity-abhihitō Rājēmdra-Chōḍa-prabhōḥ
 kirtty-uttamabham=iv-Ōdra-saṁdhishu jayastambham śubha[m]

¹ Read *Kulōttuṅga*.

² The letters in brackets are filled in with the help of other inscriptions of the king, e.g., No. 1248 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, page 433.

³ Here and in what follows the writer uses *anuvāra* for the conjunct.

⁴ Read *Tirunaṇayūr*.

⁵ Read *Śīralaṅgō*.

⁶ Read *labdha*.

⁷ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁸ Metre: *Śāradālavikṛīḍita*.

⁹ Metre: *Śāradālavikṛīḍita*.

¹⁰ Metre: *Anushubh*.

¹¹ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

with the ichor flowing from his marching elephants and the heaps of skulls of his enemies sang his heroism. He, who, ploughing the battlefield with the hoofs of his steeds, flooding it with the blood of his foes, sowing (*therein*) the seeds of pearls issuing from the heads of elephants cut to pieces by his sharp sword, caused to grow the creeper of fame of his master Rājendra-Chōḍa, is the crest jewel of the good Śūdras, named [Vaṇḍu]varāja.

Reducing to ashes the whole of the Kaliṅga country, subduing the Gaṅga (*king*) in battle and destroying the chiefs Dēvēndravarmān and others with the multitude of swords of Kōsala (*i.e.*, with the help of the Kōsala army)¹ this hero named Pallavarāja set up a fine pillar of victory on the borders of the Ōḍra (*country*) as if raising aloft the fame of his lord Rājendra-Chōḍa. This illustrious chief constructing with black granite a beautiful temple to Viṣṇu in the *agrahāra* of Ālavēli as if it were the plant of his fame, is now enjoying the universe. This wise person made an excellent image of Viṣṇu and set it up there and getting some land in this village gave it with devotion for the daily offerings of the god. And for feeding five *tapasvins*, ten Brāhmaṇas, and five Vānakarmīns in the vicinity of the Brahmēśvara temple, he bought.....at the village of Ōlarāpakam (*such an extent of*) land that could be sown with thirty *khaṇḍikas* of seed paddy and gave it free of all taxes. (*To provide*) for offerings to the temple of the god Paṁchavaṭi-Hari on the bank of the Gōḍāvarī whose swelling waters during floods run with unlimited force, and situated in the beautiful country of Vēṅgi-maṇḍala, he gavein.....ṛti-vishaya to last as long as the sun and the moon. And Pallavarāja having made.....pavilionat the city of Drākshārāma in Guddavādi-vishaya filled with rich and generous persons.....Therefore (*this*) charity must not be destroyed but must be protected by the wise.

(The usual imprecation.)

Rājendra-Chōḍa-chārya is the engraver.

No. 24.—UTTARAMALLUR INSCRIPTION OF PARANTAKA I.

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., COIMBATORE.

In editing the *South-Indian Inscriptions (Texts)*, Volume VI, I drew attention to the fact that some of the inscriptions of Uttaramallūr contained therein supply interesting references to the kind of autonomy prevailing in the Tamil country, supplementing, as they do, the information embodied in the two Uttaramallūr inscriptions which describe the qualifications of members of village assemblies, the mode of election and the names of committees into which they were formed. One of the inscriptions that relates to the choosing of persons for testing the correctness (*i.e.*, the fineness) of gold in current use in the village, is No. 295 of the said volume.² This inscription is registered as No. 12 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1898; and remarking on it, the late Dr. Hultsch has noted 'Seems to contain rules regarding the exchange of gold'. A romanised text and translation of the inscription is given below.

¹ I am indebted to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti for this translation of the phrase *Kōsala-khaṇḍa-vāla-nivahash*. He kindly suggested that *khaṇḍavāla* might have been used in the vernacular sense of *khaḍga* formed on the analogy of Skt. *karavāla*. If *vāla* stands for *bāla*, as *v* is often substituted for *b*, and *khaṇḍa* means a division of country, the phrase may be rendered "with the multitude of young men of the Kōsala division". In either case, Kōsala appears to have been allied with the Chōḷa. No such alliance is known. The Chōḷa king Virarājendra is said to have cut to pieces a certain Siṅgan of Kōsala (above, Vol. XXI, p. 241). Perhaps Kōsala continued since then to be on friendly terms with the Chōḷa.

² See page 149.

The record is in the **Tamiḻ** language and alphabet and is well preserved like most of the other inscriptions found in the **Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāl** temple at **Uttaramallūr**. Grantha letters are used in writing Sanskrit words. For instances, see *svasti śrī* and *sabhai* in line 1, *samañjasa*, *vyavasthai*, *vriddha* and *bāla* in line 2, *samvatsa* in line 5 and *vyavasthai*, *sabhai*, *madhyasta* and *dāsa* in line 7.

There are a few words of lexical interest which may be noted here. These are *Māḍavidī*, *Śaṅkarappāḍi*, *samañjasa*, *parimāru* and *śūḷirru*. Of these, *māḍavidī* means 'a street having storeyed buildings'. Sometimes it is found to be the name of a particular street. Generally, such streets surround the village temple and as their names indicate appear to have been the residence of wealthy and distinguished people. In the **Tamiḻ** work *Maṇimēgalai*, the term *māḍavidī* actually occurs¹ and it is there described as 'the beautiful street of the actresses (*nāḍaga-maḍandaiyar*) containing storeyed buildings with gold-carvings (*nāḍaga-čchev-viṇai-māḍam*).² From inscriptions, we learn that the construction of storeyed buildings and mansions was a privilege given only to a few and that such buildings were made of burnt bricks. Since the subjoined inscription states that the election by the people of *Māḍavidī* was for or from their *chēri*, it seems to denote a particular quarter of the village where perhaps the privileged persons and wealthy people lived. As *pāḍi*, like *chēri*, is applied to denote a quarter of a big village or town, *Śaṅkarappāḍi* has to be taken to mean another part of the same village resorted to by, or containing the residences of, a different class of people. In an inscription of **Chidambaram**, *Śaṅkarappāḍiyār* figure as a separate class of inhabitants (*kuḍigal*) and are mentioned along with *Vyāpārin* (merchants), *Vellālar* (cultivators), *Śāliyar* (dealers in cloth) and *Paṭṭinavar*.³ The same inscription gives a second group distinctly called *Kāḷkalanai* including in it *Tachchar* (carpenters), *Kollar* (blacksmiths), *Taṭṭār* (goldsmiths) and *Kōliyar*. We see here that while the latter group embraced the artisan classes, the former combined together businessmen and other classes such as *Vellālar* and *Śaṅkarappāḍiyār*. Another inscription mentions a group of inhabitants specifically termed *Puṛakkalanai* which included in it *Śāliyar*, *Vāṇigar*, *Kaikkōlār* (dealers in cloth), *Sēnai-aṅḡāḍiyār* and *Kōyil-aṅḡāḍiyār*, i.e., shopkeepers of the military and of the palace or temple (quarters).⁴ We see that this group consisted only of merchants. The inclusion of *Śāliyar* in this group of *Puṛakkalanai*, as well as in the first part of the previously cited inscription, and the fact that, like the other, this consisted chiefly of merchantmen may suggest that both the inscriptions refer to the same group of *Puṛakkalanai*. Though we do not know what the avocation of *Śaṅkarappāḍiyār* was, the inclusion of the class of *Vellālar* among the *kuḍigal* of the first inscription seems to point to its inclusion also of other classes of inhabitants than *Puṛakkalanai* which, according to the second inscription, appears to have consisted entirely of merchants.

I would like to draw attention to three more references to *Śaṅkarappāḍiyār* which seem to suggest that some of them at least were merchants who were members of the *Nagara* constitution and that these people had a corporate body. One of these references is in an inscription⁵ of **Tirukkalukkuṇṇam** dated in the 26th year (=A.D. 1044) of the reign of **Rājādhirāja I**. It

¹ Canto IV, line 76.

² *Ibid.*, lines 51-2.

³ No. 223 of *South Indian Inscriptions* (Texts), Vol. IV, l. 25 f. The portion under reference runs as follows :—
Inda-kkunai[mē]nagaipurattu ēriṇa viyāpārigalum vellālarum śaṅkarappāḍiyārum śāliyarum paṭṭinavarum uḷḷiṭṭa kuḍigalum tachchar kollar taṭṭār kōliyar uḷḷiṭṭa kī-kalanaiyalum koṇḍu l-nivandam śandir-ādittavar śeluttakkāḍavad-āgavum.

⁴ No. 298 of the **Madras Epigraphical collection** for 1910. The text runs as follows :—

Kaikkōlār śāliyar vāṇigar sēnai-aṅḡāḍi kōyil-aṅḡāḍi maṇṇum eppēpaṭṭa puṛa-kkalanaiyum uppaṭṭa maṇṇu uḷḷa kuḍiyum piṇḍu ērum kuḍiyum ērikkkoṇḍu taṛikkaḍamai pēṛkaḍamai maṇṇum i-ppaṇṇil kuḷḷum pala vari-galum pala upāḍigalum.

⁵ *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. V, No. 465.

records that the merchants that composed or constituted the *Nagara* of Tirukkaḷukkuṇṇam *alias* Ulagaḷandaśōlapuram sold a piece of land to be granted to the temple of Brāhmīśvara on the hill at the place and made it also tax-free. In mentioning these members, the names of two persons are given after the calling *Vyāpāri*, one appears with the calling *Śāliyan* and two after the designation *Śaṅkarappāḍiyān*. That all these were merchants is first stated in the inscription itself. From this it appears that in the composition of the *Nagara* constitution, besides those who were purely merchants by profession, there were others, such as *Śāliyar* and *Śaṅkarappāḍiyār* who were also merchants but were called by the class to which they belonged or the quarters which they occupied. The next reference is found in an early Chōḷa inscription¹ dated in the 3rd year and 215th day of the reign of a king (of whose name only Kēśarivarman is preserved). It records that the *Śaṅkarappāḍiyār* of Vaḍakkil-aṅgāḍi (North bazar) quarter of Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimāṅgālam, a rent-free village in the district of Kāliyūr-kōṭṭam gave a written document stating that they received 15 (*kaḷaṅṇu*) of gold from Śēndan Gaṇapati *alias* Śūraśikhāmaṇi-Pallavaraiyan of Maṇṇum-Perum-Paḷuvūr in Kuṇṇa-kūṇṇam, a subdivision of Śōḷa-nāḍu and agreed to supply one *uḷakku* of oil daily, as long as the sun and the moon would last, for a sacred lamp which the donor had placed in the temple of Tiruppulivalattu-Mahādēva. The phrases *Vaḍakkil-aṅgāḍi Śaṅkarappāḍiyōm eḷuttu, oṭṭi eḷuttiṭṭu kuḷuttōm* and *chandirāḍiṭṭavar* used in this inscription would suggest that there was a regularly constituted body of the people of *Śaṅkarappāḍi*. Against the suggestion of a regularly constituted body, it may be said that a few of the *Śaṅkarappāḍi* might as well have given such a joint undertaking. But in this case, it would be natural to expect the mention of their names and also the insertion of a clause to the effect that the agreement will be binding not only upon themselves but upon their descendants also. The Madras Museum plates of Parakēśarivarman Uttama-Chōḷa in reciting the contents of a *vyavasthā* (standing order or regulation) made by the *Nagara* corporation of Kachchippēḍu, *i.e.*, Conjeevaram in the 18th year of the reign of Parāntaka I (=A.D. 925) refers to the *Śaṅkarappāḍiyār* of the three *chēris* (suburbs) of the village of Raṇa-jayappāḍi, Ēkavīrappāḍi and Vāmana *Śaṅkarappāḍi* and states that they received 20 *kaḷaṅṇu* of gold for the upkeep of a lamp in the temple. Here also one cannot but find a suggestion that the *Śaṅkarappāḍiyār* of the three *chēris* should have had a corporate body which received the amount.

All that we (could) gather about the *Śaṅkarappāḍiyār* from the references cited above is that they formed part of the *kuḍi* (inhabitants), that they were chiefly in big cities (Kāñchīpuram, Guṇamēnagaipuram, Ulagaḷandaśōlapuram and Uttaramēūr), that some of them at least, if not all, were merchants and took part in the transactions of the *Nagara* constitution which we find prevailing in such cities and that they had a corporate body among them.

The use of the word *samaṅṇasa* in the phrase *samaṅṇasan-kāṇa* leaves no doubt as to its meaning "to verify or test the correctness of". The personal noun formed from this word is *samaṅṇ-jitan* which is met with in some of the inscriptions of the Travancore State. In one of them the *Samaṅṇjitan's* duty is clearly stated to be verification of some items of expenses according to prescribed scales.² As *Samaṅṇjitan* figures along with *sabhā* and *Tiruvaḍi*,³ it appears that *Samaṅṇ-jita* and *Tiruvaḍi* are the designations of particular offices in the *sabhā* and it is not unlikely that they represent the secretary (Skt. *Kāryadarśi*) and President. In this connection it is worthy of note that the transactions of the *sabhā* are mostly recorded by one individual who is called the *madhyastan* or *karaṇattāṇ*. It is not unlikely that he also performed the duties of the

¹ S. I. I. (Texts), Vol. VI, No. 363.

² Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. II, pp. 136 and 174.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 50-51.

accountant. He is bidden to do it at the command of another who is called in some cases *sabhāi-Tiruvāḍi*. As these two officials are stated to be in the assembly, there is not much doubt that they were at the same time members of the assembly and took part in their deliberations. The word *parimāru* is formed by adding the prefix *pari* to the verb *māru* 'to exchange'. It is generally used in the sense of serving. But in our inscription it has acquired the meaning 'in usage or current'. It will be noted how the prefix has altered the original meaning of the verb. *Śūliṟru* is a compound word with a slight mistake in spelling. The proper form ought to be 'śūliṟru' as suggested in the note under the text. It is composed of 'śūli' (imprecation) and 'urru' (uttering or pronouncing).

The inscription is dated in the **fifteenth year and fifty-fifth day** of the reign of the **Chōla king Parakēsarivarman**, who took Madura, *i.e.*, **Parāntaka I.** Its date is, therefore, **A.D. 922.** It registers a standing order (*vyavasthā*) made by the members of the assembly (*sabhā*) of **Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimaṅgalam** fixing the number of persons to be chosen for testing the correctness (*i.e.*, fineness) of gold current in the village, the method of choosing them and the procedure to be followed by the persons so chosen in conducting their work. The inscription lays down that the people of Māḍavidī should write on palm-leaf (tickets) the names of persons that are capable of testing gold, from among the rate-payers of their quarter, who are neither very old nor infants, and put them in pots. From the names so entered and put in pots, four persons shall be chosen from their quarter. Two persons from the army and three persons from the Śāṅkarappāḍi shall be chosen in the same manner. The nine persons so selected shall test gold by using the touch-stone and without partiality to any body. It is enjoined that they should hand over daily the wax used by them, without misappropriating any cut-gold, to the great men of the Tank Committee (*ēri-vāriya-perumakkaḷ*), and, once in three months, appear before the great men of the Annual Committee (*samvatsara-vāriya-perumakkaḷ*) and make a declaration to the effect that if they had acted contrary to this stone inscription they shall (incur the curse of) living with hunger. The clause damaged at the end of the record seems to register that these nine persons shall receive individually $7\frac{1}{2}$ *maṅjāḍi* of gold each month, perhaps as remuneration for their work.

The point that calls for special attention here is that the nine persons, selected for testing gold, did not form a committee at all, and should not, therefore, be confused with the Gold Committee¹ *Poṇ-vāriyam* of which mention is made in the two Uttaramallūr inscriptions published in the *Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1904. The texts of the two published records take particular care to use the word *vāriyam*—and this occurs more than once—to show that it was a committee that was formed, while in the inscription under publication the word *vāriyam* is studiously avoided in referring to persons selected for the testing of gold to indicate distinctly that the nine persons did not form a committee though the very record employs the words *vāriyam* and *perumakkaḷ* when it speaks of the Tank and Annual Committees. Again while the Gold Committee is not made dependent on or subordinate to any other body in the two published inscriptions of Uttaramallūr, the epigraph now under publication makes the nine individuals submit to the authority of the great men of the Tank Committee and make them appear once in three months before the Annual Committee and take an oath of declaration. We have drawn special

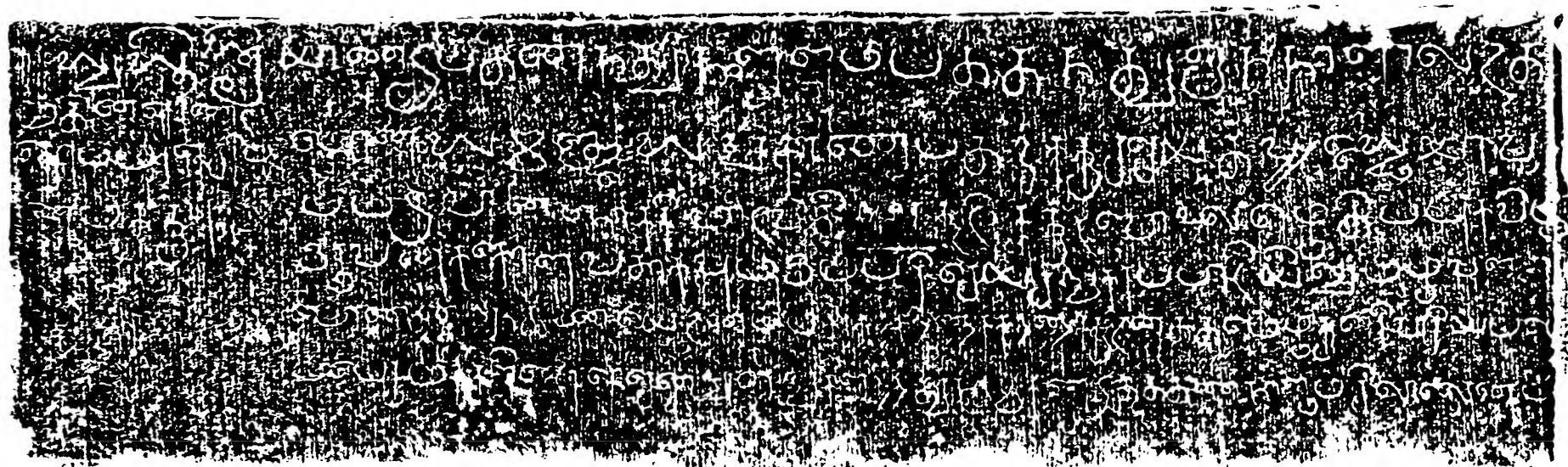
¹ The text relating to Gold Committee runs as follows:—

A : Pañcha-vāra-vāriyattukkum poṇ-vāriyattukkum muppadu kuḍumbilum muppadu kuḍav-ōlai ittu śēriyāl oruttarai-kkuḍav-ōlai paṟittu paṇṇiruvārilum aṟuvar pañcha-vāra-vāriyam āvad-āgavum aṟuvar poṇ-vāriyam-āvad-āgavum

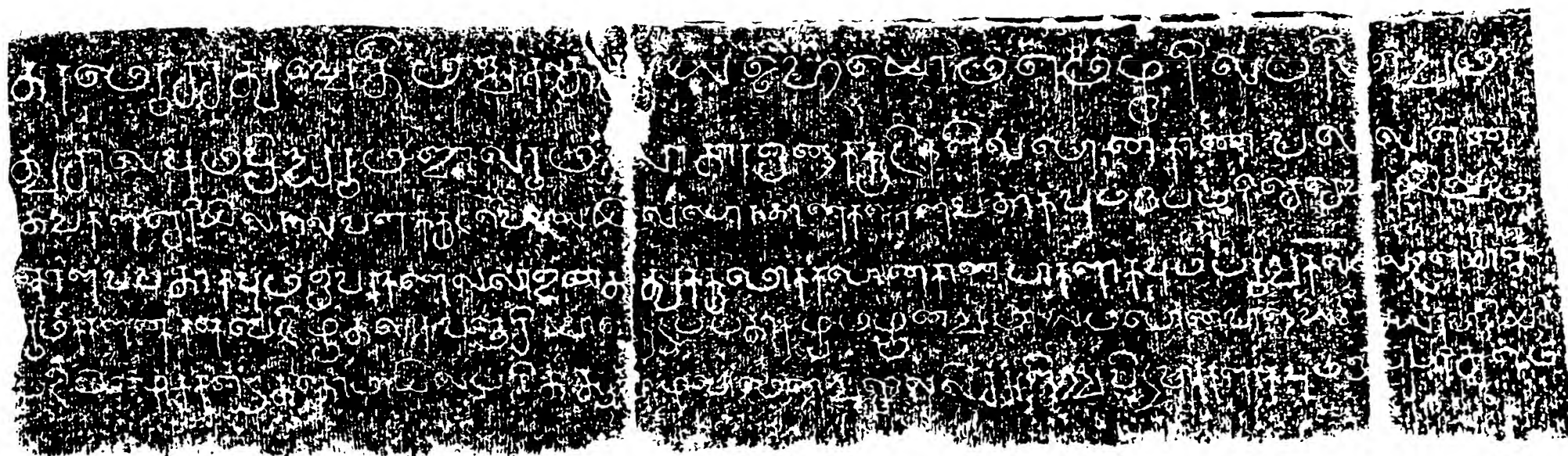
B : Pañcha-vāra-vāriyattukkum poṇ-vāriyattukku[m*] muppadu=(k)kuḍumbilum kuḍav-ōlaikku pēr tittu muppadu vāy-ōlai kaṭṭum puga ittu muppadu kuḍav-ōlai paṟittu muppadilum paṇṇiraṇḍu pēr paṟittu-kkoḷvad-āgavum paṟitta paṇṇiraṇḍilum aṟuvar poṇ-vāriyam aṟuvar pañcha-vāra-vāriyamum āvanav-āgavum

UTTARAMALLUR INSCRIPTION OF PARANTAKA I.

First six lines—Left half.

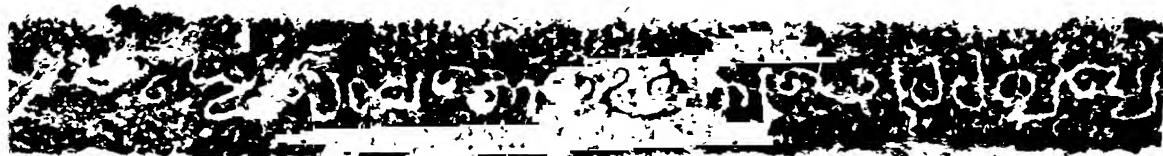


First six lines—Right half.



Seventh line.

Section I.



Section II.



Section III.



Section IV.



attention to the above, for the method of selection of persons by pot-tickets and the object of testing gold might be a temptation strong enough to infer that the nine persons formed into a committee—though the inscription does not warrant it—and to identify it with the one known to us from the two published inscriptions.

The inscription makes it sufficiently clear that the nine persons chosen for testing gold currency, whose monthly emoluments were fixed, were subordinate to the great men of the Tank Committee and rendered technical aid in the discharge of their duties.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [*] Madirai-koṇḍa kō-pParakēsaripaṇma[r*]kku¹ yāṇḍu padi-
ṇandu² nāl aimbattandu³ i-nnāḷḷ Uttaramēru-chaturvvēdimaṅgalattu
sabhaiyōm emm-ūril parimāṇum
- 2 poṇ samañjasaṇ=kāṇbadaṇkku⁴=chcheyyda vya[va*]sthaiy-āvadu [*] śālavum vrid-
dharum bālarum=a[*]lādār iṇai-kkuḍigaḷil poṇ-kāṇa-vallar-eṇa-
- 3 ppaḍuvārai nōkki Māḍavīdiyār kūḍi=kkuḍav-ōlai eḷudi=ppugaviṭṭu taṅgaḷ śēriyil
nālvarai=kkuḍav-ōlaiyil pōndārai=kkoḷvad-āgavum [*] i-ppariśē sē[ṇai]vīlum
- 4 iruvarai=kkoḷvad-āgavum [*] i-ppariśēy Śāṅkarappāḍiyīlum mūvarai-kkoḷ(v)vad-āga-
vum [*] ivargaḷ=ellā-japattukkum-okka poṇ kāṇbā[r*]gaḷ-āgavum [*] paruṇ-
kallil uraiyādē
- 5 poṇṇ-aṇindaṇaiyē uraiṇṇad-āga [*] aṇṇaikk-aṇṇaikkū uraitta meḷugu ēri-vāriya-ope-
rumakkaḷ kaikkē veṭṭi mudal-āga vaṇṇiyādē kuḍuppad-āga [*] mu-mmūṇru-
māsam pōṇavārē sam[va]tsara-vāriya-
- 6 pperumakkaḷiḍaikkē seṇru eṅgaḷ-urraḍu nāṅgaḷ=eḷuttadaṇai nālum śilā-lēkaippaḍi
[pi]laikka eḷuttomāyil paṣittu vālvōm-eṇru śolli=ch[chū]-iṇṇu⁵ viḍuvargaḷ-āgavum
[*] i-ppariśū em-
- 7 m-ūril poṇṇ-eḷupp[ā*]rkkū⁶ vyavasthai śeydōm Uttaramēru-chchaturvvēdimaṅgalattu
sabhaiyōm [*] i-ppariśū eḷu ḍuvuk rukku mey-
vēṇru-vagai tiṅgaḷ=ēḷ-arai [maṇ]jāḍi poṇ peruvad-āga [*] idu [kuṇiyuḷ-i]rundu
. n madhyastan Śivadāsaṇ Tiruvaḍigaḷēṇ ||—

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! Prosperity ! The following is the standing order made by us, (*the members of*) the assembly of **Uttaramēru-chaturvvēdimaṅgalam**, on this **the fifteenth year and fifty-fifth day of** (*the reign of*) king **Parakēsarivarman**, who took **Madirai** (*i.e.*, Madura), for examining the correctness of gold current in our village :—

The people of Māḍavīdi shall write on palm-leaves (*the names of such of*) the rate-payers, as are not very old or infants, and as could be called capable of testing gold, and put them into pots. From among those whose names had been so entered on palm-leaves and put into the pots, four persons shall be chosen from their *chēri* (*i.e.*, quarter). In this (*i.e.*, the aforesaid) manner, two persons shall be chosen from the army. In the same way, three persons shall be chosen from

¹ The syllables *Madirai-koṇḍa kō-pParakēsaripaṇmakku* are engraved in three lines below *Svasti śrī*.

² Read *padiṇaindu*.

³ Read *ṭaindu*.

⁴ Read *ḍarkku*.

⁵ Read *-urru*.

⁶ Read *eḷupparkkū*.

Śaṅkarappāḍi. These (*i.e.*, the nine persons) shall test gold with impartiality towards all people. They shall not rub gold on big stones, but use only the touch-stone. (*They*) shall hand over daily, to the great men of the Tank Committee, the wax used in rubbing, without misappropriating (*any* of) the cut (*pieces*). On the expiry of every three months, (*they*) shall appear before the great men of the Annual Committee and declaring the (*following*) imprecation leave them: 'If against the orders contained in (*this*) stone inscription, we had misappropriated any (*gold*) that had been brought to and handled by us on any day, we shall (*be cursed to*) live with hunger (*for ever*)'. Thus, we, the members of the assembly of Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimangalam, made (*this*) standing order for testing gold in our village. In this manner, shall receive individually, every month, seven and a half *mañjāḍi* of gold. Being present in the assembly, I, the *madhyasta*, Śivadāsan Tiruvaḍigal this.

No. 25.—IRDĀ COPPER-PLATE OF THE KAMBOJA KING NAYAPALADEVA.

By N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A., INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

This copper-plate, which is edited here for the first time, belongs to Chaudhuri Mrityunjay Narayan Praharaj, Zemindar of Irdā in the Balasore District of Orissa, whose estate is at present under the Court of Wards. About the beginning of 1934, the plate was sent on loan from the Balasore Collectorate to Mr. W. V. Duke, M.A., the then Principal of the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, who was requested to have its inscription deciphered and interpreted. In December 1934, when I was staying in Cuttack on leave, the plate was handed over to me for this purpose, with the consent of the present Principal Dr. B. K. Singh, by Professor Nirmal Chandra Banerji, M.A., of the College. I am grateful to Dr. Singh for the facilities afforded to me in the College laboratories in cleaning up the plate and taking photographs and estampages of it, and also to Professor Banerji for the ungrudging help I received from him in various ways. My thanks are further due to Rai Bahadur Radhacharan Das, Collector of Balasore, for permission to publish the inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*. Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to ascertain the actual findspot of the record and the circumstances under which it was discovered. As it is, the document may be called after the place to which it now belongs, although, as internal evidence would show, it must have come originally from a locality in South-west Bengal.

This is a **single sheet of copper**,¹ measuring 10·7" by 9·7". It is engraved with writing on both sides, and bears at the top a circular **seal** affixed by **soldering**. The seal, which has a diameter of 4·2", is divided into two semicircular panels: the upper one contains the *Dharmachakra* device, *viz.*, a wheel between two couchant deer, and across the lower panel is the inscription **Śrī-Nayapālādēvasya**, *i.e.*, 'Of (King) **Nayapālādēva**', which is cut in bold relief. Similar *Dharmachakra* seals are found also on the copper-plates of the Pāla and the Chandra kings of Bengal. But the way in which this seal is affixed is somewhat different. In the case of the Pāla and Chandra plates, the lower portion of the seal comes into the writing and thereby causes a break in the middle of the first few lines on both the sides. But in the present plate the seal is fixed above the writing, so that it does not affect the arrangement of the text in any way. This seal again is not pointed at the top like those of the copper-plates of the Pālas and the Chandras.

It contains altogether forty-nine lines of writing. The letters are engraved with care as far as line 31. But thereafter, the incision is done rather perfunctorily, the letters being as a rule formed by shallow strokes and not always completely made out. These circumstances, as also

¹ In l. 49, it is called *tāmra-phālī*.

the corroded condition of many of the letters, make the reading of the concluding part of the inscription at places hopelessly difficult. A triangular piece of the plate is missing from its edge, which appears to have been cut away by some sharp instrument. With this portion some three or four letters have completely disappeared ; but it is possible to restore two of the missing letters with certainty. There are a few indistinct passages on the reverse, belonging to the donative verses, which I have failed to decipher ; fortunately, these do not form any important parts of the document.

The **characters** of the inscription are Proto-Bengali, representing a stage midway between the Bādal Pillar inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla¹ and the Bāngarh grant of Mahipāla I.² This is illustrated, for instance, by the forms of the letter *śa*. On the seal of the Irdā plate, the letter occurring in the conjunct *śrī* has clearly a loop joined to the right hand upright by means of a horizontal stroke, as is generally the case in the Bādal Pillar inscription. But in the rest of this record, the *śa* takes a more cursive appearance, in which the loop shows, in the majority of cases, a slight opening at the base. This form later leads on to the open type of *śa* of the Bāngarh grant. The letter *ja* of our plate resembles the type occurring on the Bādal pillar. But in the Bāngarh record its left curve is extended upwards, in which respect it approaches more to the modern Bengali form. Palæographically, the Irdā copper-plate may be placed in the **latter part of the 10th century A.D.** The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit, the text being partly in prose and partly in verse. Lines 1, 18-21, 26-32 and 49 contain prose text ; but it will be seen that the major part of the inscription is in metrical form. It contains in all thirty-two and a half verses, of which none except the usual donative ones occurs in any of the published records.

As regards **orthography**, the following points may be noted : the *avagraha* sign is often used and often omitted ; the final *t*, *n* and *s* are indicated by an oblique stroke put below the individual letter, e.g., in ll. 25, 36 and 40 ; the *anusvāra* invariably takes the place of final *m* ; the dental nasal is substituted for *anusvāra* in *mīmāṃsā* in l. 29 ; and single and double *daṇḍas* are frequently used in the metrical portion of the text. As is usual in the inscriptions of this period, no distinction has been made between *v* and *b* in writing.

The inscription opens with salutation to the god Śiva, although the seal itself bears a purely Buddhistic device. The first five verses give a description of **Priyaṅgu**, the capital (*rājadhānī*), from which place the document appears to have been issued. The subsequent verses introduce the family of the donor. First is mentioned King **Rājyapāla**, a scion of the **Kambōja** race, whose queen was **Bhāgyadēvī** (vv. 6-8). She gave birth to a son **Nārāyaṇapāla** who was a devotee of the god Vāsudēva (v.13). Nārāyaṇapāla had a younger brother **Nayapāla** who gained ascendancy after him (vv. 14-15). Rājyapāla is described as a *saugata*, i.e., a worshipper of the Buddha, and he, as well as his son Nayapāla, has full imperial titles, viz., *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja* (ll. 18-20). The **object** of the document is to record the gift of the village of **Brīhat-Chhattivannā**, adjoining to **Kaṇṭi**, **Sarhmāsha** and **Bāḍa-khaṇḍa**, within the **Daṇḍabhukti maṇḍala** of the **Varddhamāna bhukti** (ll. 20-21). The various appurtenances and conditions of the property are related in vv. 18-21. The king gave it away on a *navamī* day in the month of Kārttika to the **Paṇḍita Aśvatthaśarmman**, who was born at **Drōṇa** but actually hailed from **Kuṇṭira**. The donee was the great-grandson of **Bhaṭṭa-Divākarasarmman**, grandson of the *upādhyāya* **Prabhākaraśarmman** and son of the *upādhyāya* **Anukulamiśra**. He belonged to the Vātsya *gōtra* and the **Bhārgava-Chyavana-Aurvyā-Jāmadagnya-Āpnavāna pravara**, and was an adherent of the **Chhandōga cāraṇa** and the **Kaṭhuma śākhā** (of the *Sāmaveda* ; ll. 26-31). An enumeration of the officers

¹ *Ante*, Vol. II, p. 160 and Plate.

² *Ante*, Vol. XIV, p. 324 and Plate.

and persons of the royal household, who are expected to keep the document in force, is given in vv. 22-24. Vv. 25-31 and 33 are customary stanzas relating to land grants, while v. 32 makes a reference to the royal donor. Finally, in line 49, is mentioned the date of the gift, viz., the 2nd (?)¹ day of Kārttika, the regnal year 13.

The record is of much historical importance. Rājyapāla, Nārāyaṇapāla and Nayapāla are names well-known in the genealogy of the Pāla kings of Bengal, and Rājyapāla I. of this dynasty had also a queen Bhāgyadēvī, like the Rājyapāla of the present record. One is tempted, therefore, to identify the two Rājyapālas, but there are certain other facts that make this proposition quite unlikely. In the first place, the kings Nārāyaṇapāla and Nayapāla, sons of Rājyapāla, cannot be the same as those mentioned in the Pāla records. The son and successor of Rājyapāla I. of the Pāla dynasty was Gōpāla II, whose name appears in the Bāngarh, Āmgāchhī and Manahali plates. Secondly, Rājyapāla of this record has the epithet *Kambōja-vamśa-tīlaka*, i.e., 'an ornament of the Kambōja clan'. In the *Rāmacharita* of Sandhyākara Nandī, the Pālas are supposed to have descended from the 'Samudra-kula', whatever that may mean, and in the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadēva they are represented as belonging to the Solar race (*Mihirasya vamśa*). But nowhere has the Kambōja origin been attributed to the Pālas. The name-ending 'Pāla' need not again mislead us, since there were several ruling families in Northern India in the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. which had this appellation. The Irdā copper-plate, therefore, introduces us to a **new line of kings**, who, judging from the characters of the inscription, should be referred to the second half of the tenth century. It evidently belongs to a time when the Pāla kingdom was in a state of turmoil and the rivals of the Pālas were gradually asserting themselves.

The only other inscription that speaks of a Kāmbōja king of Bengal is the one on a pillar from Bāngarh (Dinājpur District), now in the Mahārājā's palace at Dinājpur, which also on palaeographic grounds can be assigned to the tenth century A.D.² It records the construction of a Śiva temple (evidently at Bāngarh) by a king of Gauḍa (*Gauḍa-pati*) whose name is not specified but who bears the epithet *Kāmbōj-ānvayaja*, i.e., 'born in the Kāmbōja line'. This family could not have made themselves masters of Gauḍa without ousting the Pālas, and it follows, therefore, that they held possession of the Pāla territories in Bengal for some time during the tenth century. This **Kāmbōja occupation** is usually referred to the latter half of the century, that is to the period before the accession of Mahīpāla I. A passage of the Bāngarh grant credits Mahīpāla with having recovered his paternal or ancestral kingdom (*pitryam rājyam*) which had been *anadhikṛita*,³ i.e., not taken possession of, and *vilupta*, i.e., lost. This passage, which is repeated also in the Āmgāchhī and Manahali grants, is supposed to bear allusion to the Kāmbōja occupation of Bengal and its subsequent recovery by Mahīpāla. The Kāmbōja king of Gauḍa of the Dinājpur pillar inscription and the princes whose names appear in the Irdā copper-plate presumably represent one and the same family. From the evidence of the present record it is now clear that the Kāmbōjas seized not only North Bengal, but also the south-western portion of the province including

¹ [See below p. 157, n 5.—Ed.]

² Chanda, J. P. A. S. B., 1911, p. 619 and *Gaudarājyamālā*, p. 35. I agree with Dr. R. C. Majumdar [*Vaṅgarānī* (in Bengali), 1330 B.S., p. 250], that the expression *Kuñjara-ghaṭā-varshēṇa* of the inscription is to be taken as an epithet of the *Gaudapati* and not as a chronogram.

³ It may also mean 'lost owing to non-occupation' (*anadhikṛita*, i.e., *anadhikārah*). A. K. Maitra takes *anadhikṛita* in the sense of *anadhikārī*, i.e., usurper, and compares the term *adhikṛita* in *Amara*, II. 8.8 (*Gaudatēkhamālā*, p. 100, footnote), which, however, is a purely official designation and would not, with a *na* prefixed to it, yield this sense. The form *anadhikṛita* could perhaps be supported as an instance of *matvarthīya ach* :—*anadhikṛitam-asya asti*, like *vibhaktā bhṛataraḥ* and *pūtā gāvaḥ* of the *Mahābhāṣya* (under *Pāṇini*, 3.4.67). But this appears to be somewhat far-fetched. In any case it follows that the kingdom prior to Mahīpāla's accession had passed into the hands of some other ruling family.

the Vardhamāna *bhukti*. They had their capital at a place called Priyaṅgu, which remains for the present unidentified.

But who were these Kāmbōjas, and from where did they come? In the inscriptions of Aśōka a Kāmbōja country is mentioned along with the Yōna which lay on the North-western frontier of India. The Kāmbōjas are mentioned along with the Yavanas as north-western tribes in the *Mahābhārata*, and, as Grierson has shown, the Kāmbōjas spoke a language partly Indo-Aryan and partly Iranian.¹ Their country had great reputation for horses, to which there are allusions in the *Mahābhārata* and in the Buddhist literature.² This reputation must have reached even far off Eastern India, as is evident from the reference to the Kāmbōja horses of Dēvapāla (*Kāmbōjēshu yēna vāji-yuvabhiḥ*, etc.) in his Mungir and Nālandā grants. If horses could be brought into Bengal from the North-western frontier of India during the Pāla period, it is not unreasonable to suppose that for trade and other purposes some adventurers could also have found their way into that province. No doubt it can be shown that there was a Kāmbōja on the North-eastern frontier as well.³ In the Tibetan work *Pag-sam-jon-zang*,⁴ there are references to both the Kāmbōjas, and the eastern one is identified with the Lushai Hill tracts between Burma and Bengal. But the work belongs to a much later period, and there is nothing to show that the Kāmbōja of the North-eastern frontier was in existence as early as the tenth century A.D. It has been suggested by some scholars⁵ that the Kāmbōja invaders penetrated into Bengal from the north-east and that they belonged to a Mongolian stock which is now represented by the Kōch tribe. There is, however, no sure evidence in favour of this supposition.

As regards the localities mentioned in the copper-plate, some remarks are necessary. *Varddhāmāna bhukti*, comprising the major portion of the Burdwan Division of Bengal, is already well-known from inscriptions.⁶ But the information, that it had a *maṇḍala* called *Daṇḍabhukti*, is now furnished by the Irdā copper-plate for the first time. The *Rāmacharita* mentions a certain ruler of Daṇḍabhukti, named Jayasīmha, who was an ally of King Rāmapāla of Bengal and defeated Kārṇakēśari of Utkala, i.e., Orissa. R. D. Banerji⁷ has observed that this conflict would not have been possible if Daṇḍabhukti were not situated in South-west Bengal. That Daṇḍabhukti was included in the Vardhamāna *bhukti* lends support to this view and disposes of once for all the contention of H. P. Sastri⁸ and Krishnaswami Aiyangar⁹ who identify it with Bihār.

Daṇḍabhukti appears also in the list of conquests of Rājēndrachōḷa, in his famous Tirumalai inscription.¹⁰ Between 1012 and 1024 A.D., the Chōḷa King proceeded towards Bengal from the South, taking the route along the eastern coast. The territories he conquered on the way seem to appear in the list in due geographical order. Thus we have Oḍḍa-vishaya (Orissa), Kōśalai-nāḍu

¹ *J. R. A. S.*, 1911, p. 802, and 1912, p. 255.

² On the Kāmbōja horses see *J. R. A. S.*, 1912, p. 256. For a detailed account of the Kāmbōjas see B. C. Law, *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, 1924, pp. 230-51.

³ Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, pp. 308-9. Dr. Raychaudhuri is of opinion that the Kāmbōjas came to Bengal from the north-west, like the Gurjjaras—*ibid.*, p. 311, n. 1.

⁴ Ed. S. C. Das, Part I, pp. 4, 74 and Index, p. 10. I am obliged to Dr. P. C. Bagchi for having drawn my attention to these references.

⁵ Chanda, *J. P. A. S. B.*, 1911, p. 619. S. K. Chatterji thinks that the word *Kōch* or *Kōch* was derived from *Kāmbōja*.—*Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Part I, p. 63.

⁶ *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 94.

⁷ *Mem. A. S. B.*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 89.

⁸ *Rāmacharita*, Introduction, p. 10.

⁹ *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. 2, 1922-23, p. 331.

¹⁰ *Ante*, Vol. IX, p. 233.

(Dakṣhiṇa-Kōśala), Taṇḍabutti (Daṇḍabhukti), Takkaṇalāḍam (Dakṣhiṇa-Rāḍhā), Vaṅgālādēśa (East Bengal), and finally, Uttiralāḍam (Uttara-Rāḍhā). Judging from the order in which the different territories are mentioned, it has been already suggested by R. D. Banerji¹ that Daṇḍabhukti coincided with the Midnapur and Balasore Districts. He further thinks that the name is recognizable in modern 'Dantan' in South Midnapur. Whatever be the value of the latter suggestion, it is quite clear that in the Tirumalai inscription Daṇḍabhukti is specified separately along with Kōśala and Dakṣhiṇa-Rāḍhā, and, therefore, it could not have formed part of either. Again, the mention of this locality between Kōśala and Dakṣhiṇa-Rāḍhā would also show that it could not have been much farther away from the tract immediately to the north of Balasore. Taking all this evidence into consideration, we can safely conclude that the Daṇḍabhukti *maṇḍala* comprised at least the southern and south-western portion of the Midnapur District, including the lower reaches of the Suvarṇarēkhā river, if not a portion of the Balasore District itself.

Chhattivannā, the name of the village granted, is possibly derived from Prākṛit *chhattivanna* (Sanskrit *saptaparna*, Bengali *chhātīm*). This equivalent is given in Vararuchi's *Prākṛitaprakāśa* (II. 41).² It is rather tempting to identify the place with modern Chhātnā in the Bankura District, which name is also supposed to have originated from the Chhātīm tree.³ The adjective *Bṛihat*, prefixed to the name (Bṛihat-Chhattivannā), suggests, however, that there must have been at least two places bearing this name. In the District Map of Midnapur,⁴ a place 'Chhatina' is shown on the Suvarṇarēkhā, between Belyabera and Nayabashan, and it is not impossible that this is the Chhattivannā of our inscription.

TEXT.⁵

[Metres: vv. 1-5, 7-11, 13, 18-21, 26, 28, 29, 33, *Anushtubh*; vv. 6, 12, 16, 23-25, *Vasantatilakū*; v. 14, *Indravajrā*; vv. 15, 27, *Upajāti*; vv. 17, 22, *Vaitāliya*; v. 30, *Śālinī*; v. 31, *Pushpitāgrā*; and v. 32, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

Obverse.

- 1 Ōm* namaḥ [Śivā]ya | svasti | Dūra-vyōm-ōdgama-k[1]āntair=iva yatra surālayaiḥ |
chalat-patākā-jihv-āgrair=vvilīhya-
- 2 [ntē] payōmuchāḥ || [1*] Yasyām hōm-āgni-dhūm-aughaḥ karōt[i] gagan-ōdgataḥ |
ma[kha-hūta]-Sunāśīra-vāhan-āmbhōda-vibhramam || [2*]
- 3 Apām gāhana-pānābhyām jaḍitā iva tōyadāḥ | haimān=agni-ruchō yasyām prā-
kāran=adhiśēratē || [3*] Sphāti-
- 4 kāni sphuṭ-ābhāni gōpurāṇi vi(bi)bhartti yā | yaśōbhir=iva liptāni nitya-nirggāmi-
[bhi]ḥ prabhōḥ || [4*] Tasyā
- 5 visma[ya*]nīy-arddhēr=varddhamāna-guṇ-ōdgatēḥ | nisthāma-dharmma-rājāyā rāja-
dhānyāḥ Priyaṅgutaḥ || [5*] Kamvō(mbō)ja-vaṇśa-ti-

¹ *Mem. A. S. B.*, Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 71, 89; *Bāṅgalār Itihās*, 2nd ed., Vol. I, p. 248.

² Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Part I, p. 335.

³ Beglar, *A. S. R.*, Vol. VIII, p. 199. For the ending *vannā* cf. Padavānvā, a place name in the *Rāmcharita*, p. 37. It may be noted that many places in the Midnapur District are called after some tree, the names ending in *bani* or *bunnee*, e.g., Jāmbani and Palāsbani (near Jhargram), and Phoolbunnee (near Contai).

⁴ Published by the Survey of India (as corrected in 1915).

⁵ From the original.

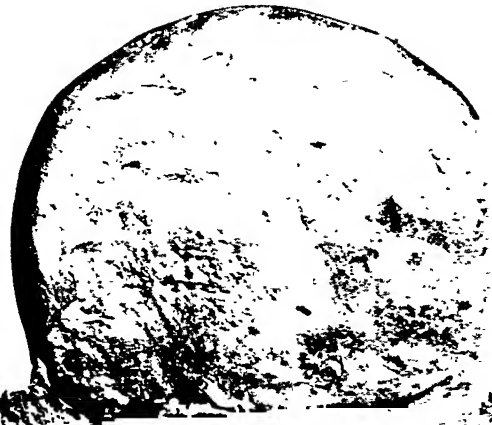
* It is preceded by the usual auspicious symbol.



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Reverse.



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- 6 [laka*]h¹ sthira-vikrama-śrīr-aśrānta-dāna-mahimā-mahita-prabhāvaḥ | kshmāpāla-mauli-
chaya-chumbita-pāda-pīṭhaḥ pri-
- 7 [thvī-pa*]tiḥ Prithur=abhūd=iha **Rājyapālāḥ** || [6*] Śrīmatō **Rājyapālasya** vēlā-
valaya-mēkhalām | nishkaṇṭakam=anā-
- 8 pāyaṁ paripālayatō bhuvam || [7*] Sūnus=sūnṛita-vāg=yasya janani jana-pūjitā |
śrīmatī **Bhāgyadēvī**=ti dēvī=va
- 9 Himaśailajā || [8*] Yēna pāda-nakha-jyō[t]snā-jalēn=ālika-samsthitaḥ | prakshālītā
vipakshāṇām=aśubh-ā[ksha]-
- 10 ra-paṅktayaḥ || [9*] Darppa-jvarō vīrya-kaṇḍur=ādhmānam yēna mānajaḥ | chi-
kitsitāni mahatā pratāpēn=aiva vidvi-
- 11 shām || [10*] Bhuvam [yajñ-ā]śinō dēvā divam sōma-sutas=tathā | āvasanti nṛpē
yasmin=niyamēn=aiva lōkayōḥ || [11*]
- 12 Nārācha-ruddha-nabhasām=ari-vāhinīnām=aṅgaiś=chaturbhir=api jētum=ayātam=ājau |
ēkaḥ prasūnamaya-pa-
- 13 [ñcha]-śaras=tv=Anāṅgō yaṁ jēshyat=īti kuta ēva kathā-pravṛtitiḥ || [12*] Sa Vāsu-
dēva-pād-āvja(bja)-pūjā-nirata-mānasah [1*]
- 14 śrī-Nārāyaṇapāl-ākhyah kalyāṇi kshitipō='bhavat || [13*] Nārāyaṇasy=ēva Narō
mahātmā Samīkarshaṇasy=ē-
- 15 va cha Śārīgapāṇiḥ | Dharmātmaṇasy=ēva Dhanañjayō=bhūt=tasy=ānujaḥ śrī-
Nayapālādēvaḥ || [14*] Lavdh(bdh)-ōdayō
- 16 bhrātur=anantaram yaḥ śriyam samāsādyā durāsadō='bhūt | astāmchalam² chandra-
masi prapannē divam vivasvān=i-
- 17 va gāhamānaḥ || [15*] Yēna dvishām na gaṇitāni mahā-va(ba)lāni n=āpēkshinaḥ³
pariḥjanō=pi nijaḥ samīpē |
- 18 ēkākin=aiva bhujā-Mandara-mathyamānāl=lav(b)dhā samīka-jaladhēḥ śataśō jaya-
śrīḥ || [16*] Paramasaugatō⁴ ma-
- 19 hārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭārakah⁵ śrī-**Rājyapālādēva**-pād-ānudhyātaḥ pa-
ramēśvara-parama-
- 20 bhaṭṭārakah(ka)-mahārājādhirājaḥ śrīmān=**Nayapālādēvaḥ** kuśali | śrī-**Varddhamāna**-
bhuktāv=antahpāti.⁶**Daṇḍa**-
- 21 **bhukti**-maṇḍalē **Kaṇṭi-Sammāsha-Vā(Bā)ḍakhaṇḍa**-prativa(ba)ddha-**Vri(Bri)hach**-
Chhattivannā-grāmē | Karaṇair=vyavahāriṇaḥ samam
- 22 kṛishakāmū=ch=aiva⁷ nivāsibhis=tathā [1*] dvija-pūj-ādi-pūrvam=ādīsaty=avagachchhantu
bhavanta īdṛiśam || [17*] Prasiddhayā parichchhi-
- 23 nnaḥ svayā śimnā samantataḥ | vāstu-kshētra-jalādhāra-gartta-mārg[ga]-sana-
nvitaḥ || [18*] S-ōshar-āvashkara⁸-sthāna-nivāta-la-
- 24 vaṇ-āka[ra]ḥ | sahakāra-madhūk-ādi-taru-shaṇḍ-ādi-maṇḍitaḥ || [19*] Varjjitaḥ sarvva-
pīḍābhir=a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-gōcha-
- 25 raḥ | rāja-grāhyēṇa sarvvēṇa pratyāyēṇa samanvitaḥ || [20*] Sa-haṭṭa-ghaṭṭa-sa-
tara ā-chandr-ārka-kshitim yāvat | [21*]⁹

¹ The right-hand flourish of the *ka* is visible in the original ; so the reading *tilakah* is certain.

² Read *astāchalam*.

³ Read *-saugata*.

⁴ Read *bhukty-antahpāti*.

⁵ Read *-āvashkara*.

⁶ Read *-āpēkshitaḥ*.

⁷ Read *-paramabhaṭṭāraka*.

⁸ Read *kṛishakāmū=ch=aivā*. The metre in the third *pāda* of this verse is faulty.

⁹ This is only half of a verse.

Reverse.

- 26 bhūchchhidra-nyāyēna bhaṭṭa-srī-Divākaraśarmmaṇaḥ prapautrāya upādhyāya-srī-Prabhākaraśarmmaṇaḥ pau-
- 27 trāya upādhyāya-srī-Anukulamiśrāṇām putrāya Drōṇ-ōdbhava-Kuṇṭira-vinirggatāya Vātsya-sagō-
- 28 trāya Bhārggava-Chyavana-Aurvvya-Jāmadagnya-Āpnuvāna-pravarāya chChhandōga-charaṇāya Kauthuma-śākḥ-ā-
- 29 dhyāyinē bhaṭṭa-putra-paṇḍita-srī-Aśvatthaśarmmaṇē mīmāṃsā¹-vyākaraṇa-tarkka-vēda-vēdinē grā-
- 30 mō=yam Yugādyā[m]² navamyām snātvā vidhivad=udaka-pūrvvakam kṛitvā mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-ya[sō]-
- 31 'bhivriddhayē | bhagavantam Śaṅkara-bhaṭṭārakam=uddiśy=āsmābhis=tāmraśāsanikṛitya dattaḥ | Tad-[y.—]³
- 32 pratyāyam samagram=asmai vidhēyatām gatvā kāl-ōchitam [dadānāḥ] sukhēna nivasath(t?)=ēha || Mahishi-yu-
- 33 varāja-mantriṇaḥ saha ṛitvigbhir=a[thō] purōhitam | ○○—○○—r=nniyōginō dharmmajñānś=cha sa-
- 34 [mam] pradēsh[tri]bhiḥ || [22*] Adhyaksha-varggam=akhilam karaṇais=samētam | ⁴ sēnāpatiñ=cha saha sainika-saṁgha-
- 35 mukhyaiḥ [*] dūtān sa-gūḍhapurushān saha man[tra]pālair=anyān=api kshiti-patēr=anujivinaś=cha || [23*]
- 36 Āgāminō=pi nṛipatīn=nija-tīrtha-yuktān sē—na(?)⁵ vikshati vadaty=anūśāsti ch=[āpi] | asmān samikshya
- 37 hara[nē] cha nisa(śa)mya dōsham dānam bhavadbhir=anupālyam=idam sad=aiva || [24*] Asmān=pratisphurati yaś=cha vichāra-
- 38 nāyam dānān=mahān=atīsayah paripāla[nē cha?]- — — ○—○○○—○ m=athō na kimchit — — ○⁶ pālana-
- 39 m=apālanam=āhur=ēnaḥ || [25*] Bhūmim yah pratigrihṇāti yaś=cha bhūmim prayachchhati | ubhau tau puṇya-karmmaṇau ni-
- 40 yatas(tam) svargga-gāminau || [26*] Yē brāhmaṇānām=a-yathā haranti pradēsa-mātrām=api bhūta-dhātīm | purisha-kūpē pitribhi-
- 41 s=samētās=tē kalpa-kōṭār=api yāpayanti || [27*] Svadattām para-dattām=vā yō harēta vasundharām [*] sa viśṭhāyām kṛimir=bhū-
- 42 tvā pitribhis=saha pachyatē || [28*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya
- 43 tasya tadā phalam || [29*] Sarvvān=ētān bhāvinaḥ pārtthiv-ēndrān bhūyō bhūyah prārtthayaty=ēsha Rāmaḥ | sāmānyō=

¹ Read *mīmāṃsā*.² For this reading I am indebted to the editor. [Evidently the reference is to the *Kṛitayugādi* day which falls on *Kārttika* *su* 9. See L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, Pt. i, p. 59.—Ed.]³ After *ta* there is no space for more than two letters.⁴ *Danda* unnecessary.⁵ Probably the reading should be *snēhēna*. [I would read *sarvvān*=*adhichchhati*, i.e., requests all.—Ed.]⁶ [The reading seems to be *dānāt=param* ○ ○ ○ *sāram=athō na kimchi(t)d dharmmaś=cha*. After *chi*, *t* seems to have been written at first and then scored out.—Ed.]

- 44 yaṁ dharmma-sētur=ṇṇipāṇāṁ kālē kālē pāṇiṇyō bhavadbhiḥ || [30*] Iti kamala-dal-
āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlāṁ śriyam=anu-
- 45 chintya manushya-jivitañ=cha | sakalam=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha vuddhā¹ na hi
purushaiḥ para-kirttayō vilōpyāḥ || [31*]
- 46 Ēvaṁ bhīma-pā(pa)rākramō narapatir=v(b)rūtē vivichya svayaṁ — — — ◡◡◡—va
hi kalau — — ◡ — — ◡
- 47 vaḥ² | dātum n=ōtsahatē manō yadi tadā=py=anyai[r=yad=asmā]dṛisair=dattam — ◡◡ —
◡ — sukṛitinaḥ — — ◡ —
- 48 —◡—³|| [32*] Gām=ēkāṁ suvarṇam=ēkāṁ bhūmēr=apy=araddham=aṅgulaṁ | haraṁ⁴
narakam=āpnōti yāvad=āhūta-saṁplavaṁ || [33*]
- 49 Samvat 13 [Kārtti]ka-dinē 2 (?)⁵ anēna tāmra-phalī 1 -jō⁶ anu ni [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Ōm! Salutation to Śiva! Welfare!

(V. 1.) Where the temples, as if tired in ascending up to the distant firmament, lick the clouds with the tips of the tongues of their fluttering banners.

(V. 2.) Where the mass of smoke, rising up to the sky from the fire of oblations, creates the illusion of cloud, the carrier⁷ of Indra (*who is*) invoked in sacrifices.

(V. 3.) Where the clouds, exhausted as it were, by bathing and drinking of water, rest over the golden rampart walls which are as resplendent as fire.

(V. 4.) Which bears crystal gateways, shining white, as if anointed with the glories of the king continuously flowing out through them.

(V. 5.) From that capital city of **Priyaṅgu**, which is of wonderful wealth and increasing virtue, and is (*the seat of*) powerful and righteous kings—

(V. 6.) Here flourished **Rājyapāla**, an ornament of the **Kambōja** family, who was (*the very*) **Prithu**, the lord of the earth. He (*possessed*) steadfast prowess and fortune, his majesty was heightened by the glory attained in ceaseless donation, and his foot-stool was kissed by the multitude of the heads of kings.

(Vv. 7-8.) To (*that*) illustrious **Rājyapāla**, ruling without obstacle or calamity over the earth girt by the sea-coast, (*was born*) a son whose mother (*was*) the illustrious **Bhāgyadēvi**; she was of gentle speech and worshipped by people, like the goddess who is the daughter of Himālaya;

(V. 9.) Who (*i.e.*, the son), by the water of moon-light emanating from the nails of his feet, washed away the syllables portending evil written on the foreheads of his enemies;

¹ Read *buddhāvā*.

² [Probable reading : *śrēyas-sāḍkanam=ēkam=ēva hi Kalau dānam [viśēshāt=tu] vaḥ*.—Ed.]

³ After *dattam* we should perhaps read : *tat-paripālānē sukṛitinaḥ [kurvva]nti —t-ādaram*.

⁴ Read *haran=*.

⁵ There was probably no other numeral sign after 2. [I find two digits here and would read them as 18. The second numerical figure is clearly 8 as shown in the plate. In the first digit the scribe seems to have first engraved the symbol for 9, probably without thinking, as the grant was made on the 9th day, which he later corrected into 1. The reading cannot be 2 as the grant was made subsequent to that date. It is more likely that though the gift was made on the *navamī* day, the plate in confirmation of this was actually issued on the 18th.—Ed.]

⁶ The preceding letter has entirely disappeared.

⁷ The elephant of Indra.

(V. 10.) Who, by dint of his great prowess, cured his enemies of the fever of arrogance, the itching of power and the swelling caused by pride.

(V. 11.) During the (*rule*) of that king, the sacrifice-devouring gods came down to dwell on earth and likewise the performers of Sōma sacrifices went up to live in heaven, according to the law (*established*) in the two worlds.

(V. 12.) Even the four-fold army (the four *aṅgas*) of his enemies, who had filled the sky with their arrows, did not approach in battle to gain victory over him ; how could then there be even a talk of the god of love (*Anaṅga*)¹ defeating him—the god who is all alone and has only five arrows of flowers ?

(V. 13.) He, who was known as **Nārāyaṇapāla** and had his mind devoted to the worship of the lotus-feet of Vāsudēva, became the prosperous ruler of the earth.

(V. 14.) As the high-souled Nara is to Nārāyaṇa, the holder of the Śārṅga-bow (*i.e.*, Kṛishṇa) is to Saṅkarshaṇa (*i.e.*, Balarāma), and Dhanañjaya (*i.e.*, Arjuna) is to the son of Dharma (*i.e.*, Yudhishṭhira), so also was his younger brother **Nayapālādēva** (*to himself*).

(V. 15.) Having gained ascendancy after his brother and secured Fortune, he became unconquerable, just as when the moon has set, the sun rises in the sky (and becomes unapproachable in its glow).

(V. 16.) Neither did he care for the mighty forces of his enemies, nor did he depend on his own friends near him ; he alone, churning the sea of battle by his arm resembling Mount Mandara, obtained on a hundred occasions the fortune of victory.

(Ll. 18-21.) The *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Nayapālādēva**, in good health, meditating on the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Rājyapālādēva, the devout worshipper of Sugata, (*i.e.*, the Buddha), in the village of **Bṛihat-Chhattivannā** adjoining to **Kaṇṭi**, **Saṁmāsha** and **Bāḷakhaṇḍa**, within the **Daṇḍabhukti** *maṇḍala* belonging to the **Vardhamāna bhukti**—

(V. 17.) (*He*) is thus addressing the tradesmen together with the clerks, and the cultivators together with the householders (*of the village*), after having paid (*due*) respect to the Brāhmins : May it be known to you :—

(V. 18.) (*This village*)—bounded on all sides by its own well-established limits, together with homestead and arable land, water-courses, pits and paths ; (V. 19.) together with land which is barren and also where sweepings are thrown ; including salt-mines, and adorned with groups of trees like mango, *madhūka* (*Bassia latifolia*), etc. ; (V. 20.) exempted from all oppressions, not to be taken notice of by *Chāṭas* and *Bhaṭas*, and together with all the taxes due to the king ; (V. 21.) also with the markets, bathing places and ferries,² for as long as the sun, moon and the earth endure—

(Ll. 26, 29-31.) this village is granted by me according to the principle of *Bhūmichchhidra* by means of a copper charter, in the name of the god Śaṅkara-bhaṭṭāraka (*i.e.*, Śiva), after having bathed on the *navamī* day commencing the (Kṛita-)yuga, with the customary observance of the touching of water, for the increase of merit and fame of my parents and myself,—

(Ll. 26-29.) to the *Bhaṭṭaputra*, *Paṇḍita* **Aśvatthaśarmman**, who was born in **Drōṇa** and emigrated from **Kuṇṭīra**, of the Vātsya *gōīra* and the Bhārggava-Chyavana-Aurvvyā-Jāmadagnya-**Āpnuvāna prarara**, an adherent of the Chhāndōga *charaṇa* and a student of the Kauthuma *śākhā* (*i.e.*, of the Sāmavēda), who is conversant with the *Mīmāṃsā* philosophy, grammar, logic and the

¹ There is here a play on the word *aṅga*.

² The expression *sa-tara*, and not *sa-taru* as previously read by me, occurs also in l. 25 of the Rāmgunī copper-plate of Iśvaraghōsha (Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 154).

Vēdas, and is the great-grandson of *Bhaṭṭa Divākaraśarmman*, grandson of the *upādhyāya* *Prabhākaraśarmman* and son of the *upādhyāya* *Anukulamiśra*.

(Ll. 31-32.) So (*you*) should live here in happiness, having timely paid to this (*person*) all the dues as enjoined.

(V. 22.) The queen (*maḥiṣhī*), the crown-prince (*yuvarāja*), the ministers (*mantrin*) and the priest (*purōhita*) along with the *ṛitviks*.....and the *dharmajñas* with the *pradēshṭris*.¹

(V. 23.) All the heads (*adhyaśka*) of departments along with the clerks (*karaṇa*), the commander-in-chief (*sēnāpati*) along with the heads of military associations (*sainika-saṅgha-mukhya*), the ambassadors (*dūta*) with the officers of the secret service (*gūḍha-puruṣa*) and the political advisers (*mantrapālas*), as well as other subordinates of the king, as also the future kings engaged in their appropriate places—(all of them) he (*i.e.*, the donor) sees....., addresses and orders :—

(V. 24.) Having regard to us and also considering the blame attaching to the person who deprives a gift, this should always be protected by you.

(V. 25.) He who praises us in our consideration that the protection (*of a gift*) is much more glorious than the gift itself.....

[Here follow vv. 26-31 which are some of the customary ones occurring in landgrants.]

(V. 32.) Thus says the mighty king after duly considering if one does not feel encouraged in mind to make a grant

[Here occurs v. 33 which is again of the same group as vv. 26-31.]

(L. 49.) The year 13, on the 2nd (?) day of Kārttika. By this, copper-plate 1.....²

No. 26.—THE SARKHO PLATES OF RATNADEVA II OF THE (CHEDI) YEAR 880.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

This set of two copper-plates was found in 1916 in a tank called Gadhia in Sarkhō³, a village near Jānjgīr in the Bilāspur district, Chhattisgarh, C. P. Mr. Lochan Prasad Pandeya, Honorary Secretary of the then Chhattisgarh Gaurava Prachāraka Maṇḍalī (now Mahākōsala Historical Society), came to know of them in 1925 and took immediate steps to acquire them for his Society. They are now in the possession of the Society at Bilāspur. Mr. Pandeya has published them in the Hindi Monthly *Mādhurī* of Lucknow (Vol. V, pp. 317-22). As the plates had not, however, been edited in any research journal, I requested my friend, Mr. W. G. Mandape, B.A., LL.B., Additional District and Sessions Judge at Bilāspur, to procure them for me. I feel highly obliged to him for doing so and to the Mahākōsala Historical Society for kindly permitting me to edit them.

They are two substantial plates measuring 13·5" in length, 8·6" in breadth and 1" in thickness. The first plate weighs 174 *tolas* and the second 181½ *tolas*. There is a hole ·6" in diameter at the centre of the top of each plate for the ring which must have originally connected them. But no such ring or seal has yet been discovered. The edges of the plates are raised into rims for the protection of letters. There are 36 lines in all, 18 being inscribed on the inner side of each plate.

¹ The class of officers called *pradēshṭri* is referred to in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and may be identical with *prādēśika* of Aśoka's inscriptions.—Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, 1925, pp. 54-55.

² For the concluding letters *anu ni*, cf. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 149, n. 3. The figure 1 after 'copper-plate' indicates that the charter consisted of only one sheet.

³ The name appears as Sirko in the Degree Map 64 J.

The letters on the first plate were not deeply engraved and have been somewhat damaged by rust. There are also depressions on its inscribed surface in some places. Still there is no uncertainty in its reading.

The **characters** are Dēvanāgarī as in the other plates of the Kalachuri kings of Ratanpur and call for few remarks. The form for *i* is made up of two curves with a looped or a hooked end turned in opposite directions and placed one below the other (cf. *iti* in ll. 9 and 16, *iha* in l. 20, *indōr*-, l. 25, etc.); *ē* has the form of a triangle with the base turned upwards (cf. *evam*, l. 30); the medial *u* is shown in two ways: (1) generally with a curve attached to the foot of the vertical stroke and turned to the left (cf. *purushah*, l. 2, etc.) and (2) occasionally with a curve turned downwards and attached to the middle of the vertical stroke (cf. *śruti*, l. 19). The medial *ā* and *ō* are shown in some cases by means of a *prishṭhamātrā* (cf. *tad-anvayē* and *putrō* in l. 2); both the *mātrās* for medial *ai* and *au* are occasionally placed above the line (cf. *=tasmai*, l. 25 and *chandr-ārkkau*, l. 27); in other cases one of them appears as a *prishṭhamātrā* (cf. *sarvv-ādāyaiḥ*, l. 25 and *sākshināu*, l. 27). *Va* and *ba* are not generally distinguished, e.g., *vandhūn* for *bandhūn* in l. 8; in the case of the grammatical form *babhūva* (ll. 7, 21) and the conjunct *bḍh* (of *labdh*^o in l. 17), however, *ba* is denoted by the sign for *ma* without its left hand loop¹; the letters *pa* and *ya* are not properly distinguished in some cases (cf. *tasya*, l. 21 and *visarppati*, l. 30); so also *cha* and *va* (cf. *ch-aiva*, l. 34). As regards **orthography** we might note that the dental *sa* is used for the palatal *śa* in such cases as *-santōshit-ēsam* (for *santōshit-ēśam*), l. 4, *satrūn* for *śatrūn*, l. 11, and *vice versā* also, though rarely, as in *sahasrēṇa* for *sahasrēṇa*, l. 33; *ya* is used for *ja* in *Vāyapēya*, l. 33, and possibly in *Yāñvarat*-, l. 18. The class nasal is occasionally used for *anuvāra* as in *-amva(ba)rasya*, l. 2; the consonant following *r* is only in a few cases reduplicated (cf. *Kārttavīryaj*, ll. 2-3, *-tarkka*-, l. 17, etc.). The following orthographical mistakes may also be noted: *kāmṇta* for *kānta*, l. 13 and *tatvajñō* for *tattvajñō*, l. 23.

These plates were granted by **Ratnadēva II.**, a Kalachuri king of Ratanpur in Chhattisgarh. The first eleven verses give his genealogy as in other plates of his dynasty. From Kārtavīrya were descended the Haihayas. In their family was born **Kōkkala** who had eighteen sons. The eldest of them became the ruler of Tripurī. He made his brothers lords of *maṇḍalas*. In the family of a younger brother of these² was born **Kaliṅgarāja** who had a son named **Kamalarāja**. His son was **Ratnarāja (I.)** who married **Nōnallā**. Their son was **Prithvidēva (I.)** who had a son named **Jājalladēva (I.)** by **Rājalladēvī**. Jājalladēva's son was **Ratna-**

¹ In the Amōdā plates of Jājalladēva II. (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 209 ff.) and those of Prithvidēva II. (*Ind. His. Quart.*, Vol. I, pp. 405 ff.) *ba* in such cases is shown by a letter closely resembling *pa*.

² This expression, which occurs in most of the charters of the kings of Ratanpur, seems to show that Kaliṅgarāja was a remote descendant (and not a grandson) of Kōkkala. The Ratanpur Inscription of Jājalladēva II. (1114 A. D.) also distinctly says 'The family of a younger son of these produced in course of time (*kramēṇa*) Kaliṅgarāja'. If so, this Kōkkala must be taken to be Kōkkala I. This view is corroborated by some inscriptions of the main dynasty at Tripurī. The Benares copper-plate inscription of Karṇa (1042 A. D.) describes in a Prakṛit verse that Prasiddhadhavalā, the son of Kōkkala I., took Pāli to provide for the future great descendants of the family. The Bilhari stone inscription says that Mugdhatuṅga (who is identical with Prasiddhadhavalā), the son of Kōkkala I., took the country of Pāli from the lord of Kōsala. Pāli is probably the name of the country round the modern village Pāli, 11 miles north of Ratanpur, where there are ruins of exquisitely carved temples (See *Archaeological Survey Report* for 1922-23, p. 51). It seems that these descendants of Kōkkala I. had their capital at Tummāṇa. They seem to have lost the country in course of time. The Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva (1114 A. D.) says that Kaliṅgarāja selected Tummāṇa as his capital as the place had previously been selected for the purpose by his ancestors.

It must, however, be noted that the description of Kōkkala, given in the Amōdā plates of Prithvidēva I. (1079 A. D.), if historically true, would apply only to Kōkkala II. as pointed out by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti (above, Vol. XXI, p. 161).

dēva (II.) the donor of the present plates. As the description of these princes is merely conventional, no new historical information can be gleaned from it. The next sixteen verses give the genealogy of the donee **Padmanābha**. His great-grandfather Mahasōṇa, a Brāhmaṇa of the Vatsa-gōtra and five *pravaras*,¹ hailed from *Sōṇabhadra* in the Madhyadēśa (Middle Country) of the Bhāratavarsha (India). He had mastered all the Vēdas, Āgamas as well as the six Śāstras. He observed a fast unto death for fifty days at the holy place (*tīrtha*) Jāmbavat.² His son was Sōmēśvara who had a son named Kulachandra. The latter's son was Padmanābha. Padmanābha was proficient in astronomy and knew two Siddhāntas.³ In the presence of all astronomers in the assembly of Ratnadēva he asserted that there would be a total lunar eclipse when three quarters of the night had passed and the moon was in the asterism Rōhiṇī on Thursday, the Paurṇimā (fifteenth *tithi* of the bright half) of Kārtika in the year 880. When the eclipse occurred at the predicted time, the king became pleased and donated the village **Chimchātālāi** situated in the *maṇḍala* of **Anarghavallī** to Padmanābha. The record closes with the usual imprecatory verses. The last verse states that the plates were engraved by **Kīrtidhara**, the owner of the village **Jamḍēra** in the same (province of) Anarghavallī.

Only one other set of plates issued by Ratnadēva II. has been discovered so far, viz., the Seorinarayan plates⁴ dated towards the close of the (Chēdi) year 878, recording the donation of the village **Tipēri** in the Anarghavallī-*vishaya* to a Brāhmaṇa named Nārāyaṇa. The present plates increase his reign by more than a year. Neither of these records contains any reference to Ratnadēva's victory over Chōḍagaṅga, though it is frequently referred to with pride in the later records⁵ of this dynasty. This Chōḍagaṅga must be identified with Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga, the well-known king of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty, who came to the throne in A.D. 1078 and had a long reign of 70 or 75 years.⁶ We cannot, of course, necessarily infer from this that the victory was not gained before the Chēdi year 880 (A.D. 1128), for the records of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur are extremely meagre in references to historical events. The earliest reference to Ratnadēva II.'s victory over Chōḍagaṅga occurs in the Ratanpur stone inscription of the time of Prithivīdēva II.,⁷ dated Vikrama Samvat 1207 (A. D. 1149-1150). Prithivīdēva's own Amōḍā plates (two sets, dated A. D. 1149 and 1154 respectively) make no reference to this brilliant victory of his father. The absence of any reference to it, therefore, in the present plates does not necessarily prove that the victory was not attained before A. D. 1128.

The exact year of this victory cannot, however, be ascertained. The recently discovered plates of Pratāpamalla state that Ratnadēva defeated Chōḍagaṅga and Gōkarṇa. The date of this

¹ These are mentioned as Vatsa, Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnuvāna and Aurva in the Amōḍā plates of Jājalla-dēva II.; above Vol. XIX, p. 209.

² See below text p. 165, note 3.

³ These were probably the Sūrya-Siddhānta and the Brahmagupta-Siddhānta.

⁴ *Ind. His. Quart.*, Vol. IV, pp. 31 ff.

⁵ See e.g., The Ratanpur inscription of Prithivīdēva II. (above, Vol. I, 47 ff.); Seorinarayan inscription (A. D. 1165) (*P. R. A. S. W. C.*, 1904, pp. 52-3); Kharōḍ inscription of Ratnadēva III. (1181-82 A. D.) (above, Vol. XXI, p. 159). The recently discovered plates of Pratāpamalla (A. D. 1213-14), facsimiles of which have been kindly sent to me by Mr. L. P. Pandeya, also contain a reference to this victory.

⁶ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 1018.

⁷ Kielhorn first assumed this king to be Prithivīdēva III. but later on corrected himself by saying that he should be identified with Prithivīdēva II. (*Supplement to Northern List*, p. 17, f.n. 1). So Dr. Rajendralal Mitra's reading of the date (viz., V. S. 1207=A. D. 1149-1150) will have to be accepted, for we know that Prithivīdēva II. was ruling till 1154 A. D. at least (*cf.* his Amōḍā plates, second set, *Ind. His. Quart.*, Vol. I, pp. 412 ff.). The recently discovered plates of Pratāpamalla (dated Chēdi year 965=1213-14 A. D.) state that Ratnadēva III. was succeeded by Pratāpamalla.

event could be settled approximately if the latter king could be satisfactorily identified. But we have no means of doing so at present.¹ We also do not know the reason of this war. From the Korni plates of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga² dated Śaka 1034 (A. D. 1113) we learn that he reinstated the king of Utkala who had been deposed. The name of his enemy has not been mentioned, but it is likely that he was Jājalladēva I³, the ambitious father of Ratnadēva II., whose friendship was sought by the kings of Kanauj and Jējābhuktika and who had defeated Sōmēśvara and made the rulers of Kōsala, Āndhra, Khimiḍī, Vairāgara, etc., pay tribute.⁴ Jājalladēva seems to have tried to extend his empire in the east by deposing the king of Utkala. The latter's cause was however espoused by Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga who succeeded in reinstating him before A. D. 1113. This event must have occurred during the reign of Jājalladēva; for his Ratanpur inscription was incised in the Chēdi year 866 (A. D. 1114). It is likely that this defeat of Chōḍagaṅga occurred towards the end of his career, when he was engaged in making conquests in the north, west and south, and bringing the whole country lying between the Ganges and the Gōḍavari under his firm control as stated in an inscription dated A. D. 1135 at the Kūrmēśvara temple in the Ganjām District.⁵ It seems that this whirlwind campaign of Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga received a check in the west by the prowess of Ratnadēva II. The Malhār Stone inscription⁶ of the time of his grandson Jājalladēva II. describes him as 'a fierce cloud putting out the continuously raging flames of the enormous spreading fire of the valour of king Chōḍagaṅga'. The hostilities continued in the next generation also, for the Kharōḍ inscription mentions that Ratnadēva's son Prithivīdēva II. defeated Chōḍagaṅga's son Jaṭēśvara *alias* Madhukāmārṇava.⁷

It is also interesting to note the occasion for making the grant. It seems that the other astronomers of Ratnadēva's court were using older methods of astronomical calculations. Their predictions of eclipses were not accurate and did not, therefore, come true. Padmanābha, the grantee of the present plates, discovered the mistakes in the older methods and, making the neces-

¹ Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao has kindly drawn my attention to two records which mention a prince named Gōkarṇa. The first of these was incised at the temple of Madhukēśvara in Kalinganagara in Śaka 1013 (=1091-92 A. D.) and apparently mentions a king named Gōkarṇa 'who was expert in the *dikshā* of the extermination of the multitude of his foes'. It is, however, doubtful if this Gōkarṇa could be identified with the one mentioned in the plates of Pratāpamalla; for, Jājalladēva I., the father of Ratnadēva II., was reigning in 1114 A. D. (see his Ratanpur Inscription, above, Vol. I, pp. 32 ff.). Even supposing that Ratnadēva came to the throne in the very next year and the battle with Chōḍagaṅga and Gōkarṇa was fought in the same year (both of which suppositions are unwarranted), there would be a difference of 24 years between the date of the above record and Ratnadēva's victory over the Gaṅga king and Gōkarṇa. The second inscription is at Guḍiwaḍa in the Bimlipatam taluka of the Vizagapatam district. It refers to a grant by a certain Gōkarṇarāja who was a subordinate of Anantavarman. Even if we suppose that this Anantavarman is identical with Chōḍagaṅga, it does not seem likely that a poet would refer to Ratnadēva's victory over Chōḍagaṅga and his feudatory in the same breath. Besides, the record is not useful for our purpose, as it is undated. The Kharōḍ inscription (l. 7) seems to mention Jaṭēśvara as associated with his father Chōḍagaṅga in this war. If so, Gōkarṇa may have been another name of Jaṭēśvara. This would also make it probable that the battle was fought in the latter part of Chōḍagaṅga's reign. [There is nothing against the victory over the overlord and his feudatory or feudatories being mentioned together, cf. for example, the Tirumukkūḍal Inscription of Virarājendra (above, Vol. XXI, p. 241) where his victory over Āhavamalla and his feudatories is described.—Ed.]

² J. A. H. R. S., Vol. I, pp. 106-124.

³ The Kharōḍ inscription mentions Jājalladēva's victory over Bhujabala, the lord of Suvarṇapura (modern Sompur), who was evidently a feudatory of the king of Orissa.

⁴ Above, Vol. I, pp. 32 ff.

⁵ S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 1335; cf. J. A. H. B. S., Vol. VII, p. 57.

⁶ Above, Vol. I, p. 39.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 162.

sary *bīja-saṃskāras*, correctly calculated the time of the particular lunar eclipse.¹ The inscription gives full details of this eclipse, viz., that it occurred on Thursday at three-quarters of the night when the moon was in the asterism Rōhiṇī, on the Kārttika Paurṇimā in the year 880. This date must evidently be referred to the Chēdi or Kalachuri era in which nearly all the inscriptions of the Ratanpur dynasty are dated. According to Diwan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillay's *Indian Ephemeris* the Kārttika Paurṇimā in A. D. 1128 (corresponding to the Kalachuri year 880) ended at 50½ *ghaṭikās* (20 hours 10 minutes) after mean sunrise on 8th November. As stated in the present inscription, the week day was Thursday and the *nakshatra* Rōhiṇī which began at 13 hours 30 minutes after mean sunrise. There was also a lunar eclipse on that day. According to Mr. K. L. Daftari of Nāgpur who has kindly calculated for me the time of the eclipse, the moon was totally eclipsed between 48 *ghaṭikās*, 42 *palas* and 52 *ghaṭikās* and 54 *palas* after mean sunrise at Ratanpur. Three quarters of the night were over at Ratanpur at 52 *ghaṭikās* and 34 *palas* when, as shown above, the moon was totally eclipsed. The date and the time of the eclipse can thus be completely verified.

It would not be out of place to say here a few words about the engraver Kirtidhara. He is described in the present plates as the owner of Jamḍēra. From the two sets of plates of Prithivīdēva II. discovered at Amōdā and dated in the Chēdi years 900 (1149 A. D.) and 905 (1154 A. D.) respectively which were incised by Vatsarāja, son of Kirtidhara, we learn that the latter belonged to the Vāstavya family. Several members of this family were patronised by the royal house of Ratanpur. Thus the engraver of the earlier Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladēva I. (Chēdi year 866=1114 A. D.) whose name is lost, was born in the Vāstavya family. The Ghotia plates² of Prithivīdēva II. were also incised by Kirtidhara's son Vatsarāja. The latter's son Dharmarāja³ engraved the Amōdā plates of Jājalladēva II. (dated in the Chēdi year 912=1161 A. D.). This family produced some good poets also. Thus Dēvagana who composed the Ratanpur inscription of the time of Prithivīdēva II. and his father Ratnasimha who wrote the Malhār *prāśasti* in the reign of Jājalladēva II., Chēdi year 919 (=1167-68 A. D.), were born in the same family and had considerable poetic talent.

As for the geographical names occurring in these plates **Chimchātalāi**, the donated village, is probably Chichōlā (Long. 82-39, Lat. 22-10) on the left bank of the Hasdo in the Jānjgir *tahsil* of Bilāspur. It is only about 8 miles N.E. of Sarkhō. The district of **Anarghavalli** in which both Chimchātalāi and Jamḍēra were situated is roughly represented by the present Jānjgir *tahsil*. **Sōṇabhadra** from which the donee hailed cannot be satisfactorily

¹ Mr. K. L. Daftari, a noted astronomer of Nāgpur, conjectures that Padmanābha may have used for his calculation the *Rājamṛigāṅka* a *karāṇa* work ascribed to king Bhōja of Dhārā in which the *bīja-saṃskāras* seem to have been fixed after actual observation of planets. This work, though composed in Śaka 964 (=A. D. 1042), i.e., 86 years before the date of the present plates, may not have been known to the other astronomers of Ratnadēva's court. Padmanābha could, therefore, score an easy victory over them (cf. Sh. B. Dikshit's *History of Indian Astronomy* (Marāṭhī), second ed., p. 238).

² Mr. L. P. Pandeya has kindly drawn my attention to this reference. R. B. Hiralal considered the plates to be spurious (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIV, p. 41). They seem to be an incorrect copy of the original plates made subsequently by an ignorant engraver. Hence the numerous lacunæ in the text. Mr. L. P. Pandeya suggests that the date of the original, misread by the ignorant copyist as 1000, may have been 900 of the Chēdi era (=1143 A. D.). This falls in the reign of Prithivīdēva II. who, we know, was actually reigning till 1154 A. D. (*Ind. His. Quart* Vol. I, pp. 405 ff.). If the plates had been spurious the details about the names of the engraver, his father and village would not have tallied. Even if it is a forgery, we need not reject all historical information in it (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, p. 201).

³ The name of the engraver was not Chitrabhānu as R. B. Hiralal supposed (above, Vol. XIX, p. 210). The word Chitrabhānu, which occurs twice in the last verse, is used only to describe Dharmarāja. He was the Chitrabhānu (sun) to the lotus-bed in the form of the Vāstavya family, and was also Chitrabhānu (fire) to the fuel in the form of the helpless warriors of the enemy.

identified. It was situated in the well-known Madhyadēśa or Middle Country. I know, however, no place named Sōṇabhadra in the above territory.¹ Jāmbavat where the great-grandfather of Padmanābha fasted himself to death was a *tīrtha*. It is perhaps identical with the Jambutīrtha mentioned in the *Padmapurāṇa*,² where there was a Śiva-*linga* called Jāmbavantēśvara which was said to have been established by the lord of bears Jāmbavant who helped Śrī-Rāmachandra. From the context it appears to be somewhere in the vicinity of the river Śvabhramati (modern Sabarmati). Jāṃdōra the village which was owned by the engraver Kīrtidhara is probably identical with Jondra (Lat. 82-21 and Long. 21-44) on the bank of the Seonāth river just outside the south-west limit of the Jānjgir *tahsil*.

I edit the inscription from the original plates.

TEXT.

[Metres : Vv. 1, 9, 12, 13, 18 and 22-35 *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 2 and 6 *Upajūti* ; v. 3 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 4, 10, 14, 17 and 19 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 5, 7, 8, 11 and 15 *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 16 *Mālinī* ; v. 20 *Śālinī* ; v. 21 *Āryā*.]

First Plate.

- 1 सिद्धिरस्तु^३ श्री^४ नमो ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणे ॥ निर्माणं व्यापकं नित्यं शिवं परमकारणम् ।
भावग्राह्यं परं ज्योतिस्तस्मै सद्ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणे नमः ॥१॥
- 2 यदेतदग्रेसरमम्ब(म्ब)रस्य ज्योतिः स पूषा पुरुषः पुराणः । अथास्य पुत्रो
मनुरादिराजस्तदन्वयेभूद्भुवि कार्त-
- 3 वीर्यः ॥२॥ देवः श्रीकार्तवीर्यः क्षितिपतिरभवद्भूषणं भूतधात्रा हिलोत्थितादि-
वि(वि)भ्यत्तुहिनगिरिसुतास्त्रे(स्त्रे)-
- 4 षसन्तोषितेस(श)म् । दोर्दडाकांडसेतुप्रतिगमितमहावारिरेवाप्रवाहव्याधूतश्चपूजा-
गुहजनितरुषं रावणं यो
- 5 ववं(ववं)ध ॥३॥ तदंस(श)प्रभवा नरेद्रपतयः ख्याताः क्षितौ हैहयास्तेषामम्ब-
यभूषणं रिपुमनोविन्यस्ततापानसः । धर्मे-
- 6 ध्यानघनानुसंचितयशाः स(श)स्त्र(स्त्र)क्षतां सौख्यकलेयान्मन्त्रगुणान्वितः समभव-
त्श्री(क्ष्त्री)मानसौ कोकिलः ॥४॥ अष्टादशारि-
- 7 करिकुंभविमंगसिंहाः पुत्रा बभूवुरतिसौ(शौ)र्यपराश्च तस्य । तत्रायजो नृपवर-
स्त्रिपुरीश आशो(सी)स्त्रे(क्ष्त्री)षांश्च मंडलपतीन्

¹ The hill where the well-known river Son, a tributary of the Ganges, takes its rise is called Sōṇabhadra Cf. "The Son rises near the Narbadā at Amarakantak in the Maikal range, the hill on which its nominal source is located being called Sōṇabhadra or more commonly Sōnmunḍā", *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. XXIII, p. 76. Mr. K. N. Dikshit kindly writes to me that Sōṇabhadra is probably the same as Śravanabhadra to which two Brāhmaṇa donees of the Narwhal plates of Vākpati Muñja (V. S. 1038) belonged. Like the donee of the present plates, both of them belonged to the Vatsa-gōtra and had five *pravaras*. He thinks that Sōṇabhadra might be somewhere in Bihār on the bank of the Sōṇa or Sōṇābhadra.

² Cf. *Padmapurāṇa* (Venkatesvara Press ed., *Uttarakhaṇḍa*, *Adhyāya* 150). [*Skandapurāṇa* (sams ed., *Arbudakhaṇḍa*, *Adhyāya* 60), places Jambutīrtha in mount Arbuda.—Ed.]

³ Expressed by a symbol (cf. above, Vol. XVII, p. 352).

⁴ Expressed by the letter उ with a dot over it.

First Plate.

[illegible]

Second Plate.

[illegible]

- 8 चकार वं(बं)धून् ॥५॥ तेषामनू¹जस्य कलिंगराजः प्रतापवह्निचपितारिराजः ।
जातोन्वये द्विष्टरिपुप्रवीरः² प्रियान-
- 9 नांभोरुहपार्वणेंदुः ॥६॥ तस्मादपि प्रततनिर्मलकीर्तिकान्तो जातः सुतः कमल-
राज इति प्रसिद्धः । यस्य प्रतापतर-
- 10 णावुदिते रजन्यां जातानि पंकजवनानि विकासभांजि ॥७॥ तेनाथ चंद्रवदनो-
जनि रत्नराजो विखो(खो)पकारकरुणार्जि-
- 11 तपुण्यभारः । येन स्ववा(वा)ह्युगनिर्मितविक्रमेण नीतं यशस्त्रिभुवने विनिहृत्य
स(श)चून् ॥८॥ नोनल्लाख्या प्रिया त-
- 12 स्य शूरस्येव हि शूरता । तयोः सुतो नृपश्रेष्ठः पृथ्वीदेवो बभूव ह ॥९॥
पृथ्वीदेवसमुद्भवः समभवद्राजलदेवो(वो)सुतः शु-
- 13 रः सज्जनवांच्छि(छि)तार्थफलदः कल्पद्रुमः श्रीफलः । सर्वेषामुचितोर्चने सुमनसां
तोष्णद्विषत्कण्टकः पश्य(श्य)त्कां(क्ता)न्तरांगनां[ग]-
- 14 मदनो जाजलदेवो नृपः ॥१०॥ तस्यात्मजः सकलकोसलमंडनश्रीः श्रीमान्समा-
हृतसमस्तनराधिपश्रीः । सर्वच्चि[ती]-
- 15 श्वरसि(शि)रोविहितांङ्गिसेवः सेवाश्रुतां निधिरसौ भुवि रत्नदेवः ॥११॥
इलावर्त्तादिवर्षाणां मध्ये भारतमुत्तमम् । मध्यदेस(श)स्तु त-
- 16 चापि सोणभद्रोस्ति यत्र सः ॥१२॥ श्रीसोणभद्रनिर्यातः पंचार्षो वत्सगोत्रजः
म[ह]सोण इति ख्यातो बभूव द्विजवंस(श)जः ॥१३॥ यः ष-
- 17 त्कर्ककलाकक्षापकुस(श)लो निःसे(शे)षवेदागमज्ञाता ब्र(ब्र)ह्मसमः समस्तजनताल[ब्धा]दरः
सर्व्वदा । यः पंचास(श)दहानि चान्तसमये त्य-
- 18 क्तास(श)नं यां(जां)व(ब)वत्तीर्थे प्राणविमुक्तिमाप निपुणो वेदान्तसिद्धान्तगः ॥१४॥
प्रज्ञानिधिः सकलवेदविदां वरिष्ठो नानाविधाध्व-

Second Plate.

- 19 रविधानविसु(श)हवु(वु)द्धिः । तस्यात्मजो द्विजसमाजविभूषणश्रीः सोमेश्वरः समभ-
वद्भुवनप्रसिद्धः ॥१५॥ श्रुतिसमुचित-
- 20 शीलस्तत्त्व(च)विज्ञागमानां निरवधिगुणरासि(शि)र्व्यासकल्यो(ल्यो) ज³नेषु । इह हि
जगति शापानुग्रहाभ्यां समर्थस्तदनु च कुल-

¹ The vowel of नू is lengthened for the sake of metre.

² Read द्विष्टरिपुप्रवीरप्रियानना⁰ as in all other plates of the kings of Ratanpur.

³ The second letter of this word appears more like *cha* than *va*; but *va* and *cha* appear almost like each other in this inscription (cf. *chaiva*, l. 34 *infra*) and other records of the period (cf. above, Vol. XIX, p. 75, l. 23). Besides *यांचवत्* makes no sense. I, therefore, propose to read *जांबवत्तीर्थे*. *y* is substituted for *j* here as in *वायपेय* in l. 33 *infra*.

⁴ After *ja* a superfluous *danda* was engraved and scored out.

- 21 चंद्रस्तस्य स्रुवर्भूव ॥१६॥ प्रज्ञामंगलवेश्मविस्त्रयकराभ्यासः समस्तागमे पुण्यात्मा
मश्वकर्म्मधर्म्मनिपुणः प्रावीण्यवान्ज्यो(ह्यो)-
- 22 तिषि । तस्याशेषगुणाकरस्य मतिमान्पुत्रः पवित्रात्मनो ब्र(व्र)ह्माभ्यासनिवेशपेस(श)-
लमतिः श्रोपद्मनाभोभवत् ॥१७॥ यः सिद्धा-
- 23 न्द्वयं वेत्ति होरासागरपारगः । संहितासा(शा)स्त्रतत्त्व(त्त)ज्ञो वाराहमिहिरोपमः
॥१८॥ तेनासी(शी)त्यधिकाष्टवत्स्रस्यते जाते दिने गोःपते-
- 24 : कार्त्तिक्यामथ रोहिणीभसमये रात्रेश्च यामत्रये । श्रीमद्रत्ननरेश्वरस्य सदसि ज्योति-
र्विंदामग्रतः सर्व्वासमनुष्णगोः प्रव-
- 25 दता तीर्ष्णा प्रतिज्ञानदी ॥१९॥ इंदोर्भुक्तिं कुर्वतायं तदानीं सर्वादायैर्म्हंड-
लेनर्घवर्ष्यां(इयाम्) [*] राज्ञा तुष्टेनाथ चिंचातलाईग्रामस्तस्मै सा(शा)-
- 26 सनीकृत्य दत्तः ॥२०॥ तपति न तपनः प्रखरो मरुदपि नो वाति शासन
तीव्रः । ब्र(व्र)ह्मस्वस्तेयपातकमतिस(श)यभीमं समालोच्य ॥२१॥ चंद्रा-
- 27 क्नीं गगने यावत्तपतो लोकसाक्षिणौ । तावदव्याहतं स्वेयाद्दानमेतन्महीपतेः ॥२२॥
द्विजाश्च नावमन्तव्यास्त्रैलोक्यस्थितिहेतवः ।
- 28 देववत्पूजनीयाश्च दानमानार्चनादिभिः ॥२३॥ यैः कृतः सर्व्वभक्षीग्निरपेयश्च
महोदधिः । क्षयी चाप्यायितः सोमः की न नस्ये(श्ये)-
- 29 व्यकोप्य तान् ॥२४॥ सं(शं)खं भद्रासनं च्छ(क्त)वं गजास्त्र(श्व)वरवाहनम् । भूमि-
दानस्य चिह्नानि फलं स्वर्गः पुरंदर ॥२५॥ व(व)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राज-
- 30 भिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥२६॥
यथाप्सु पतितं स(श)क्र तैलवि(वि)न्दुर्व्विसर्पति । एवं भूमिस्ततं दानं स-
- 31 स्ये सस्ये प्ररोहति ॥२७॥ भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णा(ह्णा)ति यस्तु भूमिं प्रयच्छति ।
उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्मणौ नियतौ स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥२८॥ पूर्व्व-
- 32 दत्ता(त्तां) द्विजातीनां यद्वाद्रत्न पुरंदर । मही(ह्यो) महीभृतां स्ने(श्रे)ष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो
हि पालनम् ॥२९॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधराम् ।
- 33 स विष्टायां¹ कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥३०॥ अस्त्र(श्व)मेधसहस्रे(स्त्रे)ण
वाय(ज)पेयस(श)तेन च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्त्ता न सु(श)-
- 34 ध्यति ॥३१॥ षष्टिं वर्षेसहस्रा(स्रा)सि स्वर्गं वसति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानु-
मन्ता च तान्येव नरकं व्रजेत् ॥३२॥ इष्टं दत्तं हुतं चैव य-

¹ Read विष्टायां.

- 35 किंचिद्धर्मसंचितम् । अर्द्धगुलेन सीमाया हरणेन प्रणस्य(श्य)ति ॥३३॥ न
विषं विषमित्याहुर्ब्र(व्र)ह्मस्वं विषमुच्यते । विषमेकाकिनं ह-
- 36 न्ति ब्र(व्र)ह्मस्वं पुत्रपौत्रिकम् ॥३४॥ तस्यामेवानर्घवक्ष्यां श्रीमत्कीर्त्तिधरः सुधीः ।
जंडिग्रामनाथीयं लिलिखाच्चरसो(शो)भनम् ॥३५॥

No. 27.—TIRODI PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II.

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

These plates were found some years ago at the Manganese mine of **Tirōḍi**, eight miles south-east of Katangi in the Bālāghāt District of the Central Provinces. Mr. T. A. Wellsted, Manager of the Manganese mines, Mansar, who is keenly interested in the history of the Vākātakas, came to know of their existence in April 1934 and secured them with great difficulty from a Manganese contractor of Tirōḍi. The plates have since been deposited in the Nāgpur Museum. I am obliged to Mr. Wellsted for permission to edit them.

They are **four copper-plates**, each measuring 7·7" by 3·8". The first and the fourth are inscribed on one side only and the other two on both the sides. Their ends are neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims; still, the inscription is in a perfect state of preservation. The last plate bears in five places marks of indents from the blows of a pickaxe. About 2·1" from the proper right margin, the plates have a roundish hole 4" in diameter for a circular ring to connect them. The ends of this ring, which is 3·3" in diameter, were flattened off so as to overlap and were joined with a pin. They were so secured when the plates were sent to the Nāgpur Museum for cleaning and taking ink impressions. On this ring slides a small circular band about 7" broad and 3·8" in circumference, to which is secured with a rivet a flat circular copper **seal** 2·7" in diameter. The ring and the seal thus closely resemble those of the other plates of Pravarasēna II. The weight of the plates is 126 *tolas* and that of the ring, the band and the seal is 18½ *tolas*.

The plates were slightly corroded when first found, but have since been cleaned by Mr. M. A. Saboor, Coin Expert of the Nāgpur Museum. Each inscribed side of the first two plates contains six lines, that of the third five lines and that of the fourth only four lines. The seal contains the **legend** inscribed in four lines. The letters are deeply cut, but do not show through on the reverse. The size of the letters varies from 25" to 4".

As in the other plates of Pravarasēna II., the **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet. They closely resemble those of the Siwani plates of Pravarasēna II. and of the Riddhapur plates of his mother Prabhāvatiguptā. The boxes at the top of the letters are not scooped out hollow as in the Chammak plates, but appear in the form of small squares as in the other plates of Pravarasēna II. The letters *j*, *b*, *n* and *l* and the subscript form of *m* appear without a box at the top; cf. *Vājapēya* and *Bṛihaspati* in l. 1 and *amala-jala* in l. 5. The box is not completely incised at the top of a few letters; see, for instance, *n* in *atyanta* l. 7; *chi* in *kēnachi*-l. 23; *ya* in *yaś=cha* l. 24. The *rēpha* at the top of letters is, in some cases, shown with, and in others without, a box (cf. *chāturovaidya* l. 19, *Āptōryyāma* l. 1). The length of medial *i* is denoted either by a ringlet in the curve representing short *i* as in *pramāṇi*-l. 29, or by another curve turned in the opposite direction as in *trayōvīṣē* l. 31. Medial *u* is shown in three ways—

with the *u* sign (1) turned to the left, cf. *-ānugāmī* l. 23; (2) turned to the right, cf. *bhuñjatō* l. 23 and (3) shown by a hook to the right bending downwards, cf. *kuryyāma* l. 26. The *mātrās* for medial *ē*, *ai*, *ō* and *au* are generally added at the top, but occasionally at the middle or even the foot of a consonant; cf. *Āsvamēdha* l. 2 and *m-aiśvaryya* l. 15. The medial *ō* is shown in two ways (1) with a *mātrā* on each side of a consonant as in *shōḍaśy-* l. 1, and (2) with a curve on the right side only, cf. *bhuñjatō* l. 23. The medial *au* is everywhere bipartite; cf. *dauhitra* and *Gautamī* l. 5, etc. *p* and *d* are not clearly distinguished; cf. *shōḍaśy-* l. 1 and *samuditasya* l. 8; so also *v* and *ch*; cf. *Bṛihaspatisava* ll. 1-2; and *chatur-Āśva*° l. 2; *t* appears with a loop in *-vastavya* l. 18 and *dattā[m*]* l. 29; *th* is generally distinguished from *dh* by a ringlet on the base line; cf. *thi* in *Prithivisēna* l. 10 with *dhi* in *Yudhishtira* l. 9; but contrast *tha* in *Athērvvāna* l. 18. Independent *b* which is distinguished from *v* appears in two forms: (1) the rectangular one as in *paribādha-* l. 25 and (2) that derived from *p*, cf. *Bṛihaspati* l. 1; the subscript *b* is only in one place distinguished from *v*, viz., in *Kōśambakhaṇḍa* l. 17; but cf. *āyur-bbala-* l. 15 and *-udvahana-* l. 4. A vowel-less consonant is written in a smaller form below the line; cf. *drishṭam* l. 1 and *samrāt* l. 2. The *visarga* is denoted by two dots or hook-shaped lines; the former signify also a double mark of punctuation in ll. 13, 24, 26, etc. The completion of the record is indicated by a long horizontal stroke.

The language is Sanskrit. Except the legend on the seal and the usual imprecatory verse towards the close, the whole record is in prose. As regards **orthography**, we may note the absence of external *sandhis* and the use of short for long vowels in several places. Such orthographical mistakes as *bhantikva* for *bhaktitva* l. 8, *kēnachivyāghāta* for *kēnachid-vyāghāta* l. 23 are evidently due to the carelessness of the engraver. The *visarga* is wrongly dropped in *gunai samuditasya* l. 8 and changed to *cha* in *bhaṭāch=chhātrās=cha* l. 14. The *anusvāra* appears superfluous after its change to a nasal in *Vākātakānām=Mahārāja* l. 9, etc. The dental *n* is written for *ṇ* in *kārunya* l. 7. *ḷ* is used instead of the vowel *ḷi* in *aklipt-ōpaklipta* ll. 22-23, and *ri* for the vowel *ṛi* in *drishṭam* l. 1 and *dushkritam* l. 30. On the other hand *ṛi* occurs for *ri* in *sarvvakṛiyābhiḥ* l. 24. The consonant following *r* is reduplicated in some cases, e.g., *ārjjava* and *śauryya* l. 7, *abhi-rarddhamāna* l. 8; similarly *v* coming after *anusvāra* in *sā[m*]vvatsarē* l. 31. The consonant preceding *y* is reduplicated in *Bhāgīratthyāmala* l. 5 and *sarvv-āddhyaksha* l. 13. The *upadhmanīya* occurs in ll. 10, 16 and 29. The final consonant is wrongly dropped in *Narattaṅgavāri-sthānā* l. 1, *dvādaśyā* l. 31, etc.

The plates were issued from the place **Narattaṅgavāri** by **Mahārāja Pravarasēna II.** of the **Vākāṭaka** dynasty. Their date is recorded in words as the **twelfth day of the dark fortnight of (the month) Māgha in the twenty-third (regnal) year.** Like almost all other complete Vākāṭaka plates¹ they open with the word *drishṭam* which must be taken, as was subsequently done by Kielhorn, to mean 'seen' and was evidently intended to signify the genuineness of the inscription.² The genealogy of Pravarasēna II. is copied almost *verbatim* from his previous plates, his maternal grandfather **Chandragupta II.** being called **Dēvagupta** as in the other records. The plates record the grant of the village **Kōśambakhaṇḍa** to a Brāhmaṇa named **Varuṇāryya** of the Harkkari-gōtra³ and the Atharvavēda, who was a resident of **Chā[m*]drapura**⁴ and proficient in the three Vēdas. The donated village was bounded on the east by Jamali, on

¹ The only exception is the Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatiguptā. It does not appear in an odd Vākāṭaka plate which has recently come to my hands; but I have reason to think that, like the Bālāghāt plates of Prithivishēna, the inscription was left incomplete.

² Above. Vol. IX, pp. 268-9.

³ The gōtra is named Harkkari in the *Gōtra-pravara-nibandha-kadamba* (Lakshmī-Vēṅkaṭēśa Press, Bombay, 1917).

⁴ See below, Text, p. 172, note 20.

the south by Varddhamānaka, on the west by Mṛigasima and on the north by Mallakapēdhaka. As the order is addressed to the officers and soldiers in the western division (*aparapaṭṭa*) of Bēn-nākaṭa, it is evident that the donated village was situated in it. The grant was written by the chief minister (*Rājyādhipā*) Chamidāsa¹ himself.

We know that the Dudia plates of Pravarasēna II. were issued on the tenth day of the fourth fortnight of the rainy season² in his twenty-third regnal year. If Kielhorn's view³ that the date refers to the bright half of the month Bhādrapada is accepted, the present charter, though issued in the same regnal year, would be later than the Dudia plates by about four months and a half.⁴ One other record of the Vākātakas (*viz.*, the incomplete Bālāghāt plates of Prithivishēṇa)⁵ has been found in the Bālāghāt district. This is, however, the first inscription of Pravarasēna II. to be discovered so far to the east of his kingdom. As stated below, the donated village Kōśambakhaṇḍa is to be identified with Kōśambā about 6 miles to the south-west of Tirōḍi, the find-spot of the present plates in the same district. The present inscription shows, therefore, that the country under the direct rule of Pravarasēna II. extended to the east as far as South Kōśala (modern Chhattisgarh) and comprised the modern districts of Bālāghāt, Bhandāra and Chānda of C. P. These districts were evidently included in ancient Vidarbha. In the Sanskrit play *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa, who is now generally taken to be a contemporary of Pravarasēna II., the country of Vidarbha is shown to be divided by the river Varadā (modern Wardhā).⁶ Bēnnākaṭa of the present plates seems to have been one of the districts of Eastern Vidarbha.

Almost all other charters⁷ of Pravarasēna II. are issued from Pravarapura which was evidently his capital. The place Narattaṅgavāri from which the present plates were issued seems, therefore, to be a holy place (*tīrtha*)⁸ where he had gone to bathe in the month of Māgha and where he granted the present charter. The month of Māgha is specially praised in the Purāṇas as very sacred and various legends are narrated in them to evince the great merit of bathing at a holy place during that month.⁹ The eleventh day of the dark half of this month, when *pūrṇimānta*, which is called *Shattilā ēkādaśī* and is observed as a fast-day, is highly glorified in the *Padmapurāṇa*.¹⁰ Pravarasēna may, therefore, have gone to the Narattaṅgavāri *tīrtha* to bathe on the *Shattilā ēkādaśī* day and have made the present grant on the following day before breaking his fast. We may note in this connection that a similar grant was made by his mother Prabhāvati-guptā¹¹ at the holy place of Rāmagiri (modern Rāmték near Nāgpur) on the twelfth day of the bright half of Kārttika, evidently after observing a fast on the preceding Prabōdhiṇī *ēkādaśī*.¹²

¹ [Or Navamidāsa, see below p. 174, n. 10.—Ed.]

² Above, Vol. III, p. 262.

³ Above, Vol. III, p. 260.

⁴ Kielhorn has evidently adopted the *pūrṇimānta* scheme in calculating that date. The same is followed above. The interval between the two dates would be 5½ months if the *amānta* system is adopted in both the cases.

⁵ Above, Vol. IX, p. 267.

⁶ Cf. *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act V, *śl.* 13.

⁷ The only exception is the Siwani Copper-plate Inscription of Pravarasēna II. (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 243 ff.) in which, however, no place of issue is mentioned. The Patna Museum plate also, being the third plate of the set, does not naturally mention any place of issue.

⁸ Narattaṅgavāri cannot be taken to be the site of his camp during a campaign; for there is no word like *vāsakāt* added to it.

⁹ कामवेनुर्वा कामं विनामचित्तु विनितम् । माचक्षात ददातीह तद्वत्सर्वमनीरयान् ॥ *Padmapurāṇa* (Vāṇkaṭēśvara Press ed.), *Uttarakhaṇḍa*, *Adhyāya* 124, *śl.* 64-5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, *Uttarakhaṇḍa*, *Adhyāya* 43, *śloka* 5 ff.

¹¹ Her Poona plates also, though issued from the then capital Nandivardhana, were granted on a similar occasion.

¹² This day is referred to by Kālidāsa in his *Mēghadūta* (*śl.* 115).

As the present grant was not made at the capital, the expression *vaijayānti dharmadhānā* 'at the victorious office of justice' which regularly occurs in all other charters of Pravarasēna II. issued from Pravarapura are omitted in the present plates.¹ This grant was made by Pravarasēna II. for increasing his *dharma* (religious merit), life, strength and prosperity, for securing his well-being in this world and the next, as well as for augmenting the religious merit of his mother (*mātuh puṇy-ōpachayārtham*). This last expression occurs in none of the complete charters of Pravarasēna II.² As he mentions only his mother and not his father also, who was long since dead, it is likely that she was living at the time of the present grant and may have accompanied him to the holy place. From the description in her Riddhapur plates³ she seems to have been an old lady at the time of that grant which was made only four years before the issue of the present plates.

As for the geographical names that occur in these plates, Narattaṅgavāri was probably a *tīrtha* as suggested above. I know, however, of no place in C. P. and Berār, which exactly corresponds to this name. It may, however, be taken to mean Vāri near Narattaṅga on the analogy of Nāgapura-Nandivardhana (Nandivardhana near Nāgpur) in the Deeli plates⁴ of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III. In that case it can be identified with Wāri also called Bhairavgarh, now a deserted village on the river Bān or Wān in the extreme north-west of the Akot Taluk (Akola District, Berār). It is only 18 miles to the west of the old fort of Narnālā, which probably represents ancient Narattaṅga, and is still regarded as a holy place.⁵ Kōsambakhaṇḍa, the donated village, is evidently Kōsambā (79°39'×21°38') about 6 miles to the south-east of Tirōḍi where the plates were found. Bēnnākāṭa was evidently a district⁶ comprising the territory round the modern village Beni, 35 miles to the east of Kōsambā in the Gondia Tahsil of the Bhandāra District, which may have been its headquarters. The district seems to have been divided

¹ The expression *dharmādāhikaraṇē* which occurs in another connection in l. 26 is evidently a mistake for *dharmādāra-karaṇē*. See below, Text, p. 173, n. 18.

² A similar expression *sva-puṇy-ōpachayārtham* is found in both the Boona and Riddhapur plates of Pravarasēna II. See below, Text, p. 173, n. 18.

³ *Sāgarasūtra-śāstra-dīpa-pūtra-pātrā* l. 11, J. P. A. S. E. (N. S.), Vol. XX, p. 58.

⁴ Above, Vol. V, pp. 188 ff. Even now there are several such place names current in Berār, e.g., Bārsi-Tākli (Tākli near Bārsi). As there are now, and were probably in ancient Vīdarbha, several villages named Wāri or Wārkhēḍ, Narattaṅga may have been prefixed to define the position of the place intended.

⁵ See *Akola District Gazetteer* (1910), p. 395. At this place there are ruins of a fort called Bhairavgarh with an image of Kāl Bhairava. It may be noted in this connection that an ancestor of Pravarasēna II. (viz., Rudrasēna I.) was a devout worshipper of Svāmi-Mahābhairava. The writer in the *Gazetteer* identifies Wāri with ancient Varāhatīrtha (*Ibid.*, p. 382) but this identification does not seem to be correct. Varāhatīrtha was, no doubt, a very important *tīrtha* on the Payōshnī. It is highly praised in the *Mahābhārata* (*Vana-parvan*, *Adhyāya* 88, śl. 6-9, Bombay ed.) which describes the visit of the Pāṇḍavas to it in the course of their *tīrthayātrā* (*Adhyāyas* 120 and 121). But from the description given in the *Payōshnī-māhātmya*, the *Nalochampū* [Nirṇayasāgar ed. (1903), p. 174] and other Sanskrit works it appears to be the source of the Payōshnī (modern Pūrnā) and must, therefore, be identified with Barāhpur about a mile to the north-east of Bhainsdehi (77°38'×21°39') in the Betul District of C. P. where the Payōshnī takes its rise. The present Wāri is far away from the source of the Payōshnī. The *Payōshnī-māhātmya* refers to the Bāṇa river (on which Wāri is situated) as a tributary of the Payōshnī but makes no mention of a Varāhatīrtha on it.

⁶ Bhōjakāṭa of the Chammak plate is another district name ending in *kaṭa*. The *Mahābhārata* (Bombay ed.), *Sabhaparvan*, *Adhyāya* 31, mentions both Bhōjakāṭa and Tālākāṭa as southern countries. In śl. 10-12 of that *Adhyāya* Sahadēva is said to have vanquished the lords of Bhōjakāṭa and Vēṇākāṭa. The latter is evidently a mistake for Vēṇākāṭa. In reply to my inquiry Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, General Editor of the *Mahābhārata* which is now being published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, kindly informs me that most of the Grantha Mss. collated at the Institute show either the variant Vēnnākāṭa or Bēnnākāṭa in the 12th śloka of that *Adhyāya*.

into two parts by the river: Waingangā, the ancient Bēnnā.¹ Kōsambā which now represents ancient Kōsambakhaṇḍa is only 20 miles from the Waingangā and was evidently included in the western division (*aparapatta*) of Bēnnākāṭa. Of the villages that formed its boundary, only one can now be traced. Jamālī which bounded it on the east is probably modern Jāmuntolā, 3 miles to the east of Kōsambā. Chāndrapura, where the donee was living is probably identical with Chāndpur which lies only twelve miles to the south-east of Kōsambā and contains an old fort.² The other villages cannot be identified.

I edit the inscription from the original plates.³

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 द्रिष्टम् [।*] नरत्तङ्गवारिष्णुना[त्*] । अस्मिन्निष्टोमाप्तोर्यामोक्थ्यषोडश[ति]रात्रवा-
 ःक्रेम्यहृत्कृतिस-
 2 वसाद्यस्त्रचतुरश्चमेधयाजिनः⁵ विष्णु(ण्)वृहदसगोत्रस्य सम्राट्⁶ वाकाट्कनाम्नहारराजश्री-
 3 प्रवरमेवस्य स्यतोः सूनोऽङ्गल⁷सुसिद्धहामैस्वभक्तस्य ।⁸ अंशभाससदिवेशि-
 4 तशिवलिङ्गोदहनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवंशानां पराक्रमाधिसत्तमासी-
 5 रत्यह[स]मृज्जमूर्तु¹⁰भिन्निकान्धश्चतुर्विधानां कृत्वासुव्रतीभक्त्यासदैर्घ्यस्य गौतमी-

¹ The river is called Vēṇā in the *Mahābhārata* (*Sabhāparvan*, *Adhyāya* 31), *Padmapurāṇa* (*Svarga Khanda*, *Adhyāya* 39, *śl.* 30-32; Bombay ed.), *Matsya-purāṇa* (*Adhyāya* 114, *śl.* 27-28) and Vēṇyā in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* (*Adhyāya* 57, *śl.* 24). Vēṇvā in the *Vāyupurāṇa* (*Ad.* 45, *śl.* 102) and Vinnā in the *Kūrma* (*Ad.* 47, *śl.* 32) seem to be derived from Vēṇyā (See Pargiter's *Tr. of the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*, p. 300). Bēnnā in Bēnnākāṭa of the present plates and Bēnnā in Bēnnā-kārpāra-bhāga of the Siwani plates are evidently corrupt forms of Sanskrit Vēṇyā and refer to the Waingangā. The Bēnnā-kārpāra-bhāga of the Siwani plates seems to be a subdivision (*bhāga*) of Bēnnākāṭa. It cannot be located in modern Berār. Fleet's suggestion that Kōllapura in that charter is 'possibly Kōlāpoor twenty-one miles south of Elichpur' (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 244) is manifestly impossible. Khōlāpur (for, that is its correct name) was founded by Khōlēśvara, a well-known general of the Yādava king Siṅghapa. As stated in his Āmbē inscription, it is on the bank of the Payōshpī (Pūrṇā); see G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan* (Marāṭhi), p. 64. I would identify Kōllapura (in the Bēnnākārpāra-bhāga) of the Siwani plates with modern Koolpā about 36 miles to the east of the Waingangā in the Amgaon Zamindari. Karañjaviraka which was a village (and not a river as supposed by Fleet) in its vicinity is represented by modern Kāranjā, a mile to the N.-E. of Koolpā. For viraka at the end of a village name see Vyāghraviraka in the Khāmakhād plates (above, p. 96).

² Kielhorn's suggestion about the identification of Chandrapura mentioned in the Dudia plates with the abovenamed Chāndpur cannot be accepted; for, as he has himself admitted, none of the other villages mentioned in those plates can be identified in its vicinity. That Chandrapura is probably identical with Chandur in the Amraoti district of Berār, as shown by R. B. Hirālāl. (See his *List of Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, second ed. p. 93.)

³ The accompanying plates have been prepared from photographs kindly taken by Mr. M. A. Saboor of the Nagpur Museum.

⁴ Read दृष्टम्.

⁵ Here and in many places below, the rules of *Sandhi* have not been observed.

⁶ Read सखाजी.

⁷ The box at the top of न् is not complete.

⁸ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

⁹ Read मागीरत्यमल⁹. The box of *ma* is not connected with the vertical stroke of the letter.

¹⁰ Read मूर्तुभिन्निकान्धश्चतुर्विधानां. One other adjective द्वायश्चमेधवश्चतुर्विधानां which occurs in all other plates is omitted here.

6 पुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सूनीः³

Second Plate ; First Side.

7 अत्यन्तमाहेश्वरस्य सत्यार्ज्यवकाश्व⁴श्रीर्यविक्रमनयविमयभाहात्म्यविमल⁵

8 ग⁶तभन्तिक⁷धर्माविजयित्वमनोनैमस्य⁸दिगुचै[:*] समुदितस्य वर्षगतमभिवर्द्धमा-

9 नकोशद⁹ षडसाधनसन्तानपुत्रपौत्रिणः शुधिष्ठिरहृत्तेर्वाकाटकानी¹⁰भाहा-

10 राजश्रीपृथिविसेनस्य¹¹ सूनी[:] भगवतश्चक्रपाणे¹²प्रसादोपार्जितश्रीसमुदयस्य

11 वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सूनीः महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्त-

12 सुतायां¹²मभावतिगुप्तायासुत्यस्य¹³ वाकाटकानाम्महा-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

13 राजश्री¹⁴प्रवरसेनस्य वचना[त्*] । वेङ्काटस्य अपरपट्टे¹⁵ अस्मत्सन्तकास्त्वर्वा-
ल्लक्षनियोग-

14 नियुक्ता आम्नासंचारिकुलपुत्राधिकृताः भटाच्छा¹⁶चाश्च व्युषितपूर्वमयाभाया¹⁷आप-
यितव्याः [I*]

15 विदितमस्तु वः यथेहास्माभिरात्मनो धर्मायुर्व्वलमै¹⁸श्रृर्यविहृदये इहामुचहि-

16 तार्थ¹⁹ मातु¹⁹पु¹⁹स्त्रीपचयार्थ¹⁹ जमस्या अपरपार्श्वे¹⁹ वर्द्धमानकस्य उत्तरपार्श्वे

17 मृगसिमस्य पूर्वपार्श्वे¹⁹ मङ्गकपिचकस्य दक्षिणपार्श्वे¹⁹ कोशम्बस्वच्छं¹⁹ नाम ग्रामः

18 चाह²⁰चांद्र²⁰पुरवस्तव्यभयेर्वा²¹हर्करि²²सगोत्रवरुणार्थ्याय त्रिवेदाय दत्तः²³

¹ Read श्री°.

² Read सूनीः. ³ The subscript न is not complete.

⁴ Read काश्व°.

⁵ Read जैमल. None of the Vākāṭaka plates discovered so far gives this expression correctly.

⁶ The engraver first incised न्न and then corrected it into न्त. Read पाचनतमसिल as in the Siwani and Dudia plates.

⁷ The engraver seems to have wrongly joined the right hand horizontal stroke of the dagger of क to the vertical stroke of ल.

⁸ Read नैमस्यदि°.

⁹ The box-head of द is not completely incised.

¹⁰ The *anusvāra* is superfluous.

¹¹ Read पृथिवीसेनस्य.

¹² The *anusvāra* is superfluous.

¹³ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

¹⁴ Read श्री°.

¹⁵ It is difficult to say if this is a sign of *Vicarga* or of double punctuation. It is superfluous in either case.

¹⁶ Read भटाच्छाचाश्च.

¹⁷ Read विमुक्तपूर्वमयाश्रय° as in the Siwani and Chammak plates.

¹⁸ Read °वल्लैश्रय°.

¹⁹ The lower horizontal stroke of p is not engraved.

²⁰ For other cases of the wrong omission of an *anusvāra* see अस्मिन् l. 28 and साव्वहरे हाहसा in l. 31 below.

²¹ Read आयर्व्वश्च. Instead of affixing the stroke denoting the length to a, the engraver wrongly prefixed it to the following letter.

²² The *gotra* is named Hārkarī in the गोत्रप्रवरनिबन्धकद्वय (published by the Vēṅkateśvara Press).

²³ This word is superfluous.

TIRODI PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II.

i

2
3
4
6

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a continuation of the inscription on the previous plate.

viii

20
22

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a continuation of the inscription on the previous plate.

iii

8
10
12

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a continuation of the inscription on the previous plate.

iiib

24
26
28

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a continuation of the inscription on the previous plate.

iiib

14
16
18

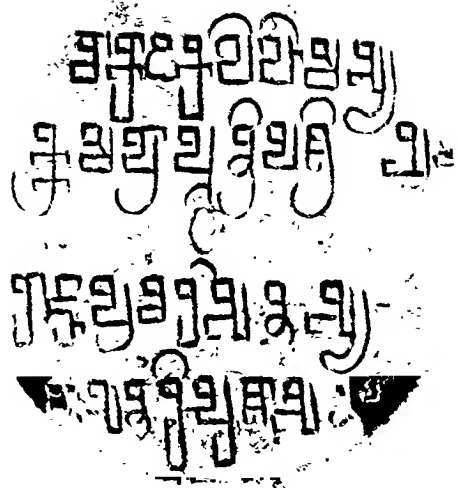
Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a continuation of the inscription on the previous plate.

iv

30
32

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a continuation of the inscription on the previous plate.

Seal.



Actual size.

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 19 अपूर्वदत्ता¹ उदकपूर्वमतिष्ठः² [।*] उचितांश्चास्य पूर्वराजानुमताचा(तांश्चा)तु-
र्व्वेद्यग्रामम-
20 र्यादापरिहा³ रान्वितरामः⁴ स्तद्यथा अकरदायिः⁵ अभटच्छत्रपावेशः⁶ अपारंपरगो-
21 वलिवर्हः[*] अपुष्यचिर⁷सन्दोहः अचारासनचर्माङ्गारः अलवनक्षिण⁸क्रे-
22 शिखनकः सर्वविष्टिपरिहारपरिहृतः⁹ सनिधिः⁹ सोपनिधि[*] सक्ति(क्ल)मो-
23 पक्ति(क्ल)मः आचन्द्रादित्यकालीयः पुत्रपौत्रानुगामी भुञ्जतो न केनचिद्व्याघात¹⁰

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 24 कर्त्तव्यः सर्व¹¹क्रियाभिस्संरचितव्यपरिवर्धयितव्यश्च ॥ य¹²द्यास्मच्छासनमग[ण]य-
25 मानस्वस्यामपि परिबाधा¹³त्कुर्यात्कारयित¹⁴ वा तस्य ब्राह्म¹⁵खेर्व्वे¹⁶दितस्य सदृष्टं निग्र-
26 हं कुर्याम ॥ अस्मि¹⁷च धर्माद्वि(धि)¹⁸करणे अतीतानेकराजदत्तां संचिन्तन¹⁹परि
27 पालन²⁰त्त²¹तपुस्यानुकीर्त्तनपरिहारार्थं क²²र्त्तयामः संकल्पाभिद्योग²³परा -
28 क्रमोपजिताव्(न्व)र्त्तम(मा)नानात्रापयामः एष²⁴तत्कालप्रभविष्णुगौरवा-

¹ Read अपूर्वदत्ता.² The box-head of ए is not complete.³ The Chammak plates read चातुर्व्वेद्यग्राममर्यादान्(म्) and the Dudia plates चातुर्व्वेद्यग्राममर्यादा-परिहारार्थम्(म्). The Poona plates have चातुर्व्वेद्यास्यपरिहारान्.⁴ Read वितरामसदयया.⁵ Read अकरदायी.⁶ Read अभटच्छत्रपावेशः. The reading in the present plates is however found in all the Vākātaka plates discovered so far.⁷ Read अपुष्यचिरसन्दोहः.⁸ Read अलवनक्षिण^o as in the Chammak and Dudia plates. Only the Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā read *kiṣṇa* in place of *kinna*. The Siwani and Riddhapur plates read *kinva*. An unpublished copper-plate found at Rāmtek reads अलवनक्षिणो क्रेचिखनक.⁹ The *visarga* is not complete.¹⁰ Read केनचिद्व्याघातः.¹¹ Read सर्वक्रियामि-. The engraver has not completed the subscript *va*. Again, he first wrote *ka* and afterwards changed it into *kri*.¹² The box-head of य is not completely engraved.¹³ Read परिबाधा कुर्यात्.¹⁴ Read कारयेहा.¹⁵ The subscript म is not completely engraved.¹⁶ The subscript वा is not completely engraved.¹⁷ Read अस्मिंच.¹⁸ The Chammak, Riddhapur and Dudia plates read धर्मादिरकरणे. The Siwani plates read धर्माधिकरणे.¹⁹ Read अतीतानेकराजदत्तसंचिन्तन^o.²⁰ Read परिपालनं.²¹ The engraver first wrote *ka* and then thought of changing it into *kri*.²² Read कीर्त्तयामः.²³ Read संकल्पाभिद्योगपराक्रमोपजितान्. The Riddhapur plates read संकल्पाभिद्योगपराक्रमोपजितान् and the Dudia plates संकल्पाभिद्योगपराक्रमोपजितान्. Other Vākātaka plates have nothing corresponding to this.²⁴ Read एषत्काल^o. The Siwani plates have एषत्काल^o. The Dudia plates read as in the present text.

Fourth Plate.

29 ऋ(ऋ)विष्णुविज्ञापयामः [I*] व्यासगीतवान् ; सत्त्वप्रज्ञावीर्यः [I*]
स्वदत्ताम्बर-

30 दत्ताम्बा(म्बा) यो हरेत वसुन्धराः¹ [I*] गवान्² तसहस्र³ ।³ हन्तुर्हरेति दुष्कृतं⁴ तं ।

31 सा⁵वत्सरे त्रयोविंशे⁶ । माघवहुलपक्षे द्वादश्या⁷ ।⁸ आश्व

32 स्वयं⁹ राजाधिकृतन¹⁰ चमि(?) वमि)दासेन लिखित¹¹मिति ।

The Seal.

1 वाकाटकललामस्य

2 ऋ(ऋ)मप्राप्तमिषमित्रियम्¹² [I*]

3 रात्रः [I*] प्रवरसेनस्य ।¹³

4 शासनं रिपुशासनम्¹⁴ [II*]

TRANSLATION.

The Plates.

(Lines 1-13.) Seen. From the place Narattaṅga-vāri. By the order of the illustrious *Mahārāja Pravarasēna* (II) of the *Vākātakas* who was born of *Prabhāvatī-guptā*, the daughter of the illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja Dēvagupta* and who is the son of the illustrious *Mahārāja Rudrasēna* (II) of the *Vākātakas*, who¹⁵ acquired an abundance of prosperity by the grace of the Divine (Lord) *Chakrapāṇi* (Vishṇu) (and) who was the son of the illustrious *Mahārāja Prithi vishēna* (I) of the *Vākātakas*, who¹⁶ was intensely devoted to (the god) *Mahāśvara*, who¹⁶ was endowed with truthfulness, straightforwardness, compassion, heroism, valour, political wisdom, modesty, high-mindedness, intelligence, devotion to (worthy persons), and with the state of being a righteous conqueror,¹⁷ purity of mind and such other good qualities, who¹⁶ had sons and grandsons and a continuous supply of treasure and army which had been accumulating for a hundred years, who¹⁶ conducted himself like *Yudhisṭhira* and who¹⁶ was the son of the illustrious *Mahā-*

¹ Read वसुन्धराम्.

² Read, गवान् शत°.

³ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

⁴ Read दुष्कृतम्.

⁵ Read संवत्सरे.

⁶ Read त्रयोविंशे.

⁷ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

⁸ Read द्वादश्याम्.

⁹ Read स्वयं.

¹⁰ Read राज्याधिकृतेन. [The reading may be *Rājyādhikṛiṭa-Nayamīdāsēna*. This official is apparently identical with *Sēnāpati* Namidāsa of the Dudia plates—Ed.]

¹¹ Read लिखितेति ।.

¹² Read नृपत्रियः.

¹³ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

¹⁴ Metre—*Anuṣṭubh*.

¹⁵ I.e., *Rudrasēna* II.

¹⁶ I.e., *Prithivishēna* I.

¹⁷ Cf. *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra* (Second ed. by Shama Sastri), p. 382.

rāja Rudrasēna (I) of the *Vākātakas*, who was the son of Gautamīputra, who¹ was intensely devoted to *(the god)* Svāmi-Mahābhairava, who was the daughter's son of the illustrious *Mahārāja Bhavanāga* of the *Bhārasīvas* whose royal family was created by Śiva who was greatly pleased by *(their)* carrying the *liṅga* of Śiva like a load placed on *(their)* shoulder and who were besprinkled on their head with the pure water of the *(river)* Bhāgīrathī (Ganges) that had been acquired by their prowess, and who¹ was the son of the son of the illustrious *Mahārāja Pravarasēna* (I) of the *Vākātakas*, the *Samrāt* (Emperor) who performed *Agnishṭōma*, *Aptōryyāma*, *Ukthya*, *Shōḍaśin*, *Atirātra*, *Vājapēya*, *Bṛhaspatisava*, *Sādyaskra* and four *Āśvamēdhas* and who was of the *Vishṇuvṛddha-gōtra*.

(Lines 13-14)—Our officials of noble birth, who are employed by the order of the General Superintendent² and who exercise their authority by *(our)* command³, *(our)* soldiers and umbrella-bearers⁴ in the western division (*aparapaṭṭa*) of *(the district)* Bēnnākata should be directed by the following command which is already well-known to them :—

(Lines 15-19)—Be it known to you that in order to increase our religious merit, life, power and prosperity, to secure our well-being in this world and the next and also to augment the religious merit of *(our)* mother, the village named *Kōśambakhaṇḍa* which lies to the west of Jamālī, to the north of Varddhamānaka, to the east of Mṛigasima and to the south of Mallakapēdhaka is bestowed here with *(a libation of)* water as a grant not previously made upon *Varuṇāryya* of the *Atharvaveda* and the *Hakkari-gōtra*, who has *(mastered)* the three *Vēdas* and is a resident of Chāddha(? Chāmdra)pura.⁵

(Lines 19-26)—And we grant⁶ the following exemptions from restrictions as *(are)* customary and *(are)* incident to a village belonging to Brahmins proficient in the four *Vidyās*, *(as)* approved by former kings, *viz. (it is)* not to pay taxes; *(it is)* not to be entered by soldiers and umbrella-bearers; *(it does)* not entitle *(the State)* to the customary cows and bulls;⁷ *(it does)* not *(also entitle it)* to *(the royalties on)* flowers and milking, to pasturage, hides and charcoal, to the purchase and digging of salt and fermenting drugs; *(it is)* to be exempt from forced labour; *(it carries)* with it the right to hidden treasures and deposits, to major and minor taxes (*kṛipta* and *upakṛipta*);⁸ *(it*

¹ I.e., Rudrasēna I. This is how all previous editors and historians have taken these expressions. The construction in that case seems to be faulty; for *Gautamīputrasya* should have been placed after *Pravarasēnasya sūnōḥ* and the word *putrasya* following *Gautamīputrasya* should have been dropped. Again the epithet *atyanta-svāmi-Mahābhairava-bhaktasya* should have followed *dauhitrasya*. (See the position of *atyanta-māhēśvarasya* below.) As the expressions stand, they seem to qualify *Gautamīputrasya*. But in that case the successor of *Pravarasēna* I. would be his great-grandson as *Gautamīputra* did not evidently come to the throne. (Note the absence of the expression *Vākātakānām-mahārājasya* in his case.) Besides, there is no reason why the name of *Pravarasēna's* son should have been omitted.

² This *Sarvādhyakṣa* seems to be the same as *Bājyādhipati* mentioned at the end of this record.

³ Lit. who move about, etc.

⁴ I have followed Fleet in the translation of *chātṛas* but they seem to correspond to the *chāṭas* in later records and may be a class of irregular soldiers.

⁵ See above, text, p. 172, note 20.

⁶ Lit. confer.

⁷ The right to demand the first calf of a cow is perhaps referred to here. The next three expressions exempt the grantee from certain taxes in kind which were paid to the State. Cf. *Manusmṛiti*, *Adhyāya* VII, śl. 130-132. There is no reason why these rights should be reserved for the villagers against the grantee as supposed by Fleet (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 242, ft. note 1).

⁸ *Kautilya Arthaśāstra* (second ed. by Shama Sastry, p. 60) gives *kṛipta* in the sense of fixed assessment. The expression *kṛipta* and *upakṛipta* correspond to the terms *bhāga* and *bhōga* which occur in the almost contemporary records of the kings of Śarabhapura and *udumbara* and *uparikara* in those of later kings (cf. Altekar—*The Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, pp. 213-216). *Kṛipta* may therefore be taken to mean land tax and *upakṛipta* to some petty taxes in kind.

is) to be enjoyed as long as the sun and the moon (*will endure*) ; (*it is*) to follow the succession of sons and son's sons. None should cause an obstruction while (*the donee or his successor*) is enjoying it. (*This grant*) should be protected and increased by all means. And whosoever, disregarding our command, shall himself cause or make others cause the slightest obstruction, upon him, when complained against by the Brāhmaṇas, we will inflict punishment and fine.

(Lines 26-29)—In showing thus (*our*) regard for religion we, in order to avoid mention of the meritorious deeds already done, do not refer to our care and protection of the grants of many past kings ; (*but*) we issue this order to (*the kings of*) the present who have been vanquished by our resolve, attack, (*or*) valour¹ and make this request to (*the kings of*) the future out of regard for such as will be in power in times to come.

(Lines 29-32)—And the following verse sung by Vyāsa is to be regarded as an authority on this point :—Whosoever shall confiscate land that has been given by himself or another, incurs the sin of the slayer of a hundred thousand cows.

On the **twelfth day of the dark fortnight of (the month) Māgha**, this order is written by the Chief Minister **Chamidāsa**² himself.

The Seal.

This is the enemy-chastizing command of King **Pravarasēna**, the ornament of the **Vākā-ṭakas** who has attained royal fortune by inheritance.

No. 28.—TWO BHOR STATE MUSEUM COPPER PLATES.

By PROF. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., D. LITT., BENARES.

The accompanying copper plates, which are being published here for the first time, are two of the exhibits in the State Museum at Bhore, capital of Bhore State in Poona district. Nothing definite is known about their find-spots. But since the village granted in both the charters can be identified with a village about six miles to the east of Bhore, it is very likely that they may have been found not far from that town. Mēhērbān Srimant Bābāsāheb Pantsachiv, Rajasāheb of Bhore, very kindly handed over the plates to me for being published in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

A

BHORE STATE MUSEUM PLATES OF DHARAVARSHA DHRUVARAJA ; SAKA 702.

The plates are three in number. The size of each plate is 8·7" by 4·9", thickness being about ·12". The edges have been raised into rims in order to protect the characters engraved. At the centre of the left side of each plate, about ·3" from the edge, there is a circular ring hole, about ·7" in diameter, but the ring, which once held these plates together, has been lost along with the seal that had soldered its ends. The weight of the plates is 190 *tolas*.

The inscription is written on the inner sides of the first and third plates and on both the sides of the second. On the outer side of the first plate there are seven or eight letters scribbled at a

¹ Here three types of feudatories seem to have been referred to, viz., (1) those who submitted to Pravarasēna when they came to know of his resolve to vanquish them ; (2) those who submitted on being attacked and finally (3) such as had been conquered by valour.

² [See p. 174, n. 10.—Ed.]

much later period, resembling Marāṭhī characters of the 15th century. These are divided into two lines ; the first of these seems to contain the word *śāsanapatraṃ* and the second one *dhapunya*. It is clear that a subsequent owner of the plates has engraved these letters to enlighten his successors as to the contents of the document.

The mason has evenly distributed the contents of the record over the four sides at his disposal, each side having about 15 or 16 lines. The average number of letters per line is about 39.

The plates are in a fair state of preservation. The surface of the record is slightly damaged in a few places on the third plate, but the entire record is perfectly legible in the original. The engraving of individual letters is fairly good and rarely slipshod. The charter, however, was not revised and there are numerous examples of inadvertent omissions ; cf. *tatā* for *tatāna* (l. 19), *-saṃkshōdakshaṃ* for *-saṃkshōbha-dakshaṃ* (l. 20), *gmē* for *jagmē* and *vinda-rāja* for *Gōvinda-rāja* (l. 24), *Mālasādayaḥ* for *Mālavēśādayaḥ* (l. 29), etc. Even wrongly repeated letters or words are not crossed out ; cf. *-karakata* for *-karaṭa* (l. 7), *-parāchya-parāchya* for *-parāchya* (l. 31), etc.

The characters of the plates are Nāgarī and are similar to those found in the Talegāon plates of the donor's father¹ and the Paithān plates of his son.² The record contains no numerical figures ; the stop *t* occurs a few times (e.g., in lines 13, 56, 58, etc.), and is indicated by the normal form of the letter *ta* with a short horizontal line under it.

The language of the record is Sanskrit throughout. There are, however, a number of *sandhi* mistakes like *bhūpaśuchi-* for *bhūpaś=śuchi-* (l. 2), *°t=srēyō* for *°ch=chhrēyō* (l. 61). The formal part of the record is in prose, the rest of it is in poetry with the exception of the opening letter *ōm*.

With respect to orthography, the following points may be noted. *V* is written throughout for *b*. In a conjunct of which *r* is the first member the second member is usually, but not invariably, doubled. A nasal is preferably indicated by an *anusvāra* even when followed by a dental ; even *m* at the end of the verse or half-verse is usually indicated by an *anusvāra*.

The genealogical verses in this charter are already known to us from other copper plates of the dynasty. The genealogy commences with **Gōvinda I**, his father **Indra Pricchhakarāja** and grandfather **Dantivarman**, who figure in some other records,³ being passed over. As the charter was issued by **Dhruva**, a cousin of **Dantidurga**, within 25 years of the death of the latter, it naturally does not omit **Dantidurga's** name from the genealogy as is done in some other records.⁴ Some of the later records of the dynasty⁵ omit the name of **Dantidurga** and ascribe the overthrow of the **Chālukyas** to **Kṛishṇa I**. The present charter, which is issued by a son of **Kṛishṇa I** himself, gives to **Dantidurga** alone the credit of overthrowing the **Chālukyas**. Probably neither of these statements is entirely correct. It is more probable that **Kṛishṇa I** merely completed the work of his brilliant nephew **Dantidurga**. Documents like the **Rādhapur** plates of **Gōvinda III**, which omitted the name of **Dantidurga** probably because he was a collateral, had no option but to ascribe the entire credit of the defeat of the **Chālukyas** to **Kṛishṇa I**. The real fact, however, was that the major portion of the work of annihilating the **Chālukya** prestige and power was done by **Dantidurga** ; his uncle **Kṛishṇa** merely completed what his nephew had left unfinished.

The charter describes the specific exploits of **Dantidurga** in the usual way, but in the case of **Kṛishṇa I** the description of his bravery is general, the overthrow of **Rāhappa** being the only

¹ *Ante*, Vol. XIII, pp. 275 ff.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 105 ff.

³ E.g. *Daśavatāra* cave inscription, *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. V, p. 87 ; *Sanjān* plates of **Amoghavarsha I**, *ante*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 235 ff.

⁴ E.g. *Kāpaḍwanj* grant of **Kṛishṇa II**, *ante*, Vol. I, pp. 52 ff. ; *Bagumrā* plates of **Indra III**, *ante*, Vol. IX, pp. 24 ff.

⁵ *Wāṇi-Diṇḍori* and *Rādhapur* plates of **Gōvinda III**, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 157 ff., *ante*, Vol. VI, pp. 242 ff. ; *Kāpaḍwanj* plates of **Kṛishṇa II**, etc.

specific feat mentioned. Rāhappa was apparently a powerful ruler, for we are told that Kṛishṇa could assume the imperial title only after defeating him. It is a great pity that we should still be unable to identify this potentate.¹

Vv. 21 and 22 of this charter, describing the war between the grantor and his elder brother Gōvinda II, occur only in one other charter, viz., the Paiṭhān plates of Gōvinda III.² Some important defects in the readings of v. 22 as given in that charter can be corrected with the help of the present grant. Dr. Kielhorn had restored with some hesitation the 2nd and 3rd *pādas* of this verse as follows:—

[*bhrā*]tur=da[*tta*]-raṇē vijitya ta[ra]sā paśchāt=tatō bhūya[ta]h (bhūyasaḥ ?)

prāchy-ōdīchya-[p]arāchya-pāsya³ (parān=vyapāsya ?) cha lasat-Pāli-dhvajair=[bhū]shitam.

The last word in the second *pāda* of this verse in our charter is *bhūpatē*, which has to be corrected into *bhūpatin*.⁴ Obviously *bhūpatin* and neither *bhūyataḥ* nor *bhūyasaḥ* is the word intended by the poet. The line so read now shows that Dhruva first defeated his brother and then attacked his allies afterwards. Our charter further shows that the real reading of the third line is intended to be *prāchy-ōdīchya-parāchya-yāmya-vilasat-Pālidhvajair=bhūshitam*. To judge from his emendation and translation, Kielhorn seems to have been inclined to construe the opening words of this line with the kings defeated by Dhruva. It is however clear from the above reading that the compound describes the Pālidhvaja. Dr. Pathak has pointed out on the authority of the *Ādi-Purāṇa* of Jinasēna⁵ that the Pālidhvaja consisted of four groups of 1,080 flags with particular signs arranged in the four quarters of the army. It can therefore be very fittingly described as glittering in the north and south and east and west as l. 3 of the present verse does in our charter.

When did the revolution take place which put Dhruva on the throne? This question cannot be answered very confidently as yet. So long the earliest reference to the war between the two brothers was found in the Daulatābād plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa, issued in 793 A.D.⁶ So we could only say that the war took place sometime before 793 A.D. and after 772 A.D., the latest known date for Kṛishṇa I.⁷ The present charter, issued early in January 781 A.D., now contains the earliest reference to this war. So we can conclude that the war was over by the end of 780 A.D. when Dhruva had succeeded in establishing himself firmly on the throne.

¹ For possible conjectures on this point see Altekar, *The Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 43.

² *Ante*, Vol. III, pp. 105 ff.

³ Kielhorn's reading *pāsya* is not justified by his own facsimile, which shows clearly that the correct reading in that plate also is *yāmya*. The way in which the letters *mya* in *niśamya* and *syā* in *tasy-ātmajō* are written in l. 6 of the Paiṭhān plates will make it clear that we have to read *yāmya* and not *pāsya* there also.

⁴ [This correction is not necessary. The correct reading of this *pāda* in the Paiṭhān Plates is *chāturdanta-raṇē*. *bhūpatēh* and the same reading is intended in the present grant also. The context shows that the term *chāturdanta* which occurs also in the inscriptions of Vishnukunḍin rulers and in the Khamkhed Plates of Pratāpaśīla (above, p. 95) has been used in the sense of *chaturanga-senā*. I cannot trace the word in this sense in Sanskrit lexicons but Mr. N. L. Rao draws my attention to its use in this sense in the Kanarese *Pampa-Bhārata*, a work of A.D. 941 by Pampa (Ch. XI, prose following verses 36 and 57), and *Pampa-Rāmāyana*, a Jain work of about 1100 A.D. by Nāgachandra alias Abhinava Pampa (see Chs. IX, verse 12 and XIII, v. 96) and also in the following verse from an unpublished Kanarese inscription in the Bijapur Museum:—*Atana rājya-sriḡe nikētanam=ene tanna bhuja-balaṁ māntra-balaṁ chāturdanta-balaṁ vikhyātige Bhāyila-chamūpan=āstroyan=ādam* ||. This verse may then be translated as follows: 'When the Vallabha (i.e., Gōvinda II) did not make peace through conciliatory measures then, the great and mighty lord (*mahēnō vibhuḥ*, i.e., Dhruva) forthwith defeated him in a battle in which the army consisted of the four divisions and, thereafter, obtained the entire sovereignty of the king, decorated with the emblems of Pālidhvajas glittering in the east, north, west and the south.' This interpretation would show that there is no reference to the defeat of the allies of Gōvinda II. in this verse as Prof. Altekar thinks.—Ed.]

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 104.

⁶ *Ante*, Vol. IX, pp. 195 ff.

⁷ Supplied by the Bhāṇḍak plates, *ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 121 ff.

How much earlier he had ascended the throne is a question, the answer of which is beset with difficulties. The Pimpri plates of Dhruva,¹ issued in 775 A.D., mention Dhruva as the reigning emperor, but in the Dhulia plates, issued in December 779 A.D.,² we find Gōvinda II described as the reigning emperor, and a son of Dhruva making a land grant apparently with the authority of Gōvinda II. Can we get over the resulting chronological discrepancy by holding that the Dhulia plates are spurious? Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has recently drawn attention to one very important circumstance tending to show almost conclusively that the Dhulia plates are spurious.³ He points out that the composer of the Dhulia plates of Gōvinda II was well acquainted with the two verses beginning with *Tasy-ānujaḥ śrī-Dhruvarājanāmā* and *Jātē yatra cha Rāshtrakūṭa-tilakē*, which describe Dhruva as the imperial ruler. He further points out that these verses could have been composed by the court panegyrist only when Dhruvarāja had become king. 'How could these verses', says he, 'which must have been composed during the reign of Dhruvarāja alone, find a place in the Dhulia grant which refers itself to the reign of his predecessor?'

Under normal circumstances, this argument would have been quite decisive to prove that the Dhulia plates are spurious. But there are certain special circumstances which materially affect its cogency. From the Dēoli and Karhād plates of Kṛishṇa III we know that sensual pleasures made Gōvindarāja careless of the kingdom and that entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother Nirupama, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose.⁴ It is clear from this that while Dhruva was ostensibly governing the kingdom as regent for his elder brother, he was secretly trying to strengthen his position as the *de facto* sovereign. One of the steps to be taken for this purpose would be to issue land grants in his own name as the reigning emperor, ignoring his elder brother altogether. The issue of the Pimpri plates was a result of this policy of gradual and surreptitious usurpation. Since Dhruva was the *de facto* sovereign administering the kingdom for his brother, it is quite possible that not only the two verses beginning with *Tasy-ānujaḥ* and *Jātē yatra*, but all the verses in the Pimpri plates describing the greatness of Dhruva as the emperor, could well have been composed by the court panegyrists of his faction as early as 775 A.D., when Gōvinda was only a sleeping emperor, facilitating the kingdom to slip into the hands of his brother, whom he had appointed regent.

Verse 11 of the Daulatābād plates states that Dhruva took over the administration entrusted to a stranger by his brother and assumed the royal authority in order that sovereignty may not deviate from the family. It would appear that Gōvinda soon saw through the game of Dhruva when *inter alia* he began to issue charters like the Pimpri plates in his own name. He removed him from the headship of the administration and entrusted it to some one else, who did not belong to the Imperial family. For a time Gōvinda seems to have asserted himself, and v. 21 of our charter shows that Dhruva thought it prudent to follow a policy of conciliation for some time. Apparently he offered outward submission and he and his son were confirmed as local governors. The Dhulia plates were issued by a son of Dhruva in 779 A.D. at a time when he thought it prudent not to openly flout the authority of his brother. Hence they mention Gōvinda as the reigning emperor, but at the same time contain a verse in eulogy of Dhruva.

Though outwardly at peace, the brothers were heading to an inevitable war. From the Daulatābād plates (v. 11) we find that owing to his licentious habits Gōvinda's administration deteriorated and his feudatories rebelled against him. This offered a golden opportunity to Dhruva to rebel openly against his brother, ostensibly for the purpose, not of getting the throne for himself,

¹ *Ante*, Vol. X, pp. 81 ff.

² *Ante*, Vol. VIII, pp. 182 ff.

³ Above, pp. 102 f. I am indebted to Prof. Bhandarkar for kindly placing at my disposal a copy of the first proof of his paper.

⁴ *Ante*, Vol. V, p. 193, v. 10; Vol. IV, p. 232, v. 11.

but of retaining the empire for the family. Gōvinda made an alliance with the kings of Mālava, Kāñchī, Vēngi and Gaṅgavāḍī. Dhruva was however a skilful general; l. 2 of v. 22 of our charter shows that he first defeated Gōvinda before the latter could get help from his allies and then attacked and drove them out. The decisive battles of this war were very probably fought in the year 780 A.D. In 779 A.D. Dhruva was still recognising the sovereignty of Gōvinda as the Dhulia plates show. Before the beginning of January 781 A.D. he had defeated both his brother and the latter's allies as the present charter shows.¹

We have seen already how the occurrence of the verse *Tasy=ānujaḥ* in the Dhulia charter is not sufficient to pronounce it as spurious. It is no doubt carelessly written, but that circumstance alone is not sufficient to call it spurious, as pointed out by the late R. B. Venkayya, the then editor of the *Epigraphia Indica*.² It is further to be noted that *Makarasaṃkrānti* did take place on the 10th *tithi* of the bright half of Pausa of Śaka Samvat 701 expired, as the Dhulia charter asserts.³ Forged grants are rarely correct in the astronomical details of their dates. Further, if the donee of the Dhulia plates had set out to get a forged charter, investing him with the ownership of the village Rakkhula, he would naturally have seen to it that the donor mentioned was a well-known king like Dhruva or Gōvinda III rather than an obscure prince like Karkka Pratāpaśīla, who never ascended the throne. As it is, we do not know the name of this son of Dhruva from any other source.⁴

If we assume that the Dhulia plates are spurious and that Dhruva had ousted his brother as early as 775 A.D. (when the Pimpri plates were issued), the reign of Gōvinda will be of not more than three years. Nay, it may be even shorter, for his father Kṛishṇa I may well have ruled for some months after June 772 A.D., when the Bhāṇḍak plates were issued. Now during this short period of three years we shall have to assume that :—

1. Kṛishṇa I ruled for some weeks or months, and then died.
2. Gōvinda II ascended the throne peacefully and himself governed for some time, during which period he defeated a king named Pārijāta and relieved (or perhaps devastated) the city or province of Gōvardhana⁵ (Daulatābād plates, v. 10).
3. He then appointed Dhruva as his regent who soon began to intrigue secretly against his brother (Karhād plates, v. 10).
4. Gōvinda then detected his brother's ambition and removed him from the headship of the administration, entrusting it to a stranger (Daulatābād plates, v. 11).
5. Dhruva then submitted for some time to his brother, seeking to win him over by peaceful means (vv. 21-2 of this charter).
6. Gōvinda spurned aside these overtures and formed a confederacy with the kings of Vēngi, Kāñchī, Mālava, and Gaṅgavāḍī.

¹ [But see p. 178, n. 4.—Ed.]

² *Ante*, Vol. X, p. 82, n. 1.

³ *Ante*, Vol. VIII, p. 183, n. 2.

⁴ [The dates given in spurious records need not always be incorrect. But there are other considerations for declaring a record spurious (see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 202 f.). In the case of the Dhulia plates, there is, first of all, the chronological difficulty; secondly, the name of the donor, viz., Karkka Pratāpaśīla referred to as the son of Dhruva has not yet been verified from any other source; thirdly, the characters of the plates are indifferently formed and at least a few of them have forms which we find in the records of a later period. For example, the letters *ja*, *tha*, *sa*, etc., do not resemble those found in the grants of Dhruva or even Gōvinda III while they are similar to those occurring in the records of Amōghavarsha (Sanjān plates, above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 243 ff.) or Kṛishṇa III. (Dēoli plates, above, Vol. V, pp. 192 ff.). All these points taken together with those already mentioned by Pathak and Bhandarkar, give rise to a suspicion about the genuineness of the Dhulia plates in spite of the arguments adduced by Prof. Altekar in favour of their genuineness.—Ed.]

⁵ Above, Vol. IX, p. 194 and note 1.

7. The two brothers then openly fought with each other, and Dhruva got the throne after defeating his brother (vv. 21-2 of the present charter).

I think that three years is too short a period for these events to take place.¹ And yet we shall have to suppose that they did take place during that short period if we are to assume that the Dhulia plates are spurious, and that Dhruva was already a full-fledged king, when the Pimpri plates were issued in 775 A.D. I have already shown how there is yet no satisfactory evidence to show that the Dhulia plates are spurious. We shall have therefore to conclude that (1) the Pimpri plates were issued by Dhruva when he was only a *de facto* and not a *de jure* emperor; (2) that he was later removed from the headship of administration when Gōvinda detected his treachery; (3) that he then tried to win over his brother by conciliation, Dhulia plates being issued at a time when he thought it impolitic to openly flout the authority of his brother; (4) that no amicable settlement could be arrived at between the two brothers; and Gōvinda formed a confederacy against his brother which the latter defeated completely during the year 780 A.D.; (5) that Dhruva became a *de jure* emperor only towards the close of 780 A.D., our present charter being the first one known so far, to be issued by him as a *de jure* emperor.

The donee of this charter is Vāsudēvabhaṭṭa who was the son of Durgabhaṭṭa, and was famous for his proficiency in the interpretation of the Vēdas and Vēdāṅgas (*sāṅg-ōpāṅga-vēd-ārtha-tatva-vidushē*). The present charter would show that Karhāḍa, which is the same as Karāḍ in Satārā district, was a centre of scholarship where Vedic exegesis was also given attention to. Karāḍ was undoubtedly a famous centre of education in the Rāshṭrakūṭa period, for we find many of the donees of Rāshṭrakūṭa grants hailing from that town. This, for instance, is the case with the donees of the Sāmangaḍ plates of Dantidurga,² the present grant of Dhruva and the Sanjān charter of Amōghavarsha I.³

The village granted to Vāsudēvabhaṭṭa by this charter was Laghuviṅga, bounded on the north, east, south and west by the Nīrā river, Śrīmāla town, Layana-giri and Bṛihad-Viṅga respectively. Laghu-Viṅga is further stated to be situated in Śrīmāla-vishaya. Śrīmāla is obviously the same as Shirvaḷ, a large village in Bhore state, about 32 miles from Poona on the Poona-Satara road. Laghu-Viṅga village seems to be either the same or a portion of the village Viṅga, about 3 miles to the west of Shirvaḷ. From the information kindly supplied to me by the Bhore government, and by Mr. R. S. Phadnis of Bhore, I find that Viṅga is bounded on the north, east, south and west by the Nīrā river, Shirvaḷ village, Nēṇāḍī hill and Vaḍagaon respectively. The northern and eastern boundaries of Viṅga are identical with those of Laghu-Viṅga; Nēṇāḍī hill also is clearly the same as Layana-giri, the present name being the vernacular form of Layanaḍri. The eastern slope of Nēṇāḍī hill has several caves of the Buddhist type, majority, however, being now in a dilapidated condition. One of them still possesses a *stūpa*, about 12 feet in height. The caves are obviously earlier than our charter and were clearly the cause of the name which the hill bore in the 8th century. To the west of modern Viṅga is the village Vaḍagaon. It is quite possible that this Vaḍagaon is Bṛihad-Viṅga of our charter. The derivation of the name Vaḍagaon, a popular village name in Mahā-rāshṭra, from the presence of a Vaṭa tree in the village, is due to popular etymology. It would appear that Bṛihad-Viṅga in course of time came to be known simply as Bṛihad-grāma in contradistinction to Laghu-Viṅga and was later changed into Vaḍagaon.

¹ [The events occurring during this period have also been discussed by Prof. Bhandarkar where he has given a different explanation (see above, pp. 103 f.).—Ed.]

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 111 ff.

³ *Ante*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 235 ff.

TEXT.

[Metres : *Anushūbh*, vv. 1, 26-7, 29, 31 ; *Vasantatilakā*, vv. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 15 ; *Upajāti*, vv. 4, 19 ; *Gīti*, v. 7 ; *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, vv. 10, 17, 20, 21, 22 ; *Āryā*, vv. 11-14, 23, 25 ; *Sragdharā*, vv. 16, 18 ; *Indravajrā*, 24, 28, 30 ; *Pushpīāgrā*, v. 32.]

First Plate.

- 1 ओ [१*] स वीव्यादेधसा धाम यं(यन्)नाभिकमलं कृतं^१(तम्) [१*] हरस्य
यस्य का(का)तेंदुकलया कमलंकृतं(तम्) [१ १*] आसीद्दि(हि)ष-
- 2 ति(त्ति)मिरमुद्यतमण्डलाग्रो ह्रु(ध्व)स्ति नयनं(यन्)भिमुखो रणशर्व्वरीषु [१*] भूप-
श्रु(पश्रु)धिविधुरिवास्त(स)दिगंतकीर्त्ति-
- 3 गीर्विंदराज इति राजसु राजसिंह(हः) [॥ २*] दृष्ट्वा चमून(म)भिमुखी
सुभटाट(टाट)हासामुना(ना)मितं सपदि येन रणे-
- 4 पु नित्यं [१*] दष्टाधरेण दधता भुकुटिं ललाटे खड्गं कुलच हृदयश्च
निजश्च श(स)त्वं(त्वम्) [१ ३*] खड्गं करार्था(या)न्मुखत-
- 5 स शोभा मानो मनस्तस(स)ममेव यस्य [१*] महाहवे नाम निशम्य
सद्यस्त्रयं रिपूणां विगल^२त्यकाण्डे [१ ४*] त-
- 6 स्यात्तजो जगति विभ्रुतदीर्घकीर्त्तिरार्त्तार्त्तिहारिह्रिविक्रम[धाम*]धारी [१*] भूपस्त्रि-
विष्टपकृता(नृपा)नुकृति(तिः) कृत-
- 7 ज्ञः श्रीकर्कराज इति गोत्रमणिवर्(र्व)भूय [१ ५*] तस्यो(स्य) प्रार्भिन्न(प्रभिन्न)-
क^३कट(कट)श्च(श्च)तदानि(न)दंतिदं^४तप्रहारहृदि-
- 8 रोलि(लि)खितंश(तांश)पौठः [१*] क्षमापः [१*] क्षितौ क्षपितश्चुरभूत(त्त)नूजः सद्राष्ट्रकूट-
कनकाट(टि)रिवेंद्रराजः [॥ ६*]
- 9 तस्योपार्जितमहसस्तनयश्चतुर्दधिवलयमालिन्याः [१*] भोक्ता भुवः शतक्रतुसदृशः
श्रीद(दं)-
- 10 तिदुर्गाराजोभूत् [॥ ७*] काश्चीशकेरलनराधिपचोर(ल)पाण्ड्यश्रीहर्षवचटविभेद-
विधानदत्तं(त्तम्) [१*] कर्णाटकं प(व)लमचिंत्यम-
- 11 जेयमन्त्रै(मन्त्रै)भृ(भृ)त्यै(त्यैः) कियद्विरपि यः सहसा जिगायः(य) [॥ ८*]
आ(अ)सूविभंगमगृहीतनिशातशस्त्रं(स्त्र)मश्रांतमप्रतिह-
- 12 तात्रमपेतयद्वं(द्वम्) [१*] यो वलं(लं)भं श(स)पदि दण्ड[व*]लेन जित्वा राजा-
धिराजप[र*]मेश्वरतामवाप [॥ ९*] आ सेतोर्विपुलो-

^१ The *anuvāra* mark being shallow has not come out in the ink impression.

^२ There is a natural depression here on the plate surface which looks like an *anuvāra* mark.

^३ There is a natural depression after *ka* which looks like a *ra*.

^४ The *anuvāra* over द is shifted to the right of the letter owing to its proper space being taken by the letter स्त्रि above it.

BHOR MUSEUM COPPER PLATES OF DHRUVA DHARAVARSHA.

[illegible][illegible]

34	34
36	36
38	38
40	40
42	42
44	44
46	46
48	48

[illegible]

- 13 पलावलिलस[ज्ञो*]लोर्मिमालाजलादाप्रातीयकलंकितामलगिलाजालात्तुषाराचलात् [1*]
आ पूर्वाप-
- 14 रवारिराशिपुलिना(न)प्रातप्रसिधा(हा)वनेयेनेयं जगति(ती) ख(स्व)विक्रमव(व)लेनैकात-
पत्रीकतं(ता) [॥ १०॥*] तस्मिदि(स्मिदि)-
- 15 वं प्रयाते वल्लभराजे क्षतप्रजावा(वा)धः [1*] श्रीकर्कराजसूनुर्महीपतिः कणरा-
जोभूत् [॥ ११॥*] यस्य
- Second Plate ; First Side.*
- 16 स्वभुजपराक्रमनिशे(शे)षीच्छा(क्षा)दितादिदिक्क¹ [1*] कणस्येवाकणं चरितं
शृ(श्री)कणराजस्य [॥ १२॥*] शुभतुंगतुंगतुरगप्र-
- 17 वृद्धरेणु(णु)र्द्ध(र्ध्व)रुध(ध्व)रविकिरधां(णम्) [1*] ग्रीषेपि नभो निखिलं प्रावृद्धा-
लायते स्पष्टं(ष्टम्) [॥ १३॥*] दीनानाथप्रणयिषु यथेष्टचेष्टं स-
- 18 मीहितमजय(सम्) [1*] तरक्षणमकालवर्षं(र्वे) वर्षति सर्वार्तिनिर्वपणं(णम्) [॥ १४॥*]
राष्ट्रपमात्मभुजजातव(व)लाबलेपमाजौ विजि-
- 19 त्य निशिताश्रि(सि)लताप्रह्नी(हा)रैः [1*] पालिङ्ग(ध्व)जावलिशुभामचिरेण यो हि
राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतां तता[न ॥ १५॥*] क्रोधादुत्खातख-
- 20 इप्रशृ(ष्ट)तरुचिचयैः(यै)र्भासमानं समंतादाजादु(वु)द्धत(त्त)वैरिप्रकटगजघटाटोपसंचो-
[भ*]दत्तं(त्तम्) [1*] गौर्यं त्यक्त्वा(त्वा)रिव-
- 21 गौं भयचकित[व*]पु[1*] कापि दृष्ट्वैव सद्य(द्यो) दर्पाधमातारिचक्रक्षयकरमगमद्यस्य
दोर्दण्डरु(रु)पं(पम्) [॥ १६॥*] पाता यच्चतु-
- 22 रं[वु*]राशिरशनालंकारभाजो भुवःस्त्रैय(वस्त्रय्या)श्चापि कृता(त)द्विजामरगुरुः(रु)प्रा-
ज्याज्यपूजादरो(रः) [1*] दाता मानभृदग्रणीर्गुणव-
- 23 तां योसौ शृ(श्रि)यो वल्लभो भोक्तुं स्वर्गफलानि भूरितपसा स्थानं जगामामर-
(रम्) [॥ १७॥*] येन श्वेतातपत्रप्रहतरवि-
- 24 करव्राततापात्सलीलं [ज*]ग्मे नाशी(सो)रधूलीधवलितशिरसा वल्लभाख्यः सदाजो ॥(१)
स श्री[गो*]विंदराजो जितजग-
- 25 दहितस्त्रैयवैधव्यहेतुः(तु)स्तस्यासौ[त्*] सूरैकः क्षणक्षणदलितारातिमा(म)त्तेभकुंभः
[॥ १८॥*] तस्यानुज[1*] श्रीधुव-
- 26 राजनामा महानुभावोप्रहृतप्रताप[1*] प्रसाधिताशेषनरेन्द्रचक्रं(क्रः) क्रमेण वां(वा)-
लार्कवपू(पु)र्व्व(र्व)भूव [॥ १९॥*] ज्जा(जा)ते यत्र च राष्ट्रकूटति-
- 27 लके सङ्गुपचूडामणौ गूर्वी तुष्टिरयाखिलस्य जगतः सुखामिनि प्रत्यहं(हम्) [1*]
त्व(स)त्यं श(स)त्यमिति प्रसा(शा)सति स-

¹ The anusvara mark being shallow has not come out in the ink impression.

- 28 ति च्छामात्स(स)मुद्रांतिकामासीध(इ)र्षपरि गुणाचतनिधौ सत्यव्रताधिष्टि(ष्ठि)ते
[॥ २०॥*] श्रीकाञ्चीपतिगांगवे(वे)गिकयुता
29 ये माल[वे*]शादयः प्राज्यामानयति स्म तां(तान्) क्षितिभूतो यः प्रातिराज्यान-
ति(पि)¹ [१*] माणिक्याभरणानि हेमनिचयं
30 यस्य प्रपद्योपरि श्रं(स्त्रं) धेन प्रति तं तथापि न कृतं चेतोन्यथा भ्वात-
रं(रम्) [॥ २१॥*] सामाद्यैरपि वल्लभो न हि यदा सं[धिं*] व्य-
31 धातं तदा(त्तं तदा) चा(भ्रा)तुर्हत(त्त)रणे विजित्य तरसा पश्चात(त्त)तो भूप-
ते²(तीन्) [१*] प्राच्योदीच्यपराच्यपराच्य³याम्यविल्ल(ल)सत्पालिध्वजै-
32 र्भूषितं चिह्नैर्यः परमेश्वरत्वमखिलं लेभे महिम्नो⁴(न्दो) विभुः [॥ २२॥*] शशधर-
करनिकरनिभं यस्य यशः सुरन-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 33 गाग्रसानुख्यैः [१*] परिगीयतेनुरत्नैर्विद्याधरसु⁵दरो[नि*]वहैः [॥ २३॥*] हृष्टोन्वहं
योर्धिजनाय सर्वं सर्वस्वमानंदितवं(वं)- ✓
34 ध्रुवर्गः [१*] प्रादात्परुष्टो हरति स्म वेग(गात्) प्राणा[न्*] यमस्यावि(पि) नितांतविर्य-
(वीर्यः) [॥ २४॥*] तेनेदमनिलविद्युच(च्च)लमव-
35 लोक्य जीवितमसारं(रम्) [१*] क्षितिदानपरमपुण्यं प्रवर्त्तितो ब्र(ब्र)ह्मदायोभ्यं(यम्)
[॥ २५॥*] स च परमभट्टारकमहा-
36 राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकश्रीमद(द्)शकालवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारक-
37 महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीधारावर्षश्रीधुराजनाम[१*] श्रीनिरूपमदेव[ः*] कुशली सर्वार्-
नेव य-
38 था[सं*]व(व)ध्यमानकं(कान्) राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटायुक्तका(क)नियुक्तकाधिकारिक-
महत्तरादी[न्*] समा-
39 दिशत्यस्तु वः संबिदितं यथा श्रीनीरानदीसंगमसमावासितेन मया मातापित्रो-
रात्मन⁶श्चैष्टिका-
40 सुस्मि(स्मि)कपुण्ययशोभिह्व(ह)ये करहाडवास्तव्यतश्चातुर्विद्यसामान्यगार्गसगोत्रव(व)-

¹ The reading in the Paithān plates of Gōvinda III is क्षपि.

² The reading in the Paithān plates of Gōvinda III is मूयतः । The present reading is the better one. [But see above, p. 178, n. 4.—Ed.]

³ पराच्य is wrongly repeated.

⁴ The reading of this letter is doubtful. The conjunct letter looks like न्नी in the original. The Paithān plates reading is महानी. [The correct reading in both the grants seems to be mahēnō.—Ed.]

⁵ Anusvāra mark has not come out here in the ink impression.

⁶ Subscript च is only partly visible. The hole of the ring has cut its lower portion.

- 41 हुहच(हृच)सत्र(ब्र)ह्यचारिणे दुम्भ(गं)भटपुत्राय सांगोपांगवेदार्थतत्त्वविदुषे वासुदेवभट्टा-
 42 य श्रीमा¹लविषयांतर्मातलघुवि(विं)गनामा ग्रामः तस्य चाघाट(ट)नानि [।*] पूर्वतः
 श्रीमालपतन(त्तनं) द-
 43 क्षिणत(तो) लयणगिरि[:*] पश्चिमतः वृ(वृ)हद्विगकग्रामः उत्तरतः नीरा नाम
 नदी [।*] एवमयं चतुराघा-
 44 टनोपलक्षितो ग्राम[:*] सोदंग[:*] स(सो)परी(रि)करस(स्स)दण्डदशापराधस(स्स)भू-
 तोपा(तवा)तप्रत्यायसो(स्सो)त्यद्यमा-
 45 नविष्टिक[:*] सधान्यहिर²(र)न्या(स्सा)देयो अ(थोऽ)चाटभटप्रवेश्यः सर्व्वराजकीयानामह-
 स्तप्रक्षेपणी-
 46 य आचंद्रार्काण्यवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्वतसमकालीन[:*] पू(पु)त्रपौचान्वयक्रमोपभोग्य(ग्यः)
 पूर्व्वप्रक्षेदे-
 47 वत्रा(ब्र)ह्यदायरहितोभ्यंतरसिध्दा(ज्या) भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरस(श)-
 48 तेषु सप्तसु वर्षद्वयाधिकेषु सिद्धाय(र्थं)नाम्नि संवत्सरे माघसितरथसप्तम्यां म-

Third Plate.

- 49 हापर्व्वणि व(व)लिचरुवैश्वदेवाम्नि होत्रातिथिपञ्चमहायज्ञक्रयो³त्सर्पणार्थ(र्थं) स्रात्वाद्यो-
 दकृतिसर्गेण
 50 प्रतिपादितो(तः) [।*] यतोस्यो⁴ उचतया ब्र(ब्र)ह्यदायस्थित्या भुंजतो भोजयत[:*]
 कषतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न कै-
 51 सिद्धस्यापि परिपंथना कार्या [।*] तथागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरस्मदंशैरं(र)न्यैर्व्या स्वा(सा)-
 मान्यं भूमिदानफल-
 52 मवेत्य विद्युलो(त्तो)लान्यनित्यैश्वर्याणि⁵ दृणाग्रलग्नजलविं(विं)दुषश्चलच्च जीवितमाकल-
 य(य्य) स्वदायनि-
 53 विंशेषोयमस्मदा(हा)योनुमंतव्यः प्रतिपालै(लयि)तव्यश्च [।*] यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटला-
 वृ⁶तमतिरायि(च्छिं)द्या-
 54 दाच्छिद्यमानकं⁷ वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैशो(सो)पपातकैश्च संयुक्त[:*] स्या[त्*]
 इत्युक्तश्च⁸ भगव-

¹ A natural depression on the plate surface here looks like an *anusvāra*.

² *Anusvāra*, though clear on the plate has not come out in the impression.

³ Read क्रियो⁰.

⁴ This उ is superfluous after the preceding *sandhi*.

⁵ This letter looks like क, but it is due to the slipping of the instrument to the right of त.

⁶ The letter वृ is damaged.

⁷ क is damaged.

⁸ Read स्यादिति । उक्तं च.

- 55 ता वेदव्यासेन [१*] प्रष्टिं वर्षसप्तत्रिंशत् (सा) वि स्वर्गं तित्ति भूमिदः [१*]
 आच्छेता(ता) चातुमंता च तान्त्रै(ष्वे)व नर-
 56 'रके वसेत् [॥२६॥*] विंध्याटवीश्व(ष्व)तोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [१*] कृष्णाहयो
 हि जायते भूमिदानं ह-
 57 रंति ये [॥२७॥*] अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्वैश्वरी सूर्यसुताश्च भावः [१*]
 लोकत्रयं तेन भवे-
 58 धि(हि) दत्तं यः काञ्चनं गाञ्च महि(ही)श्च दद्यात् [॥२८॥*] त्र(य)द्विभिर्वसुधा
 भुक्ता राजभिः स्तारादिभिः [१*] यस्मिन्-
 59 स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) [॥२९॥*] यागीह दत्ता(ता)नि
 पुरा नरे(रं)द्वैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि [१*] निर्वर्ण-
 60 त्ववांतप्रति[मानि*] तानि को नाम साधुः[*] पुनराददीत [॥३०॥*] स्वदत्तां(तां)
 परदत्तां वा यन्नाद्रक्ष नराधिप [१*] [मही*] मही-
 61 मता(तां) श्रेष्ठ दानात्से(च्छे)यीशुपां(पां)शनं(नम्) [॥३१॥*] अति कामलदत्तां(वुं)
 विं(विं)दुलोलां श्रु(श्रि)यमनुचि(चिं)त्य मनुष्यजीवि-
 62 तश्च [१*] अतिविमल[म*] नोभिरात्मनीनैर्ण(र्न) हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः
 [॥३२॥*] श्रीनाग-
 63 [प]राणकद्रुतकं लिखितं श्रीगौडसुतेन श्रीसावं(मं)तेन ॥

B

THE BHOP STATE MUSEUM PLATES OF KHAMBHA II.; SAKA 4601.

The plates are three in number. The serial number of each plate in the set is engraved near the ring hole, a little away from the lines of the main record. The size of the plates, which is fairly uniform, is 7.8" × 4.2" and the thickness about $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The edges have not been raised into rims. The plates were originally strung together by means of a ring passing through holes, about .5" in diameter, perforated at the centre of the left side, about .5" from the edge. The ends of the ring are soldered together by means of a seal which is bell-shaped, being 1" in height and .42" in diameter. On the seal is superimposed the figure of a lion in the round crudely executed. The seal bears no inscription. At a subsequent unknown date the ring had been cut, but the seal and soldering are still intact. The weight of the plates along with the seal and the ring is 122 tolas; the weight of the plates alone is 100 tolas.

The inscription is engraved on the inner side of the first and the last plates and on both the sides of the second. The engraving is throughout by the same hand. Each side has 11 lines of writing with the exception of the first side of the second plate, which has only 10. The last lines of the second side of the second plate and of the third plate are only about half of the normal length. The first line of the record has 33 letters including the four numerals; probably, discovering by computation that the space at his disposal permitted a greater spacing of letters, the mason went on gradually reducing the number of letters per line; from l. 9 onwards we have on an average

¹ This is superfluous.

only 22 letters per line. The last full line has however 31 letters; this was obviously done with a view to avoid the use of the outside of the third plate.

The plates are in a fair state of preservation and the engraving of individual letters is fairly good. Only in a few cases can we detect carelessness, as for instance, in the case of *dhā* in *pañcha-pradhānāḥ*, l. 15; *t'in kil-āsūt*, l. 17 and the omission of two letters in v. 4.

The characters are Dēvanāgarī. Only a few letters like *i*, *ē*, *ṇa*, *ḍa*, *dha*, and *śrī*, differ from modern characters. The following palæographical points deserve notice: (1) *Prishthamātrās* occur in the case of medial *ai* and *au*; cf. *paurṇamāsyām* l. 2, *vairi* l. 4, *Tailappa* ll. 19, 20, etc. In the case of medial *ē*, the *prishthamātrā* occurs only in a few cases; cf. *tēla* l. 9, *yēna* l. 21, *Kham-bhēna* l. 27; in the majority of cases a slanting line to the left going upwards is used to denote it. (2) The form of *n* in *ētasmin* l. 11 is obviously due to the slipping of the instrument. (3) The medial *ū* is denoted by a loop open to the right, which is very much similar to the loop used to denote the medial *ri*; cf. *sūnuḥ* l. 20, *pūrvam* l. 26, with *ṇriṇa* l. 1 and *vriddhi* l. 6. (4) The plates show two forms of *ha*; the unusual cursive one is to be seen certainly in *siṃha* l. 15, and possibly in *vāha* (?) l. 8. The numerical figures for 1 and 0 occur in the record itself and those of 1, 2; and 3 on its margin.

The following points deserve mention in connection with the orthography: (1) *V* is written throughout for *b*. (2) *Sa* is throughout written for *ś*. This is the case even in conjunct letters like *śva* (ll. 3, 5, etc.), the only exceptions among the conjuncts being the letters *śrī* (ll. 14, 16) and *ścha* (l. 4). (3) In a conjunct of which *r* is the first member the second letter is doubled only in a few cases; cf. *paurṇṇa*° l. 2, *-varggaḥ* l. 21, *sarvān* l. 41. A nasal is preferably denoted by an *anusvāra* including even *m* at the end of a verse or half-verse; the cases where it is denoted by the nasal of the class of the following letter, as in *mārtanḍam* and *gaṇḍam* l. 4, *Viṅga* ll. 6 and 7, are few. (5) There are no punctuation marks at the end of prose sentences except in one case where we have two vertical strokes (l. 15). (6) Verses are not numbered and their punctuation is very irregular. All such irregularities have been noticed in footnotes, added to the text.

The language of the record is Sanskrit. Prākṛit terms are however used in ll. 8 and 9 where taxes are enumerated. Case-endings of the names of ministers and their epithets are also in Prākṛit, cf. *māmahu*, *parabalu*, *pradhānu*, l. 13 and *amātyu*, l. 14. The rules of *sandhi* have often been ignored especially in the portion having Prākṛit endings. In the metrical portion the language is fairly correct, but not a single line of the prose portion is without syntactical anomalies. It is clear that the draftsman did not at all know how to write correct Sanskrit. The opening clause giving the date is awkward in construction and ungrammatical. In the sentence following, the writer intended apparently to have at the beginning a clause in the locative absolute like *Khambha-dēva-rājyē abhivardhamānē*; but he wrongly put all the adjectives of *Khambha-dēva* in the accusative case, perhaps under the wrong notion that these were meant to qualify *rājyam* in l. 6. The next sentence (ll. 7-10) is indeed unique in having neither the subject nor the predicate. Then follows a long sentence (ll. 11-15) giving the names of the five ministers of the donor. Here we have such a plethora of epithets used in connection with these dignitaries that it becomes very difficult to discover the real names of the five ministers. In the concluding portion of the charter the word governed by *dattam* has no case-ending at all. Most of these mistakes are apparently the mistakes of the draftsman and not of the engraver.

The form of this charter is rather unique and calls for notice. Usually the copper-plates first give the genealogy of the donor, then mention his name along with the names of his officers, then describe the donee and the object granted, and end by quoting the imprecatory verses. In this charter after the mention of the date, we have the description of the donor followed by the

description of the grant. Then come the names of the five ministers of the donor followed by his own genealogy. Then come imprecatory verses, and at the fag-end of the charter we have the donees' names added like an after-thought.

The date of the charter is given at the beginning both in words and numerals. It was issued in the Śaka year 1001 (elapsed), named Siddhārtha, on the full-moon day of the month of Jyēshṭha which fell on a Saturday. The corresponding date according to the Christian era is Saturday the 18th of May 1079.

The donor of the present charter is so far unknown to us from any other record or reference. He belonged to a feudatory Chālukya family, ruling at Śrivalaya or modern Shirval, a large village in Bhor state, about 32 miles from Poona on the Poona-Satara road. The name of this ruler was Khambha, that of his father Tailappa, and of his grandfather Khambha again. It is clear that the family was ruling at Shirval for three generations only. No specific exploit is attributed to any of the members of this family in the genealogical description, which, as usual, speaks of their defeating the enemies, breaking the temples of elephants in the enemy phalanx, and winning fame pervading the three worlds. These rulers do not seem to have been of any consequence in the politics of the age. They were probably relatives of the Imperial Chālukya family ruling at Kalyāṇi and were allowed to hold the territory round Shirval in the feudatory capacity. The name of the donor's father Tailappa and his surname Chālukya would support this conjecture.

Ll. 11-15 give the names of the five ministers who were holding office when the grant was given in 1079 A.D. The plethora of epithets here renders the task of giving their personal names rather difficult; but probably they were Kumāra Jēsiṅgha, the prime minister, Chāchu the Sāmanta or the revenue minister, Kōntali Thākura the Amātya or the counsellor, Sōmanāthaiyā, the minister to the Queen Siriyādēvi (i.e., Śrīdēvi), daughter of King Muñja, and Laiādara-nāyaka, the minister to Queen Mahalādēvi.¹ It would appear that the Queens Śrīdēvi and Mahalādēvi were taking active part in the administration of the little kingdom of Shirval. It may be pointed out that this was quite in consonance with the tradition of the Chālukya family to which the donor belonged. We have several other instances of Chālukya kings entrusting important administrative offices to their queens. Thus Akkādēvi, the elder sister of Jayasimha III was the governor of Kinsukād seventy at least from 1022 to 1053 A.D.² Mañjaladēvi, one of the queens of Sōmēśvara I. was holding the important post of the governor of Banavāsi twelve-thousand in 1054 A.D. Lakshmādēvi,³ the favourite queen of Vikramāditya VI, held several important posts in the administration including the governorship of the capital.⁴

Queen Siriyādēvi is described as Muñjēya-mahārāṇī. The expression Muñjēya would suggest that she belonged to Muñja town or country, or was the daughter of king Muñja. The latter seems to have been the case. The Tidguṇḍi inscription of Vikramāditya VI,⁵ dated 1082 A.D., refers to a Sinda feudatory of his, named Muñja, ruling in the vicinity of Bijāpur. He was thus a

¹ [Pañcha-pradhāna here, I think, should not be taken in the literal sense of the term. Probably it has been used in the context in the general sense of a 'royal council.' In this case the names and offices of the members constituting the council may have been as follows: (1) Jēsiṅgha or Jayasimha, the chief minister, (2) Jēkhambha or Jayastambha, a sāhanī, (3) Chāchu, also a sāhanī, (4) Kōtali or Kōntali, the sāmanta, (5) Māmala, a thākura, (6) Āmaiya, the parabala (commander of the army), (7) Siddhamu, the minister, (8) Muñjēya, the pradhāna, (9) Sōmanāthaiyā, the minister of the chief queen Siriyādēvi or Śrīdēvi and (10) Valaiyā (?), the chief daṇḍanāyaka and attached to the queen Mahalādēvi.—Ed.]

² Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, part ii, p. 435.

³ Ibid., p. 440.

⁴ Ibid., p. 448.

⁵ Ants, Vol. III, pp. 306 ff.

contemporary of Khambha II, the grantor of this charter. The latter could therefore well have married a daughter of the former.¹

The village granted in this charter is **Viṅga** which is described as a *mahā-sthāna* or holy place. This is clearly the same village which was given 300 years before by Dhruva Dhārāvarsha to Vāsudēvabhaṭṭa, a learned Brāhmaṇa of Karāḍ, as we know from the charter A above. Line 27 shows that king Khambha only renewed the grant. Verse 5 naively observes that the village Viṅga had been given to Brāhmaṇas as early as the time of Rāma. We may presume from this that since the time of Dhruva the village was not resumed by any of the succeeding rulers and figured as a *brahmadēya* village on the revenue records of successive governments.

Though the village continued to be a *brahmadēya* village, its ownership did not remain in the family of Vāsudēvabhaṭṭa, the original donee. Curiously enough the names of the donees do not occur at all in that portion of the grant which describes the donation. The mistake is rectified by adding a postscript to the inscription which comes at the end of the imprecatory verses. The syntax of this important sentence is not free from doubt. It reads as follows : *Śrī-Kumbhadēva-bhaṭṭa-Gaṅgala-duvēra(dēva)-pramukha-Viṅga-mahāsthāna-sarvanamasya-śāsanam Khambha-rājēna dattam*. It is clear that we have to emend *pramukha* into *pramukhēbhyaḥ* and that Kumbhadēva and Gaṅgaladēva received the charter as the leading personages among the donees. In other words, they did not receive the grant for themselves, but as representatives obviously of the Brāhmaṇa community of Viṅga. Viṅga is described in the record as a *mahā-sthāna* or holy place and seems to have been the seat of a learned Brāhmaṇa settlement. King Khambha therefore might have granted the charter to the whole Brāhmaṇa settlement of the place. What then about the rights of the descendants of Vāsudēvabhaṭṭa? The village Viṅga is situated about 70 miles from Karāḍ and one has to pass through the difficult Khaṇḍāḷā pass before one can reach it from the Karāḍ side. In the old days when communications were rather difficult, Vāsudēvabhaṭṭa and his descendants must have found it difficult to manage their Viṅga property from Karāḍ. They may have, therefore, sold it to the Brāhmaṇa community of Viṅga, who in turn may have induced the government of the day to make it tax-free.²

The present charter transfers to the donees the village revenues along with the right to receive some customary perquisites probably from the village artisans. The precise nature of the latter cannot be made out owing to the difficulty of interpreting the terms used for the purpose in ll. 8 and 9.

TEXT³.

[Metres :—*Indravajrā*, vv. 5, 6; *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, v. 4; *Anuṣṭubh*, vv. 9, 10; *Śālinī*, v. 12; *Upajāti*, vv. 1, 2, 3, 11; *Rathōddhatā*, vv. 7, 8.]

First Plate.

1 चो⁴ खल्लि [1*] ओस(श)⁵क एकोत्तरसहस्र चंकतोपि १००१ नृपकालातीतसि-
दार्थसंवत्स-

¹ [If my interpretation (see p. 188 n. 1.) is correct, Muñjēya would only be the name of the *pradhāna* and would have no connection with the queen Siriyādēvi and consequently with the Sinda chief Muñja of Bijapur.—Ed.]

² [As the inscription does not give any particulars of the donees it is difficult to come to any such conclusion definitely. It may not be impossible that they belonged to the family of Vāsudēvabhaṭṭa, the original donee, and there being a change in the ruling dynasty Khambha renewed the charter to them. Or this may be a fresh charter issued by the king to people not connected with the family of Vāsudēvabhaṭṭa for reasons not known.—Ed.]

³ From the original plates.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ The construction of the sentence should have been ओसकनृपकालातीत एकोत्तरसहस्र.

- 2 रांतर्गतज्येष्ठपौर्णमास्यां स(श)निदिने अद्ये(द्यै)तस्मिन्काले समधिगतप(पं)-
 3 चमहास(श)ब्द(ब्द)महामण्डलेस्त्र(स्त्र)रं¹ २सिरिषलयपुरवराधीस्त्र(स्त्र)रं चालु-
 4 ककुलकमलमार्त्तण्डं वैरिदलगण्डं धर्मावतारं पु(ह)रिषद्रग-
 5 णावतारं समस्तराजावलीविराजमानमहामण्डलेस्त्र(स्त्र)रश्रीखं-
 6 भदेवराजविजयराज्यमुत्तरोत्तराभिहृद्भिप्रवर्धमाने वि-
 7 ङ्गमहास्थानं हस्तोदकपु(पू)र्वकं समस्तदण्डदोष-
 8 सहितं अर्थार्थसंव(व)वे(वे) सर्ववाहवाइसुर्युतपे-
 9 वरिलपुइलतेल(ला)³दिमाङ्गली(लि)ककारुक्कदेणं एव-
 10 मादिसमस्त⁴ आचंद्रार्कप्रतिपालनीयं⁵ [I*] अगुंथितपुष्पि⁶ रा-
 11 जदर्स(श)नं [I*] एतस्मिन् काले कुमाजेसिंह⁷ अमात्यकेसरि-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 12 साहणीजेखंभसाहणीचाचुसामंत(त)कोत⁸लिठाकुरमा-
 13 मलुपरव(व)लुआमैयअमात्यसिंहमुप्रधानुमुंजियमहारा-
 14 जी(जी)श्रीसिरियादेव्य(व्या) अमात्य सोमनाथैया राणीमहलादेव्य(देव्या)
 15 लैयादरनायकसिंह⁹ एते पंचप्रधा¹⁰नाः ॥ चालुक्यवंसे(शे) वि-
 16 तते पृथिव्यां स्वव्वा(वा)हुवीर्यार्जितराजस(श)ब्दः(ब्दः) ॥(।) देसे(शे) पुरा श्री-
 17 वलयाभिधाने खंभाभिधानो नृपतिः किलासीत(त्) [॥ १॥*]
 18 अरिंदमः पालयिता प्रजानां धर्मेण साक्षादिव ध-
 19 र्मराजः । मुणैः प्रजारंजनतत्परोभूतैलप्य-
 20 राजः किल तस्य पुत्रः ।[। २॥*] तैलप्यसुनुः पुनरेव खंभः
 21 प्रतापसंतापितस(श)त्रुवर्गः [I*] अनेकसो(श्री) येन रणे रिपु(पू)-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 22 णामानर्तितानीह कव(व)न्धकानि ।[। ३॥*] सु(सू)र्त्यापास्तमनस्विनीजनम-

¹ For the syntax of this sentence see the introduction.

² There is a depression on the plate surface here which looks like an *anuvāra*.

³ The constituent words in this big compound are difficult to separate or interpret.

⁴ There is a sudden break here. The expression should have been समस्तपरिहारिपेतं.

⁵ Here should have come a verb like ददाति.

⁶ Read अकुंठितपुष्पं.

⁷ In this sentence, *sandhi* rules have been disregarded.

⁸ What looks here like an *anuvāra* over त is really a natural depression on the surface of the plate.

⁹ [The reading is *damdanāyaka-simha*. The preceding portion should probably be corrected as *dēyā Valaiya* see p. 188 n. 1.—Ed.]

¹⁰ There is a superfluous vertical line after the letter *dhā*.

- 23 नः कंदर्पदर्पस्फुरत्तेजःपुंजजियोजित¹जगद्दीपप्रभामण्ड-
 24 लः । खड्गाखं(ख)खितवैरिवारणघटाकुंभस्यमुक्ताफलः की-
 25 र्त्वाक्रांतजगत्त(च)यो विजयते खंभः त्रितौकत्रियः² । [18॥*] रामादि-
 26 दत्तं किल पूर्वमासीद्वि(दि)ष्टं महास्थानमिदं द्विजानां(नाम्) ॥(1)
 27 खंभेन राज्ञा तु पुनर्नमस्य दत्तं कृतं सा(शा)सनमेव-
 28 मुक्ता । [1 ५॥*] अस्मत्कुले यो भविता नरेन्द्रः पुष्यैरसूत्रय-
 29 थितैः स दृष्टः । मत्ता(च्छा)सनादित्यमिदं भवद्विर्वाच(चं) स्वध-
 30 र्मे प्रतिपालयेति । [1 ६॥*] अन्यदत्तमथवा स्वयं कृतं ब्र(ब्र)ह्मदा³-
 31 यमिह यस्तु पालयेत् । आत्मवंस(श)मखिलं समुद्धरेत्कि(त्की)र्त्तिमानि-
 32 ह परत्र पार्थिवः । [1 ७॥*]

Third Plate.

- 33 धर्म एष नृपतेः सनातनो यत्प्रसाध्यः खलु वैदिमण्डलं(लम्) [1*] पा-
 34 लयत्यखिलमात्ममण्डलं ब्र(ब्र)ह्मदायसहितं नरेख(ख)रः । [1 ८॥*] स्वद-
 35 त्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुं(ध)रां(राम्) [1*] षष्ठिं(ष्टि) वर्षसहस्राणि
 36 विष्टायां जायते क्षमिः [1 ९॥*] व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजन्यैः सगरा-
 37 दिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः⁴ तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) । [1 १०॥*]
 निस-
 38 मा⁵ दोषं हरणे महातं⁶ गुणं च मूर्धेरनुपालने⁷ तु ।
 39 दत्तं नरेन्द्रैः प्रतिपालनीयं स्त्रे(त्रे)यो हि दानादनुपालनं तु [1 ११॥*] सा-
 40 मान्योयं धर्मसेतुनृ(नृ)पाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः [1*]
 41 सर्वानेतान्मागि(वि)नी भूमिपालाभूयो भूयो याचते रामभ-
 42 द्रः । [1 १२॥*] श्रीकुं [भ*] देवभट्टगंगलदुवेरप्रमुख⁸ विष्णुमहास्थानसर्वनमस्यसा(शा)स-
 43 नं खंभराजेन दत्तं(त्तम्) [॥*] मङ्गलं महाश्रीः, [॥*]

¹ Read "जिताखिल-".

² Read खंभ खिलौकीप्रियः [Reading is correctly Khambhah kshitau kshatriyah.—Ed.]

³ There is a superfluous vertical line after dā.

⁴ Read भूमिस्त-.

⁵ Read निशम्य.

⁶ Read महान्तं.

⁷ The medial & stroke is engraved in the wrong direction.

⁸ Read देव(?)प्रमुखः.

No. 29.—MALA PLATES OF VIRASIMHADEVA : V. S. 1343.

By R. R. HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER.

These two copper-plates, briefly noticed in the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, for the year 1914-15 (p. 3, item 11), and now preserved in the Rajputana Museum, were found at a place called **Māla** about three miles from the village **Barodā** in the Dungarpur State in Rājputāna.

Each plate is engraved on one side only and has two ring holes. The first plate measuring $10\frac{7}{8}'' \times 10\frac{1}{4}''$ contains twenty-one lines of writing, while the second measuring $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9\frac{7}{8}''$ has eighteen.

The characters are Nāgarī of the fourteenth century A.D. The peculiar form of *ta* in *svadattām*, l. 20, and *-pradatta*, l. 24, may be noticed. The letters *saṁ* in *saṁsārē* (l. 18) and *sva* in *svargga* (l. 20) are not fully engraved.

The language is Sanskrit, and excepting the benedictory and imprecatory verses in ll. 13-23, the whole composition is in prose. The names of the witnesses are in vernacular (ll. 28-36). Some *dēśī* words are to be found in the record; for instance, *pachhē vāḍaka* (l. 11) meaning the back portion of a house; *arahaṁṭa*, l. 27 (Skt. *araghaṭṭa*); *nāḍu*, l. 27 (a small pond), *bhāḍhi*, l. 28 (a kiln), *phaliḥaka*, l. 37, also called *phalā*, *phalsā*, *phaliā* meaning an entrance or gate and *guyāḍa*, l. 38, (a compound or courtyard).

As regards orthography, consonants following a superscript *r* are sometimes doubled as in *-harttā* (l. 17), *sarvvadā* (l. 25); etc., *v* and *b* are not distinguished except perhaps in *chībā* (l. 34); *ś* is used for *s* in *sahaśrēṇa* (l. 16) and *-sahaśrāṇi* (l. 21) and *vice versā* in *sudhyati* (l. 17), *nischalaḥ* (l. 18); *sh* occurs in place of *kh* in *Vaiśūsha* (l. 1), *Mōshala* (l. 28), *lishitam* (l. 39), etc., apparently due to the influence of the vernacular; *anusvāra* is used for nasals in *Gaṁgā*- (l. 6), *chānumamṭā* (l. 15), etc., and also at the end of *pādas*; *visarga* is omitted in lines 11, 17, 21, 26, 37, etc., while *sandhi* is not observed in lines 6, 12, 14, etc. Other mistakes are pointed out in the transcript and the footnotes.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārājakula* (Mahārāval) *Śrī-Vīrasirṇhadēva* of Vaṭapadraka in Vāgaḍa. The charter is dated **Sunday, the 15th day of the dark half of Vaiśākha of the Samvat¹ year 1343** corresponding to the 13th April, 1287 A.D. It records (ll. 2-12) that *Mahārājakula Vīrasirṇhadēva* granted one and a half *halas*² of land and a house with enclosures of land in its front and back at the village **Māla** in the district **Katija** (mod. Katiyor) to a Brāhmaṇa named **Tālhā** son of Vayaajā of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra for the spiritual welfare of *Mahārājakula Dēvapālādēva*. The description of the gift is given in lines 26-28, after which the names of the witnesses are recorded (ll. 28-36). The name of the *Sūtradhāra* is given as **Bhisana** in l. 35. Lines 36-38 mention the boundaries of the house. The last two lines record the name of the *Dūtaka* as **Sūnaladēvī** and that of the writer as **Vikama** (Vikrama) who is said to have acted under the verbal orders of the *Pañchaśrī* Vāvaṇa. **Visala** is spoken of as one, on whose authority the names of the witnesses were recorded.

As regards the persons mentioned in the inscription, **Vīrasirṇhadēva** evidently belonged to the **Guhila** family of Dungarpur. He was fifth in succession from **Sāmantasirṇha**, the founder

¹ This samvat is 'षषादादि'.

² In some parts of Mewār, one *hala* of land was reckoned to be equivalent to several *bighās* of land. The practice of granting lands to Brāhmins on the occasion of *Śrāddha* (death anniversary) ceremony of forefathers was not uncommon among the rulers in old days. See the Paramāra Yaśovarman's grant dated Samvat 1192 in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 348.

of the State and his earliest and latest known dates are Samvat 1343¹ and Samvat 1359² (A.D. 1286 and 1302). He was thus a contemporary of Rāval Samarasimha of Mewār, whose known dates range between Samvat 1330 and 1358 (A.D. 1273-1301).³ *Mahārāval Dēvapālādēva* (also known as Dēdā or Dēdu) was the immediate predecessor⁴ of Virasimhadēva.

As to the places mentioned, *Vāgaḍa* was the old name of the modern Dungarpur State. *Vaṭapadraka* (now called Baṛōdā) remained the capital of Vāgaḍa up to the period of Ḍuṅgarasimha (the grandson of Virasimhadēva) in whose time the capital was transferred to Dungarpur so called after his name.

The date of the inscription weakens the contention of Colonel Tod⁵, Major Erskine⁶ and other writers holding that the foundation of the Dungarpur State was laid by Māhapa or Rāhapa of Sisōdā.

According to the Kumbhalgarh inscription⁷, dated Samvat 1517, Lakshmaṇasimha, a ruler of Sisōdā, fought in the battle of Chitor in 1303 A.D., and was thus the contemporary of Rāval Ratnasimha of Mewār and probably of his father Samarasimha also as Ratnasimha ruled only for a year. Virasimhadēva of this record, we know, was a contemporary of Samarasimha. He must, therefore, have been a contemporary of Lakshmaṇasimha also. Now, Virasimhadēva was fifth in succession from Sāmantasimha (the real founder of the State), while Lakshmaṇasimha was eleventh⁸ from Māhapa or Rāhapa. It is, therefore, highly improbable that Māhapa, who goes as far back as eleven generations from Lakshmaṇasimha, should have founded the State. That it was Sāmantasimha of Mewār who laid the foundation of the present Dungarpur State is supported not only by the Mount Ābū⁹ and the Kumbhalgarh inscriptions but also by the account of Muhnōt Nainsi¹⁰, the well-known historian of Mārwar.

TEXT.¹¹

First Plate.

1 ॥ ओ¹²॥ संवत् १३४३ वर्षे ।¹³ वैशाख(ख) अ¹⁴ १५ रवावद्येह वागडवटपद्रके
महा[रा]-

2 अकुलश्रीवि(वी)रसिंहदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये तन्नियुक्तपंचश्रीवा-

¹ His earliest inscription is the present record, dated V.S. 1343.

² This date is found in an unpublished inscription from Baṛōdā; cf.

संवत् १३५८ वर्षे आषाढशुद्धि १५ वागडवटपद्रके महाराजकुलश्रीवीरसिंहदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये

माहवसुतज्योतिषादिख(त्या)ख(य) मंगडडयामं उदकेन प्रदत्त ।

³ His first and last inscriptions are dated V.S. 1330 and V.S. 1358 respectively. *Vide, Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. XXI, p. 143 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIII, p. 11, note 1.

⁴ *Gazetteer of the Dungarpur State* by Major K. D. Erskine, Statistical table No. XXI.

⁵ Tod's *Rājasthān* (ed. W. Crooke), Vol. I, p. 304.

⁶ *Gazetteer of the Dungarpur State*, pp. 131-32.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 279.

⁸ Tod's *Rājasthān* (ed. W. Crooke), Vol. I, p. 304, note 3.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 349.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIII, p. 102. Cf. also Muhnōt Nainsi's *Khyāta*, p. 19.

¹¹ From impressions.

¹² Expressed by a symbol.

¹³ The stroke is redundant.

¹⁴ अ stands for अमित 'the dark fortnight of a lunar month' so that अ १५ is the 15th day of the dark half of the month, i.e., *amāvasyā*. On Sunday the *tithi* was fourteenth, but it lasted only for fifteen *ghatis* after which the *tithi* fifteenth, i.e., *amāvasyā* fell, during which period the grant was made and the ceremony performed by Mahārāval Virasimhadēva. Among the Hindus it is generally the practice to perform *Śrāddha* ceremony after 12 noon.

- 3 वरा^१खेतलप्रधतिपंचकुलप्रतिपत्ती^१ शासनपत्रमभिलिख्य-
 4 ते यथा ॥ इहैव पुण्याभसि [स्त्रा]त्वा नलिनीदलगतजलस्यतरल-
 5 तरं जीवितमाकलय्य महाराजकुल[स्त्री]वि(वी)रसिंहदेवेन धीतश्चेत-
 6 वाससी(सी) परिधाय भगवतं भवानोपतिं ई[स्त्र]रं परमया भक्त्या गंगादितो-
 7 र्योदकेन संस्नाय्य श्रीखंडागुरुकर्पूरकस्तूरिकादिभिवि(वि)लेप्य जातीय-
 8 कुलराजचंपकशतपत्रिकाहि(दि)भिर्विलेप्य यथाकृतपूजया परमधार्मि-
 9 केण भूत्वा महारा[ज^२]कुलयोदेकप्रभलदेवसेवसे मरसाजगोत्राय
 10 [दोडी]वा(ब्रा)ह्मवयजापुत्राय वा(ब्रा)ताल्हाशर्मणे कतीजपथके माल-
 11 ग्रामे भूमिहल ॥१॥ सार्ध^३हलैकस्य भूमि(मिः) ॥ गृह(हं) ११ अथेवाटक^४पछे
 वाडक-
 12 खलसहितं एतत्^५ शासनोदकपूर्वं धर्मेण संप्रदत्तं ॥ अतो दानपा-
 13 हारसंव[धि] महर्षिप्रणीतानि श्रुतिवाक्यानि संति ॥ व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा^६भु-
 14 क्ता राजभिः समसदिभिः ॥ यस्य यस्व यदा भूमौ^७ तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥१॥
 15 षट्(ष्टि)र्व(व)र्व(व)सहस्रा(सा)णि स्वर्गे(र्गे) तिष्ठ(ष्ठ)ति भूमिदः ॥ आच्छेत्ता चानुमंता
 च तान्ये-
 16 व नरकं व्रजेत् ॥२॥ तडागानां सहस्रे(स्त्रे)ण अश्वमेधशतेन च । गवां को-
 17 टिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न सु(शु)द्ध्यति ॥३॥ चला लक्ष्मी^८ चला प्राणा^९ चलं जी-
 18 वितयौवनं ॥ चलाचले हि संसारे धर्म एको हि निरुच(च)लः ॥४॥ भूमिं यः
 19 प्रतिगृह्णाति यस्तु भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ हा^१ वेतौ
 20 स्व[र्ग]गामिनौ ॥५॥ स्वदत्तां पशुदत्तां वा^{१०} यो हरेसु(च) वसु-
 21 [ध]रां । षट्(ष्टि)र्व(व)र्व(व)सहस्रा(सा)णि विष्टा(ष्ठा)यां जायते कृमि(मिः) ॥६॥

Second Plate.

- 22 मम वंशक्षये क्षीणे^१ यो न्यो राजा भविष्य(ष्य)ति [१]
 23 तस्याहं करलग्नोस्मि न लोप्यं मम शासन(नम्) ॥७॥ इमानि महर्षि-
 24 प्रणीतानि श्रुतिवाक्यानि श्रुत्वा अस्मद[त्त]शासनमिहान्यैरपि

^१ The stroke is redundant.^२ Read सार्धैकहलस्य.^३ Read एतच्छासनो^० or °सनेनो^०.^४ Read पद्मार समन्वे.^५ Read भूमिसस्य.^६ Read लक्ष्मीयत्वा.^७ Read प्राणाश्चलं.^८ Better read वंश परिचीणे.

- 25 भाविभोक्ति(त्)भिर्मूपाः सर्वदा पाखनीयं किंतु केनापि कदाचि-
 26 त् न लोपनीयं ॥ भूमेर्व्यक्तिः । कज्जामाग्रे(र्मे) वाटिकाया[*] पानीयसहि-
 27 त(त्) चतुःसोमापर्यंतं¹ चरहंटं² । तथा वीरुल्लेच³ । तां वटीयासत्कनाहुं
 28 भाटिमहितु(त्) चतुःसोमापर्यंतं¹ । अत्र साक्षिः । पुरो⁵ मोषल ॥ जा⁶
 29 केशवादित्य । ब्रा°(ब्रा°) सोमादीत । राजगु⁷ सूदा । वड⁸ लष(ख)मादीत ।
 वड⁹
 30 तीकमा [ना]मपुरो¹⁰ ब्रा°मधू¹¹ । महं¹² सूमण । महं¹³ वीनडा । महं¹⁴ चवण ।
 राडल¹⁵
 31 धारड । राड¹⁶ धर्मदेव । राड¹⁷ रमण । राड¹⁸ लाष(ख)ण । ¹²अष्टि°पारस । अंमह-
 32 ण । अष्टि° भीमा । ¹³सा° हरसाण ॥ मासगा¹⁴ दोडी महं¹⁵ केदा ।
 महं¹⁶ ताल्हा [*]
 33 महं जोला । महं राहण । महं भो[वल] । महं भीमा । महं सादा । महं¹⁵
 34 [चोवा] । महं ल[हु]अड । डोहली¹⁶ बीजा [।] ओचि¹⁷ वावण । ¹⁸पंडि°
 वाल्हा । राड°
 35 बील्हा । राड° रतन । ¹⁹सूव° मोषण । ²⁰भिल° [ना]ठल । भि° राहड्या ।
 मिह²¹ भी-
 36 मडा । मिह° वेल्हा ॥ यह आघाट । यह दक्षिणस्यां दिशि ब्रा°(ब्रा°) चामाग-

¹ Read चतुःसोमापर्यंतं.

² Read चरहंटं.

³ Read चेचं.

⁴ From here up to the middle of the line 36 the inscription is in vernacular.

⁵ Stands for पुरोहित, a priest.

⁶ Stands for जानी, a performer of व्रत, from Skt. याज्ञिक.

⁷ Stands for राजगुरु.

⁸ Stands for वडवा, a record keeper.

⁹ Read ब्रा which stands for ब्राह्मण.

¹⁰ Stands for महत्तम.

¹¹ An epithet generally applied to persons of royal family or Brāhmanas of high class.

¹² A term applied to merchants.

¹³ Stands for साधु.

¹⁴ This term is not clear to me.

¹⁵ The stroke is redundant.

¹⁶ Stands for डोहलीया, a person who receives a land from a king for his maintenance.

¹⁷ Stands for ओचि.

¹⁸ Stands for पण्डित.

¹⁹ Stands for सूचधार.

²⁰ Stands for जील, a tribe.

²¹ Stands for नेहता.

- 37 हं । उत्तरस्यां दिशि ग्रामसत्कफलिहक । पूर्वस्यां दिशि राजमार्गः[*] ।
पश्चिमा-
38 यां दिशि गुयाड ॥ दू^१ देव्या^२ श्रीसुनलदेवि(वी) [*] पंचश्री^३ वावणशब्देन ।^४
39 शासनमिदं पंच^५ वीकमेन लिखि(खितं) ॥ ^६कडू^७ वीसलशब्देन साक्षिणः [||*]

No. 30.—ROPI PLATES OF PARAMARA DEVARAJA; VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1059.

BY SAHITYACHARYA PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH REU.

This grant of *Dēvarāja* is in the possession of Audichya Brāhmaṇas of *Ropsi* or *Ropi*, a village 6 miles south-west of Bhīnmāl in the Jaswantpura District of Mārwar. While touring in that District in 1920, I came across the grant and got it photographed for the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur. It has already been noticed by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar.⁶

The grant contains **two copper-plates** inscribed on one side only. The plates, as far as I remember, measure about 9"×8" and have two holes through which are passed two plain rings. The first plate contains 11 and the second 12 lines of writing.

The **characters** of the grant are Nāgarī similar to those used in northern India in the tenth or eleventh century A.D. The **language** is Sanskrit and the clerical errors are remarkably few. The text is in prose throughout with the exception of one verse in ll. 21-23. At the end is found the signature of the donor. The **orthography** presents no special features.

The **object** of the plates is to record the grant of a field situated to the south of the city-wall (*kōṭṭa*) of *Śrīmāla*, the modern Bhīnmāl by the *Mahārājādhirāja* the illustrious *Dēvarāja* residing at *Śrīmāla* to one *Aurakāchārya*, the son of *Chañḍaśivāchārya* and the head of the temple of *Siddhēśvaramahādēva* at *Kshamēmāthuna* (*Kshatmamāthuka* ?) on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The boundaries of the land granted were as follows : to the east the land of the Brāhmaṇa *Gōvinda*, to the south the land of *Vāmana*, the son of *Durlabha*, to the west the village belonging to the *Mahāsāmanta* *Pūrṇachanḍa* and to the north the land of the Brāhmaṇa *Śrīdhara*. The **date** of the record is the **15th day of the bright half of Māgha (Vikrama) Samvat 1059 (=1002 A.D.).**⁷

The witnesses were *Matvāka* the preceptor of *Dēvarāja* and *Pūrṇachanḍa*. The grant was written by *Sūryaravi*, the son of *Nyāsa*.

Though no mention of the clan of donor *Dēvarāja* is found in the grant, yet on the basis of the year and the place given in it, we may assume that he was a *Paramāra*⁸ ruler of *Ābū* whose

¹ Stands for दूतक.^१

² Omit देव्या. [Or read देवी. Probably she was a lady of the royal family, if not one of the queens.—Ed.]

³ Stands for पंचोली.

⁴ The stroke is redundant.

⁵ Stands for कडूभा, one of the two sects of the कुनबी tribe.

⁶ See his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 103, where he reads the year as Samvat 1069.

⁷ [The date is irregular. The full moon of Māgha fell on Thursday the 21st January when there was no lunar eclipse. The nearest lunar eclipse occurred on the full moon of Phālguna corresponding to Friday the 19th February. It is also not verifiable for Samvat 1059 current or Samvat 1069.—Ed.]

⁸ For the history of *Paramāra* rulers please refer to my *Bhārata ke Prāchīna Rājavamśa*, Vol. I, and *Rājā Bhōja* (both in Hindī).

second name was **Mahipāla** and who succeeded his father **Dharaṇivarāha**, a ruler famous in the chronicle of **Rājasthān**. We give here a *chhappaya* often recited by bards in honour of **Dharaṇivarāha** :

मंडोवर सामंत हुवो अजमेर सिद्धसुव ।
 गढ पूंगल गजमल्ल हुवो लोद्रवै भाण भुव ॥
 अल्लपल्ल अरवह भोजराजा जालंधर ।
 जोगराज धरधाट हुवो हांसू पारकर ॥
 नवकोटि किराडू संजुगत थिर पंवारहर थपिया ।
 धरणीवराह धर भाइयां कोट बांट जू जू किया ॥

According to this, **Dharaṇivarāha** distributed the nine provinces of **Mandōr**, **Ajmēr**, **Pūngal**, **Lōdravā**, **Ābū**, **Jālōr**, **Dhāt**, **Pārkar** and **Kirādū** among his nine brothers. It is also said that owing to these nine chiefships **Mārwar** has come to be known as “**Navakōṭi Mārwar**.” But there is very little truth in the above *chhappaya*¹.

Dēvarāja's (**Mahipāla's**) son and successor was **Dhandhuka** who was obliged to accept the allegiance of **Sōlaṅki** (**Chālukya**) **Kumārāpāla I**, the ruler of **Gujarāt**.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 सिद्धम्² [॥*] ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥ संवत् १[०]५९ मा-
- 2 घ शुदि १५ अस्यां संवत्सरमासपक्षदि-
- 3 वसपूर्वायां श्री³मालावस्थितमहाराजा-
- 4 धिराजश्रीदेवराजः स्वभुज्यमानविषये
- 5 धर्मदायेन क्षेत्रशासन(नं) प्रयच्छति ॥ यदिहै-
- 6 व श्री³मालीयकोट्टाहृक्षिणदिग्भागे क्षेत्रं
- 7 यस्याघाटनानि ॥ पूर्वतो गोविन्दव्रा(ब्रा)ह्मण-
- 8 सत्का भूसीमा । दक्षिणतो वामनदुर्लभसु-
- 9 तसत्का भूसीमा । पश्चिमतो महासामन्तश्री-
- 10 पूर्णचण्डसत्क[ब्रा]मिण सह भूसीमा ।
- 11 उत्तरतः श्रीधरव्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणक्षेत्रे⁴ भूसीमा [१*]

Second Plate.

- 12 एवमेतच्चतुराघ(घा)टनाभ्यंतरक्षेत्रं ।⁴
- 13 अस्माभिः सोमग्रहणे स्नात्वा त्रिलोकीगुरुं शंकर-

¹ See also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, pp. 238 f.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ The figure 2 is used to denote the repetition of *śrī*.

⁴ *Danda* unnecessary.

- 14 मभ्यर्च्य मातापितृभ्यो नमः पुण्यशोभितहय(ये)
 15 शासनेतो(नो)दकपूर्वमाचंद्रार्ककाशीनतया प्रति-
 16 पादितं [*] [अ]उरकाचार्याय ।¹ चण्डशिवाचार्यपुत्रा-
 17 य² ओसिद्धेश्वरदेवस्थानाधीशाय
 18 प्रदत्तं न केनापि परिपंथनीयं ॥ अस्मद्वंशजैरन्यै-
 19 च भाविभोक्तृभिः । अत्र साक्षी श्रीदेवराजगुरुर्मत्वा-
 20 कः । अत्र साक्षी श्रीपूष्यचण्डः । लिखितं सूर्यरवि-
 21 णा न्याससुतेन । यो यः पृथिव्या राजा हि ममा
 22 तोड³ भविष्यति । तस्याहं करसंस्तु शासनं सा(मा)
 23 व्यतिक्रमै(मे)त् ॥ स्वहस्त[*] श्रीदेवराजस्य ।

No. 31.—HATHI-BADA BRAHMI INSCRIPTION AT NAGARI.

By Prof. D. R. BHANDARKAR, CALCUTTA.

During the cold season of 1934-35, Dr. Niranjan Prasad Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India, was on tour in North India. In the course of that tour he visited Nagari, eight miles north of Chitōrgarh in the Udaipur State, and discovered a Brāhmī inscription engraved on a massive slab of Hāthi-bādā containing the same text as the celebrated inscription from the Ghōsūṇḍī well. This is one of the big slabs, says Dr. Chakravarti, in the inner side of the northern wall towards the right hand corner. The slab has a big crack in the middle, and parts of it have badly peeled off. The surface is very rough, and the letters have now become quite faint. Before the stone was cleaned, practically nothing but the letter p[ā] in the first line was visible. "No traces", he adds, "of a third line, if there was any, can be found now."

It is impossible to congratulate sufficiently the Government Epigraphist upon this brilliant discovery. From the middle of November 1915 to the end of January 1916 I was myself at Nagari. During that period I carried on excavations at two places, one of which was Hāthi-bādā, about half a mile east of the village.⁴ Hāthi-bādā is an open rectangular enclosure 296' 10" long and 151' broad. Its walls were crowned with a coping stone, and were originally 9' 6" high. When the Mughal emperor, Akbar, came there to reduce Chitōrgarh, he was encamped at Nagari and used this enclosure as his elephant stable, on account of which it has since then been called Hāthi-bādā. But surely it could not have been a structure of the Muhammadan period. The high massive dressed blocks of stone piled one upon another into this structure pointed to a period very much anterior to the Muhammadan. In this connection I was revolving in my mind an inscription, referred to above, which was originally stuck up in a well at Ghōsūṇḍī, about 6 miles from Nagari, but which is now deposited in the Victoria Hall at Udaipur. It is well known that most of the stones used in the Ghōsūṇḍī well, as in the archaeological monuments at Chitōrgarh, were taken from Nagari, and looking to the massive nature of the block and the peculiar lamina-

¹ *Danda* unnecessary.

² The reading seems to be *Kṣhamēmāthukē* but its meaning is not clear. [To me the reading appears to be *Kṣhatmamāthukē* and may mean 'at Kṣhatmamāthuka' where the temple of the Mahādeva Siddhēśvara seems to have been situated.—Ed.]

³ Read *mad-ūrdhvaṁ cha* or *mama gōtrē*.

⁴ For a full description of these excavations, see *Memoirs A. S. I.*, No. 4, pp. 117 ff; *PRAS, WC.*, 1915-16, pp. 53-54.

tions of the stone on which the inscription is engraved, little doubt was left in my mind as to its having originally pertained to this structure, whose stones exactly resembled it in these respects. The contents of the inscription pointed to the same inference. It speaks of the erection of a *pūjā-śilā-prākāra*, or enclosure for worship stone, of Saṅkarshaṇa and Vāsudēva. This description no doubt answered to the stone enclosure represented by Hāthi-bādā. But some more proof was wanted to show that the place enclosed by the Hāthi-bādā was, as a matter of fact, dedicated to Vaiṣṇava worship. And after a careful inspection I lighted upon a stone in one wall of the enclosure containing some characters of the seventh century A.D., which, though highly weather-worn, could be distinctly read as *Śrī-Vishnu-pādābhyām*. This clearly showed that this Hāthi-bādā was once a place for the worship of Viṣṇu. Nevertheless, it must be confessed that even then it was not quite certain, though highly probable, that the Ghōsūṇḍī inscription originally belonged to the Hāthi-bādā and that this structure was really the *pūjā-śilā-prākāra* of Saṅkarshaṇa and Vāsudēva mentioned in that record. But this matter has now been placed beyond all doubt by the find of this new inscription by Dr. Chakravarti, which, as we shall shortly see, is but another copy of the text preserved in the Ghōsūṇḍī epigraph but which to this day forms part of the Hāthi-bādā itself. The service thus rendered by the Government Epigraphist to the cause of history and archæology can scarcely be overrated.

Before we treat of this record epigraphically, it is necessary to point out that there was also a third copy of this text which was for the first time recognised as such by the Government Epigraphist himself in his letter to me. During the touring season of 1915-16 when I was excavating at Nagarī, I discovered a stray fragment of an inscription along with two others in the heart of the village which had been found on the boundary stone of Ghōsūṇḍī and Bassi and which contained the words: [*tēṇa Sarvatātēna Āsvamēdha-*. This has been briefly described in a monograph of mine, entitled "*The Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Nagarī*" and published in *Memoirs A. S. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 4, p. 120, where I have also made the remark that "the form of its letters corresponds exactly with that of the Ghōsūṇḍī epigraph." This happened in 1915-16. Eleven years thereafter the *A. S. I., An. Rep.*, 1926-27 (p. 205) announces the discovery of Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha that during the year under report he recovered two of the missing portions of the well-known Ghōsūṇḍī inscription. One of these, according to this Report "supplies the words '*Śarvatātēna Āsvamēdha*,' which evidently form the end of the first line of the record and enable the initial letter of its second line to be restored as *ya*, and the whole expression as '*Sarvatātēna Āsvamēdhayājīnā*.'" The other fragment, continues the same Report, "containing the word *sarvēśvarābhyām*, Mr. Ojha says, is preserved in the Udayapur Museum, and supplies the missing portion of the second line of the same inscription." It thus seems that up till 1926-27 the first of these fragments continued to remain at Nagarī, possibly just where I found it in 1915-16. Rai Bahadur Ojha evidently did not remember that the discovery of this fragment was first announced in the Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India referred to above. But what is strange is that he considered the two fragments as the missing portions of the well-known Ghōsūṇḍī inscription. As remarked by me in the Memoir, as just stated, the form of the letters on these fragments no doubt corresponds exactly with that of the Ghōsūṇḍī epigraph. But close observation will enable one to perceive not only that the draft of the fragments is written in an entirely different hand but also that their letters are of a slightly different size from those of the Ghōsūṇḍī record. This blunder was repeated by Mr. R. R. Halder in his paper on the Ghōsūṇḍī inscription, which is published in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 203, and, the text of which he tried to restore with the help of these fragments. It must, however, be said to the credit of both these scholars that they restored in the original text the words *na Sarvatātēna Āsvamēdha* to their proper place, though they failed in regard to *sarvēśvarābhyām*.

as was expected. As remarked above, there was one text of the record which was engraved in three different places in the Hāthi-bādā. When this structure began to fall into disrepair, one stone block containing the greater portion of one inscription was carried to and stuck up into the Ghōsūṇḍī well; two small fragments of another inscription taken as far as the boundary stone between Ghōsūṇḍī and Bassi; but the larger part of the third is *in situ*, that is, still forms part of the Hāthi-bādā itself, this last being now brought to light by the Government Epigraphist, as stated above.

Let us now turn to the epigraphic details of each. We have observed that here we have one common text running through three different inscriptions—all, however, originally incised on the block slabs of the Hāthi-bādā. The best preserved of these is that found in the Ghōsūṇḍī well and now removed to the Victoria Hall, Udaipur. Here not only is the greater portion of the record preserved, but its letters also remain in good condition. It was originally in three lines. The next best preserved record is that found by Dr. Chakravarti, and, though preserved in fragment, it yet remains part and parcel of the original building. It is in two lines, each containing naturally more words than those of the first record. Of this inscription practically as much has been preserved as of the first, though its letters are faint and weatherworn. Of the third record only two small fragments are so far known, as pointed out above. The first of these, which we shall call **A**, was first brought to the notice of the scholars by Kavi Rāj Shyāmal Dās and transcribed in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LVI, Pt. I, pp. 77 ff., No. 1 and Pl. V. It was afterwards edited by me in *Memoirs A. S. I.*, No. 4, p. 119, and by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 25 ff. with the help of the estampages provided by me. The second of the three copies, which we shall call **C**, is being edited by me here for the first time according to the ink impression kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist. Of the third copy, which we shall call **B**, only two fragments have been recovered. One of these was first noticed by me in *Memoirs A. S. I.*, No. 4, p. 120. Both together were afterwards transcribed but erroneously considered to be part of the first copy, that is, of **A** by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Ojha in *A. S. I., An. Rep.*, 1926-27, p. 205 and thereafter by Mr. R. R. Halder in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 203. All the three copies are now being edited here with a view to see whether and how far we can restore the original text.

The **characters** of these texts according to Bühler¹ belong to an alphabet which “probably prevailed at least in the latter half of the 4th and in the 3rd century B.C.” Mr. Jayaswal, however, seems to be right in observing that “the only thing that can be said with certainty is that the script is later than Aśōka’s time.”² The letters *g*, *p*, and *v* of our inscriptions are a clear proof of this. The top of *g* is not angular, and *p* and *v* have not a round base as in the Aśōkan script. The only records with which the Hāthi-bādā epigraphs can be profitably compared are the inscription of Heliodorus found at Besnagar³ and those of Bahasatimitra at Pābhosā.⁴ And a comparison will convince us that the Hāthi-bādā records are perhaps slightly later than that of Besnagar, but decidedly earlier than those of Pābhosā. The top of *g* in the Besnagar inscription is as angular as that of Aśōka’s, but is almost round in the Hāthi-bādā inscriptions. This shows that perhaps the Besnagar record is slightly prior to those of Hāthi-bādā. On the other hand, the *p*, *b*, *h*, and *l* of the Pābhosā have cornered and flat bases, showing that these inscriptions are decidedly later than those of Hāthi-bādā. All things considered, our epigraphs may be assigned to the **beginning of the first century B.C.**

¹ *Indian Paleography* (trans. by Fleet), p. 32.

² *Above*, Vol. XVI, p. 27.

³ *A. S. I., An. Rep.*, 1908-09, pp. 128-29, Pl. XLVI.

⁴ *Above*, Vol. II, pp. 242 ff and Pls.

Some other palæographic peculiarities of the Hāthi-bādā inscriptions may also be noticed. In the case of the ligatures, the consonants are invariably placed below each other in their natural order somewhat unlike those of the Aśoka edicts. Next, the cork-screw-like *r* is worthy of note, as in Aśoka inscriptions. And further the superscript and subscript *rs* also have been clearly distinguished one from the other. Thus the superscript *r* in *Samkarshaṇa* has been distinguished from the subscript *r* in *-putrēṇa* and *-prākārō*. This is a noteworthy fact, for it is conspicuous by its absence even in Aśoka's inscriptions, though the words in which both the kinds of *rs* occur are by no means few.

The **language** of our inscriptions is undoubtedly Sanskrit, and it is somewhat inexplicable why Prof. Lüders called it "a mixed dialect."¹ Probably he based his conclusion on the transcript of Kavi Rāj Shyāmal Dās, which is far from being scrupulously correct and which is not supported by the photo-litho that accompanies his article. The only word, that is not quite Sanskrit, is *bhagavabhyām*, which, however, is a mistake of the engraver or the scribe for *bhagavadbhyām*. Besides, *bhagavabhyām*, even as it stands, is a dual which is never found in a Prākṛit. It must therefore be looked upon as an inaccuracy of the scribe. Such inaccuracies are not infrequent in inscriptions, about the Sanskrit language of which there can be no doubt. The Hāthi-bādā record is thus one of the two earliest which are couched in Sanskrit. The other epigraph in Sanskrit of this early period has been found at Ayōdhyā pertaining to Dhanadēva, son of Phalgudēva, a ruler of Kōsala.² When J. F. Fleet was living, the earliest Sanskrit inscription then known was that of the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman engraved on the celebrated rock at Junāgaḍh. It is dated (Śaka) 72=150 A.D. And further, as the inscriptions ranging between 300 B.C. and 100 A.D. were all up till then in a sort of Pāli closely allied to, and based upon, the vernacular, he and the late Prof. Rhys Davids maintained³ that the spoken language current up to 100 A.D. was practically Pāli, and that the Sanskrit, or the *bhāṣā* for which Pāṇini and Patañjali wrote, could not have been a vernacular during that time. On the other hand, Patañjali distinctly informs us that the language for which Pāṇini wrote was the language of those *śiṣṭas* or disciplined Brāhmaṇs who spoke it naturally and without any study of grammar.⁴ This points to the unmistakable conclusion that up till *circa* 150 B.C., the time of Patañjali, the *bhāṣā* or language for which *Aṣṭādhyāyī* was the grammar continued to be the actual speech of the disciplined Brāhmaṇs of Āryāvarta, which was no doubt the *saṃskṛita* or polished form of the vernacular. All that was now required to leave no ground at all for scepticism was the actual find of inscriptions of this period which were couched in Sanskrit. This desideratum is now furnished by our record and also that of Ayōdhyā just adverted to. No sceptic can possibly contend that they are not in Sanskrit, that is, in the *bhāṣā* for which Pāṇini and Patañjali wrote or that they are not earlier than 150 A.D. the date of the Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman.

Our record is also important from the **religious point of view**. It speaks of the erection of a *pūjā-śilā-prākāra* by Gājāyana Sarvatāta, son of a lady of the Parāśara-gotra, for the gods Samkarshaṇa and Vāsudēva. But what does a *pūjā-śilā-prākāra* mean? It may mean "a stone enclosure round an object of worship" to distinguish it from enclosures surrounding, e.g., residential buildings. What are called railings round Buddhist *Stūpas* are really *pūjā-śilā-prākāra* though they are round and that of the Hāthi-bādā rectangular. A similar expression is not unknown to us from an Aśoka inscription. We refer here to *śilāvigaḍabhichā* occurring in the Paḍariyā or Rummindeī pillar inscription.

¹ *List of Brahmi Inscr.* (above Vol. X, App.), No. 96.

² *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1924, p. 203; above, Vol. XX, p. 57.

³ T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 151.

⁴ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 334 ff.; R. G. Bhandarkar's *Wilson Philological Lectures*, pp. 295-96.

Silārigaḍabhīchā obviously corresponds to the Sanskrit *śilā-vikaṭa-bhittāni*, 'a huge stone enclosure wall'.¹ What Aśoka here wants to tell us is that he constructed this wall round the spot of Buddha's birth, which was already an object of worship and where he actually worshipped. The word *rigaḍa=vikaṭa* in this phrase, which signifies 'stupendous' is noteworthy, and is no doubt significant of the huge massive blocks of which it must have been composed exactly as in the case of the Hāthi-bāḍā. Hāthi-bāḍā as a *pūjā-śilā-prākāra* is therefore not of an unknown character. The Hāthi-bāḍā enclosure and the railings of the *Stūpas* thus are all *pūjā-śilā-prākāra*, though they are of different shapes and are devoted to different worships. If any other instance of the *pūjā-śilā-prākāra* round a Vaishṇava object of worship is required, it is furnished by the railing which I unearthed round the representation of Vāsudēva in front of the Khām Bābā during my excavations at Besnagar.² Recently, however, Mr. J. C. Ghosh has suggested a new interpretation. He takes it to mean "a rampart (*prākāra*) for the stone object of worship (*pūjā-śilā*)". This *pūjā-śilā* according to him is a *Śālagrāma* or a black stone from the river Gaṇḍakī which is believed to be pervaded by the presence of Viṣṇu and is thus a sacred stone worshipped by the Vaishṇavas. "Mention of it" says he "is found in the *Mahābhārata*, III, 8102. Amongst the varieties of them mentioned in the Purāṇas, we find that one variety is called Saṃkarṣaṇa and another Vāsudēva (*Agni-Purāṇa*, XLVI)".³ Now, it is perfectly true that there is one variety of *Śālagrāma* which is known as Saṃkarṣaṇa and another as Vāsudēva. But the real question is: to what early period is the worship of *Śālagrāma* traceable? It is, again, true that the *Mahābhārata* makes mention of this worship. But what is unfortunate here is that as the *Mahābhārata* was put together in its final shape about the 6th century A.D., no statement contained in that epic can be taken with certitude as belonging to a period much prior to it. Worship of a *Śālagrāma* cannot thus be supposed to be prevalent much anterior to the 6th century A.D. and hardly ever in the 1st century B.C. to which period the Hāthi-bāḍā inscriptions have to be assigned. The phrase *pūjā-śilā-prākāraḥ* may be dissolved either as *pūjā-śilāyāḥ prākāraḥ*, as Mr. Ghosh has done, or, as *pūjāyāḥ śilā-prākāraḥ* as others have done before him. But as there is no clear evidence as to the *Śālagrāma* worship being in vogue as early as the 1st century B.C., it is perhaps safer to dissolve the compound word as others have done it. This agrees, as stated above, with the expression *śilā-rigaḍa-bhīchā*, which occurs in an Aśoka inscription. Of these last *śilā-bhīchā* regularly corresponds to *śilā-prākāra* of the Hāthi-bāḍā record, as also remarked above. Just as Aśoka speaks of having constructed a stone enclosure wall round the place where Buddha was born, one Jātaka mentions the erection of an enclosing wall (*prākāra*) round Saṃbōdhi, the place where Buddha attained to enlightenment.⁴ It is, therefore, no wonder if Sarvatāta similarly built an enclosure wall round the place where Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudēva were worshipped. But the question arises how were Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudēva worshipped here? In the western half of the Hāthi-bāḍā I found, during my excavations there, the remains of a brick platform, which originally ran from east to west.⁵ If there was any shrine upon it, it may have been a wooden structure which has now completely disappeared. Not far from it in the western part of the wall was found by me the words *śrī-Viṣṇu-pādābhyāṃ*, in characters of the 7th century A.D.⁶ It is true that at that time Viṣṇu alone was worshipped. But it is worthy of note that what of him was worshipped was not an image but the footprints. And as there is absolutely no evidence of the construction of a shrine on the brick platform, it seems that even in the 1st century B.C. Saṃkarṣaṇa and

¹ D. R. Bhandarkar's *Asoka*, pp. 375-76.

² *A. S. I., An. Rep.*, 1913-14, pp. 198-99. Pls. LVI (a) and LVII.

³ *I. H. Q.*, Vol. IX, p. 796.

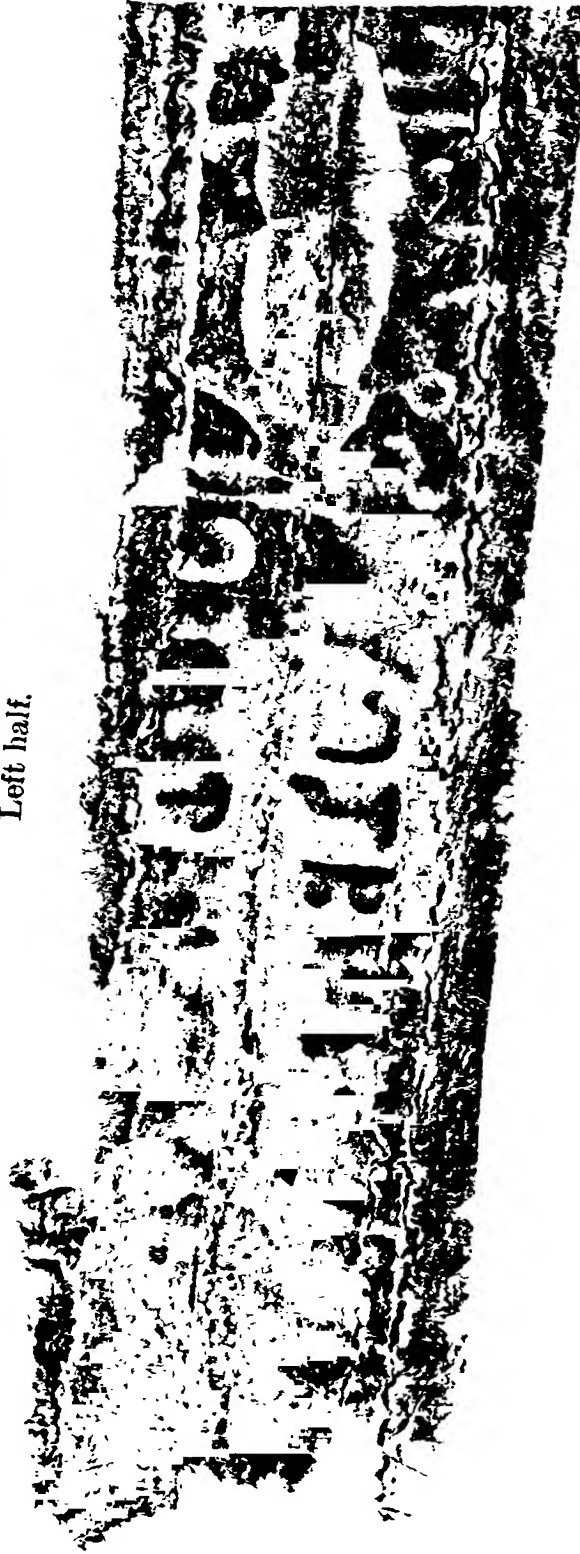
⁴ *Jāt.*, Vol. IV, p. 236; D. R. Bhandarkar's *Asoka*, pp. 376-77.

⁵ *Memoirs A. S. I.*, No. 4, p. 130.

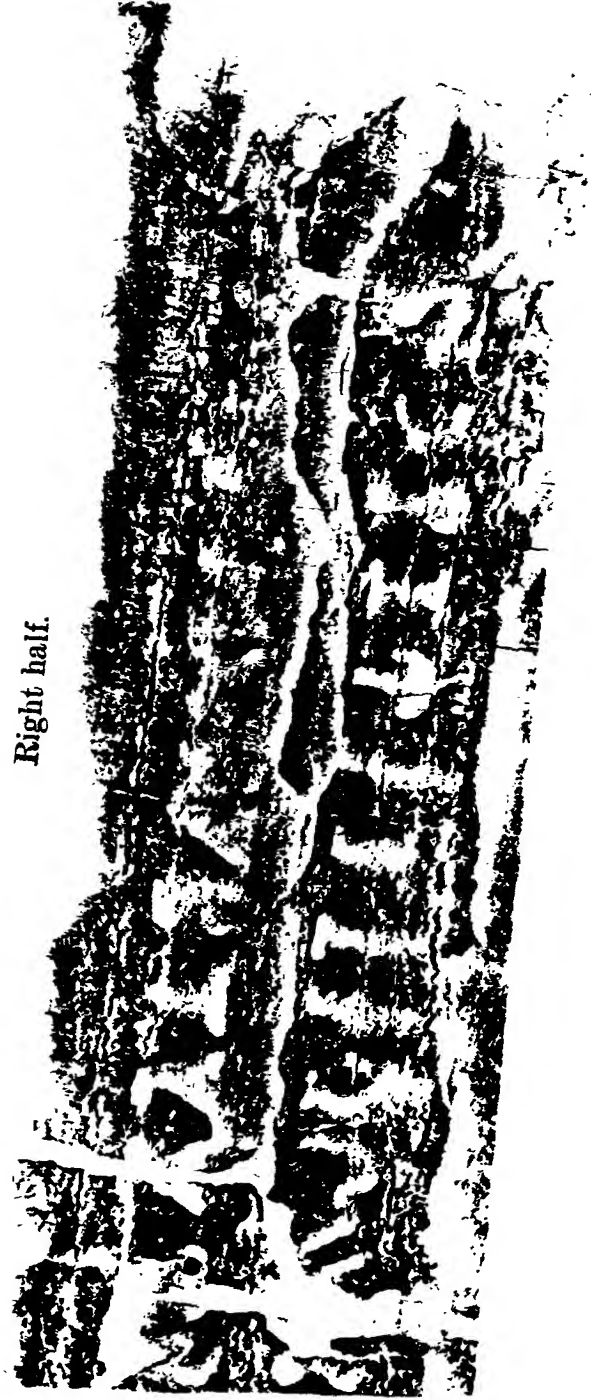
⁶ *Id.*, p. 129.

HATHIBADA BRAHMI INSCRIPTION AT NAGARI.

Left half.



Right half.



N. P. Chakravarti,
Rec. No. 3400 E:35-425.

SCALE: ONE-FIFTH.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Vāsudēva were worshipped through their footprints. If this inference is correct, we may with Mr. Ghosh take the phrase *pūjā-śilā-prākāra* to mean “an enclosure wall round the stone object of worship.” But the *pūjā-śilā* does not here represent Śālagrāma stones as he takes it, but rather the footprints of the two brother gods carved in stone. In course of time, however, Saṃkarshaṇa lost hold of the popular imagination, and Vāsudēva alone remained the object of worship. This change of worship is noticeable even in that early period. Just as in the time of the Hāthi-bādā record Saṃkarshaṇa and Vāsudēva were both worshipped, the celebrated Nānāghāṭ inscription of Sātakarṇi opens with obeisance to both these divinities.¹ On the other hand, the Besnagar pillar epigraph speaks of Vāsudēva alone and styles him *dēva-dēva*, ‘god of gods’.² The three inscriptions belong to a period ranging between 135 and 35 B.C. And yet at this early period we find Vāsudēva eclipsing and outliving his elder brother Saṃkarshaṇa in popular worship. At Besnagar, too, Vāsudēva was being worshipped when the Greek envoy Heliiodorus came and erected the column. In front of the pillar the retaining walls of a high platform were unearthed, surrounded by a solid railing. On this platform, no doubt, Vāsudēva must have been worshipped. But here too not a trace of shrine could be found.³ It is not at all unlikely that here also what of Vāsudēva was worshipped was, not his image, but his footprints.

Let us now place the three copies of the record side by side with a view to see what new facts are revealed to us and also to find out how far we can restore the original text. Of these the Ghō-sūṇḍī well text runs as follows: ⁴

A.

- 1tēna Gājāyanēna P(ā)rāsarīputrēṇa Sa-
- 2[j]i[nā] bhagavabhyām Saṃkarshaṇa-V[ā]sudēvābhya(m)
- 3bhyām pūjāśilā-prākārō Nārāyaṇa-vāt(i)kā.

The two fragments found near the boundary between Ghōsūṇḍī and Bassi may be transcribed as follows: ⁵—

B.

- 1[tr](ē)(ṇa) Sarvatātēna Aś[v]amēdha.....
- 2sarvēśvarābh(yām).

The inscription engraved in the Hāthi-bādā which was recently found by the Government Epigraphist reads as follows:—

C.

- 1vat(ēna) [Gā]j(ā)ya[n]ē[ē]na P(ā)r(āśarīpu)t(rē)ṇa [Sa](r)[vatā]tēna Aś(vamē)[dha](yā)-[j](inā)-
- 2(ṇa)-V(ā)sudēvābh[y]ā(ṇ) anihata(ḥhyām) sa(r)v(ē)[ś]va[r](ā)bh(yām) p(ū)[j](ā)-[ś](i)l(ā)-p[r]ā[k]ārō Nār[ā]yaṇa-vāt(i)[k](ā).

¹ *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 60, l. 1.

² *A. S. I., An. Rep.*, 1908-09, p. 128, (Text A), l. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, 1913-14, pp. 204-05.

⁴ For plate see above, Vol. XVI, facing p. 25 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, facing p. 203.

⁵ For plate see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, facing p. 203.

If we now carefully study Inscriptions **A** and **C**, we notice that they are fragments only in so far as their initial portions are gone, that, in other words, no letter seems to have been lost at the end of any one of the lines. This is clear particularly in the case of **A**. There is enough or even more than enough space left after the termination of every one of its lines to show that no letters have been lost after the last letter read of these lines. Secondly, it is worthy of note that whereas **A** consists of three lines, **C** contains only two, and that as both **A** and **C** end exactly with the word *Nārāyaṇa-vāṭikā*, we must take it that the original text ended with that word. Thirdly, if we compare **A** with **C**, it is by no means difficult to fill up the lacunae at the beginning of lines 2 and 3 of the former inscription, especially with the help of **B**. Thus line 2 of **A** must have commenced with (*rvatātēna Aśvamēdhayājñinā*, etc. Similarly line 3 of **A** must have begun with (*anihatābhyām sarvēśvarābhyām*, etc. It will be seen that lines 2 and 3 of **A** have each lost nine letters. The inference is irresistible that the same number of letters, viz., nine, has been destroyed, preceding *tēna*, with which line 1 commences. Now, it deserves to be noticed that whereas line 1 of **A** begins with *tēna*, line 1 of **C** does with *vat(ēna)*. And it is not at all difficult to restore the word to (*Bhāga*)*vatēna*. Six initial letters only thus remain to be accounted for. And perhaps we shall not be far wide of the mark if we tentatively fill up the lacuna with *Kāritō-yam rājñā*. We may thus restore Inscription **A** and thereby also the **original text** as follows :—

- 1 (Kāritō-yam rājñā Bhāgava)tēna Gājāyanēna Pārāsarīputrēṇa Sa-
- 2 (rvatātēna Aśvamēdha-yājñinā bhagava[d*]bhyām Saṁkarshaṇa-Vāsudēvābhyām
- 3 (anihatābhyām sarvēśvarābhyām pūjāsīlā-prākārō Nārāyaṇa-vāṭikā.

TRANSLATION.

(*This*) enclosing wall round the stone (*object*) of worship, called Nārāyaṇa-vāṭikā (Compound) for the divinities Saṁkarshaṇa-Vāsudēva who are unconquered and are lords of all (has been caused to be made) by (the king) **Sarvatāta**, a Gājāyana and son of (a lady) of the Parāśara-gotra, who is a devotee of Bhagavat¹ (Vishṇu) and has performed an Aśvamēdha sacrifice.

Between *Pārāsarīputrēṇa* and *Sarvatātēna* of the Text given above Mr. Halder² reads *sa...ṇa*. But this is a mistake, because **C** clearly shows that *Pārāsarīputrēṇa* was followed immediately by *Sarvatātēna*. The mistake has arisen, because the two fragments comprising **B** have been taken by him to be the integral parts of **A**. That this is a misconception, pure and simple, has been pointed out above. The fragment *ṇa Sarvatātēna* of **B** should thus be restored, not to *sa...ṇa Sarvatātēna* as he has done, but to (*pārāsarīputrēṇa Sarvatātēna*). That this restoration is the correct one may be seen from the estampage of the fragment supplied by the Government Epigraphist which has a clear trace of *tr(ē)* immediately preceding *ṇa*, showing that this *ṇa* is the ending syllable of *Pārāsarīputrēṇa*. This *sa...ṇa* of Mr. Halder has been conjecturally restored by Mr. Ghosh³ to *Suśarmaṇā*, denoting a Kāṇva prince of that name mentioned in the Purāṇas. But this superstructure based on a bubble crashes with the bursting of the bubble.

The **king** who constructed the *pūjāsīlā-prākāra* for Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudēva was thus *Gājāyana Pārāsarīputra Sarvatāta*. The mere matronymic Pārāsarīputra cannot show to which caste Sarvatāta belonged. But the patronymic Gājāyana by its very formation indicates, as has been pointed out by Mr. Jayaswal, that he was a Brāhmaṇ. It is true, as remarked by Mr. E. H.

¹ It is very difficult to say how the term *Bhājavata* is to be understood here. It may mean "a devotee of Bhagavat (Vishṇu)" as has been translated above or "a devotee of Bhagavats (viz., of Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudēva).

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 203.

³ *I. H. Q.*, Vol. IX, p. 793.

Johnston¹ that Gājāyana as a patronymic is unknown. But Mr. Ghosh has correctly observed that a name similar to Gājāyana is Gādāyana (with its variant Gūdāyana) occurring in the *Matsya-Purāṇa* as the name of an individual *gōtra*. And it is not at all improbable to say that Gādāyana is a slip of the scribe for Gājāyana. Whether Sarvatāta, again, is the proper name or an epithet of the king is somewhat doubtful. It bears, however, the plausibility of being an epithet.

But kings even in ancient times were sometimes better known by their epithets than by their individual names. Thus the Maurya emperor, Aśōka, has styled himself Priyadarśin, which is an epithet, in all his inscriptions, except one; in this last alone he is known by his proper name, Aśōka. And even though Sarvatāta is taken as an epithet as seems very likely, it need cause us no surprise. The question now arises, who could this Gājāyana Sarvatāta be? His records show that he lived in the first century B.C. His patronymic Gājāyana also shows that he was a Brāhmaṇ. And further we have to note, as Mr. Ghosh has told us, that Gādāyana which obviously is a mistake for Gājāyana is mentioned in the *Matsya-Purāṇa* as an individual *gōtra* falling under the Kāṇva division of the Aṅgiras Gaṇa. It thus appears that Sarvatāta was a Kāṇva. And we know from the Purāṇas that after the Śuṅgas the Kāṇvas became the rulers of North India. The Kāṇvas thus exercised supremacy in the first century B.C. Nothing therefore precludes us from supposing that **Sarvatāta was a Kāṇva ruler.** It is true that Sarvatāta is not found in the list of names, given by the Purāṇas, of the Kāṇva rulers. But as we have seen above, Sarvatāta is not a proper name, but rather an epithet. And it is not at all impossible that it was an epithet borne by one of the princes of this Brāhmaṇ dynasty.

No. 32.—A CHOLA INSCRIPTION FROM UTTIRAMERUR.

BY PROFESSOR K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, MADRAS.

The inscription edited below² has been noticed briefly in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1923, Part II, paragraph 28. It is engraved on a stone slab built into the south wall of the Hanumān shrine in front of the Sundaravaradaperumāḷ temple,³ **Uttiramērūr.** The inscription which fully covers the face of the slab occupies an area 13"×37", and the average height of the letters is 1", the ligatures sometimes measuring up to 2" and more. Only eight lines of the inscription at the beginning are preserved, but it seems unlikely that the missing part extended over more than two or three lines. In any case, what is left of the inscription enables us to form an adequate idea of its purport and significance. I edit it from two impressions, one in my possession, the other supplied by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

The inscription is dated in the **158th day of the ninth year of king Rājarājakēsari-varman,**⁴ i.e. Rājarāja I, and thus belongs to **A.D. 993-4**, the reign of that king having commenced on some day in the month following the 25th June, 985 A.D.⁵ **Paleographically,** the inscription bears a very close resemblance to the other stone inscriptions of Rājarāja's reign, the **alphabet** being Tamil with the usual admixture of Grantha for Sanskrit words.

The **language** of the inscription is Tamil. The grammatical construction of the main sentence of the *vyavasthā* is faulty; it seems to follow local colloquial usage, but the meaning is clear. Note

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 204.

² No. 197 of 1923.

³ Marked *Perumāḷ Koil* in the plan of Uttiramērūr in my *Studies in Cōla History and Administration*.

⁴ Cf. Nos. 176 of 1906 and 298 of 1908 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁵ Above, Vol. IX, p. 217.

particularly the changes from *-ēnum* to *-enral* in l. 4 and to *enrum* in l. 6. The form *javasthai* for *vyavasthai*, and the use of the verb *pōkkaruttal* in the sense of 'answer for' are noteworthy.

The object of the inscription is to record a decision (*vyavasthā*) of the *Mahāsabhā* of Uttiramēru-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, the best known of the village *sabhās* of the Chōla period on account of the celebrated inscriptions of the reign of Parāntaka I. regulating its constitutional arrangements. The decision of the *sabhā* relates to the responsibility for the payment of fines (*daṇḍam*) imposed on the members of different groups by different agencies. The groups liable to fines are enumerated thus: Brāhmaṇas, Śivabrāhmaṇas, Accountants, Merchants, Veḷḷālar and any other castes (*jātigaḷ*) (ll. 4-6). The agencies that could levy fines were: the King's court (*rājadvāram*), the court of justice (*danmāsanam*), the revenue department (*vari*), and others (*maṇṇuttāṇum*). The decision is that for all fines levied only the particular caste or group to which the individual or individuals fined belonged should be held accountable for their proper payment.

The occasion for this decision is not explicitly stated. But it seems proper to assume that the *Mahāsabhā* was responsible for securing the timely payments of fines by the villagers, that somehow the sanctions required to secure this began to fail them, and that consequently, they reached a method that made a powerful appeal to group-loyalty and enlisted the co-operation of the groups with the *Mahāsabhā* in the discharge of its responsibility. It will be noticed that the enumeration of the authorities levying the fine (*daṇḍam*) and of the classes of persons liable to it, is illustrative and not exhaustive; so that even fines, if any, levied by the *Mahāsabhā* itself would fall under the operation of this new *vyavasthā*.

The mention of accountants, merchants and Veḷḷālar among the groups raises an interesting issue. Were these classes members of the *Mahāsabhā* and did they take part in its deliberations? I think the answer to this question must be in the affirmative for two reasons. First, the meeting of the general assembly of the village is described as comprising everybody, young and old (*ābālavri-dharamaiya eppēppattadum*)¹, and there is no indication that it was an exclusively Brāhmaṇ assembly. Secondly, the various Chōla inscriptions which lay down special qualifications of property and education relate to the executive of the assembly indicated by such words as *Vāriyam*, *Sabhāmāṇṇajolludal*, *Kūṭṭam*,² etc. The *vyavasthā* recorded in our inscription must thus have had the approval of all the classes affected by it.

The Mānūr inscription of Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ³ (A. D. 800), it must be noted, lays down a high qualification in property and education not only for the *vāriyam* but for a person taking part in the general assembly, *maṇṇāḍutal*, as well. And the Tiruchchendūr inscription of Varaguṇa II⁴ shows that the system of village government that prevailed in the Pāṇḍya country in the ninth century was much the same as we find it in the Chōla kingdom of the tenth century and later. We may assume either that the Mānūr rule was an exception, or what seems more probable, that in course of time the exclusiveness of the *sabhās* broke down in part.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kōv-Irājarājakēsariṇaṇmaṇṇkku yāṇḍu 9 nāḷ⁵ 158 Utti-
- 2 ramēru-chchaturvēdi⁶maṅgalattu Mahāsabhaiyōm Tulāvāra-śrikōyil
- 3 mukamaṇḍapattē pagalk-kūḍiyirunḍu Mahāsabhaiyōm śeyda javasthaiy⁷-āvadu r[ā]-
- 4 jadvāratt-ēnum danmāsanatt-enral Variyill-e-nral maṇṇuttāṇum nammūril brā-

¹ E.g., 62 of 1898.

² Above, p. 5.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

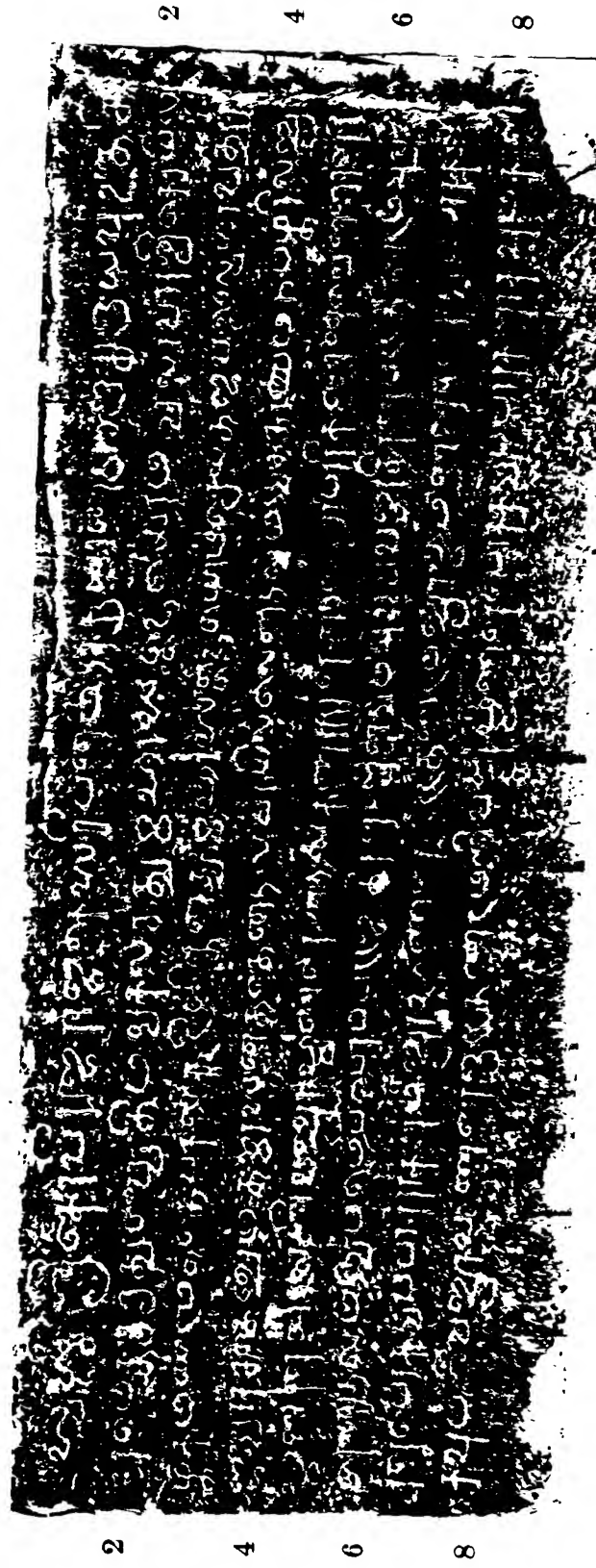
⁴ A *taḍhava* of *vyavasthā*.

⁵ *Studies in Chōla History and Administration*, pp. 82-84.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 101.

⁷ Read *chaturvēdi*.

A CHOLA INSCRIPTION FROM UTTIRAMERUR.



N. P. Chakravarti.
 Rec. No. 3902 E'35-425.

SCALE: ONE-FIFTH.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

5 hmaṇar-[eṇṇa]l śivabhrāhmaṇar-eṇṇal Kaṇakkār¹-eṇṇal vyāpārigaḷ-eṇṇaḷ*] Vellāḷar-
 6 (r)eṇṇal maṇṇum=eppērppaṭṭa jātigall-eṇṇum avvava-jātigaḷ paṭṭa daṇḍam avva[v]-
 7 āre pōkkaṇuppār-(r)āgavum brāhmaṇarai iṭṭa daṇḍam brāhmaṇarē pōkkaṇuppārgaḷ-[ā]-
 8 gavum śivabrāhmaṇarai iṭṭa daṇḍam śivabr[ā]hmaṇarē pōkkaṇuppārgaḷ-āgavum kā[ṇa]....

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-3). Hail! Prosperity! On the **158th day in the ninth year of** (*the reign of*) king Rājarājakēsaripaṇmar, we, the *Mahāsabhā* of **Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimāṅgalam**, assembled by day in the *mukhamāṇḍapa* of the sacred temple of the *tulābhāra*², and made the following resolution :

(Ll. 4-8). Whether at the gate of the royal palace, or at the court of justice or in the (*department of*) revenue, or elsewhere, the Brāhmaṇas, Śivabrāhmaṇas, accountants, merchants, Vellāḷas and any other castes of our village, shall be themselves answerable for the fines laid on the respective castes, the Brāhmaṇas being answerable for the fines laid on Brāhmaṇas, the Śivabrāhmaṇas being answerable for the fines laid on Śivabrāhmaṇas,—

No. 33.—AN UNFINISHED VAKATAKA PLATE FROM DRUG.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

This plate was discovered some years ago at **Mōhallā**, the headquarters of the Pānabūras Zamindari in the Drug District of C. P. An impression taken at the time by Mr. M. A. Saboor of the Nāgpur Museum was sent to the late Rai Bahadur Hiralal. As it was only a single plate, not containing the complete genealogy or even the name of the donor, Rai Bahadur Hiralal did not naturally consider it of sufficient importance and it is not, therefore, included in his list of inscriptions of C. P. and Berar published in 1932. I came to know of its existence in January 1934, from a casual reference in his letter. I requested him to give me more details, but he could not recollect any except that it was in the possession of a Zamindar in the Drug district. Later on while turning up old papers, he found an old impression of it which he kindly sent me. As Rai Bahadur Hiralal had fortunately jotted down at the time the name of its owner, I requested Mr. B. A. Bambawale, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of Drug, to procure the plate for me. He traced it to one Akbar Khan, a petition-writer of Drug, who held it on behalf of Nagshah of Sārōli. In the course of inquiries made by Mr. Bambawale it was elicited that the plate was originally found at Mōhallā by one Bisambhar Raut who sent it to Nagshah. But for Mr. Bambawale's keen interest and active help this unique plate would not have again come to light. It is now deposited in the Nāgpur Museum.

This **plate** was intended to be the first of a set of three or four plates recording the charter of a Vākāṭaka king. It is inscribed only on one side. It measures 8" by 3·75" and weighs 19½ *tolas*. It is only $\frac{1}{16}$ " in thickness and is thus the thinnest of all Vākāṭaka plates discovered so far. About 1·9" from the middle of the proper right margin there is a hole, .35" in diameter, for a ring intended to connect it with other plates of the set. But no such ring has been discovered so far. The size of the plate and the position of its hole show that it does not belong to the same set as the Patna Museum third plate³ of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna II edited by Prof. A. S. Altekar.⁴

¹ Read *Kaṇakkār*.

² No doubt the *Sundaravarada Perumāl Kōyil*.

³ The Patna Museum plate is 7·25" by 4·2". About 1" from the centre there is a hole about .35" in diameter.

⁴ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 465 ff.

The plate contains five lines only. The letters are very neatly cut and do not show through on the reverse, though the plate is very thin. The ends of the plate are neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims, still the inscription is in a perfect state of preservation.

As stated above, the plate records the charter of a **Vākāṭaka king** and is, like most other plates of the Vākāṭakas, inscribed in the box-headed **characters** which were current in C. P. and Berār from the fourth to the sixth century A.D. The boxes at the top of letters are not scooped out hollow, but appear like small squares as in many inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas. The engraver has not engraved boxes at the top of the letters *ja* and *la* and, in some cases, *śa*, *dha*, and *ga*. The characters resemble, in a general way, those of the Riddhapur plates¹ of Prabhāvatiguptā and the Rithpur plates of Bhavattavarman² and call for few remarks. The medial *ā*, *ē* and *ō* are generally denoted by horizontal *mātrās*, bent downwards at the end, added generally at the top (cf. *Padmapurāt*, l. 1) and in some cases, particularly in that of *m*, at the middle of letters (cf. *mēdha* and *samrājah*, l. 2). One of the two *mātrās* for *ai* is on the top (cf. *Bhairava*, l. 3). The medial *au* is bipartite as in the cognate records of the Vākāṭakas. The medial *i* is denoted by a curve turned to the left on the top of a letter often forming a loop (cf. *Śiva*, l. 3), while its length is expressed by adding to it another and smaller curve turned in the opposite direction (cf. *Śrī-Pravarasēnasya*, l. 2). The medial *u* is shown either by lengthening the vertical to end in a serif (cf. *supari*-, l. 3) or by a curve turned to the right (cf. *chatur*-, l. 1). The letters *a*, *ka* and *ra* have ornamental curves at the lower ends of their verticals as in the Southern alphabet; *ḍa* has a round back and is not clearly distinguished from *da* (cf. *daśāścamēdha*, l. 5 and *Shōdashy*-, l. 1); *va* is distinguished from *ba* which latter has a notch on its left; *ma* appears in a transitional cursive form with the lower box added to its left arm. Its other form with the box attached to the right vertical which is generally seen in the charters of Pravarasēna II does not appear in this record. The two forms appear side by side in the Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatiguptā and Rithpur plates of Bhavattavarman. The form of *ma* used in the present plate develops ultimately into that found in the charters of the kings of Śarabhapura as well as in those of Tivaradēva. The final *t* and *m* appear in a much reduced size and the latter has a looped base. The loop on the left side of *ya* has almost disappeared in two places (cf. *Vājapēya*, l. 1 and *Yājñinah*, l. 2). The right arm of *la* is longer than the left except in the case of *li*. The **language** is Sanskrit. As for **orthography** we have to note the reduplication of the consonant following *r*, e.g., in *Āptōryyāma*, l. 1; *th* is reduplicated before *y* in *Ukthya* (l. 1) and *Bhāgirathya* (l. 4), the reduplicated letter being made unaspirate.

With the exception of the place of issue the record is identical, so far as it goes, with the initial portion of the charters of the Vākāṭaka kings Pravarasēna II and Prithivishēna II. (It mentions by name only one prince of the dynasty, viz., **Pravarasēna I**, who assumed the Imperial title of Samrāt and performed several Vēdic sacrifices. (It then refers to his grandson who was a great devotee of Svāmi-Mahābhairava and who was the daughter's son of **Bhavanāga** the *Mahārāja* (of the family) of the **Bhāraśivas**. The description of the Bhāraśivas—their coronation with the water of the Ganges which they had obtained by their valour, and their performance of ten Aśvamēdhas—is given as in the other plates of the Vākāṭakas. The record on the plate breaks off just before the mention of this grandson of Pravarasēna I, viz., Rudrasēna I. The plate purports to have been issued from **Padmapura**.

Here two questions present themselves:—(1) Was the inscription commenced on this plate finished or was the plate rejected for some reason or other? (2) Who was the king who intended to issue this charter? As for the first question, I am inclined to think that the inscription was

¹ J. P. A. S. B., Vol. XX, pp. 58 ff.

² Above, Vol. XIX, p. 100.

never completed or, in any case, the present plate was rejected for some unknown reason. Nearly all the charters of the Vākātakas contain the word *drishṭam*, with¹ or without² some word like *siddham* or *svasti*, at the beginning or in the margin.³ The only exceptions so far known are the Bālāghāt plates of Prithivishēṇa II⁴ and the Riddhapura plates of Prabhāvatiguptā. Of these, the former is known to be an incomplete charter. In the case of the latter the word was probably not inserted for want of space. As in the Bālāghāt plates of Prithivishēṇa II there is in the present plate sufficient space for three letters in the beginning of the first line. If the record on the plate had been completed, the word *drishṭam* would have been prefixed to it as in so many other records of the Vākātakas. The following remarks of Prof. Kielhorn about the Bālāghāt plates would equally apply to our plate—"I am convinced now that *drishṭam* (and the Prakrit *diṭṭham* of the Mayidavōlu and Hīrahaḍagalli plates) must really be taken in its ordinary sense of 'seen' and that it is similar to the modern 'true copy' or 'examined' of official letters or Government orders. Such a remark could, of course, have been affixed or prefixed to a document only when it was finished and it is missing here, because our grant was not completed."⁵ Another point to be noted in the case of the present plate is that it leaves space sufficient for five letters at the end of the last line. The word Gautamīputrasya which follows Bhavanāga-dauhitrasya in other Vākātakas records, could very well have been written in that space. In fact the engraver seems to have begun to incise the word; for faint traces of the top portion of the first syllable of that word can be noticed on the plate. That the engraver left so much space at the end seems to show that he received an order to stop before he could complete that line. Whether the record was inscribed on another set of plates cannot be determined at present.

Let us next try to answer the second question—'Who was the king that intended to issue this charter?' The general resemblance between the characters of the present plate and those of the Dudia and Riddhapur plates seem to indicate that it might be Pravarasēṇa II. But almost all the known complete charters⁶ of Pravarasēṇa II were issued from Pravara-pura, a city which he himself seems to have founded and made his capital. It seems that Nandivardhana was the capital of the Vākātakas before the time of Pravarasēṇa II; for the earliest grant of the dynasty discovered so far, viz., the Poona plates of the queen mother Prabhāvatiguptā, was issued from Nandivardhana.⁷ So it was Pravarasēṇa II who shifted the capital from Nandivardhana to the newly founded city of Pravara-pura.⁸ If he had intended to grant the present plate, Pravara-pura and not Padmapura, should have, in all probability, been the place of issue. Besides, the palaeographical evidence detailed above seems to show that the present plate may be assigned to a slightly later date. Padmapura is not known to have been a holy place (*tīrtha*); nor is a

¹ Cf. the Chammak and Siwani plates of Pravarasēṇa II; Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Nos. 55 and 56.

² Cf. the Dudia plates of Pravarasēṇa II, above, Vol. III, p. 258.

³ Cf. the Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā, *ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 39.

⁴ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 267 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 268-269.

⁶ The only exceptions are (1) the Siwani plates which, however, do not mention any place of issue and (2) the recently discovered Tirōḍi plates (above, pp. 171 ff.) which, as I have shown in my article on them, were probably issued from a holy place. In the case of the Patna Museum plate (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, p. 465) and the Rāmtek plate (*List of C. P. Inscriptions*, Second Edition, p. 4), the first plates of their sets being missing, the place of issue is not known.

⁷ Rai Bahadur Hiralal has identified this place with Nāgardhan 4 miles from Rāmtek, but it is more likely to be Nāndpur about 15 miles to the north of Rāmtek where extensive ruins can still be seen and where two seals inscribed in characters of the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. have been found. (See *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 159 ff.)

⁸ Mr. K. N. Dikshit has conjecturally identified this with Pavnār in Wardhā district where there is a high strong fort overlooking a river and considerable ruins (*ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 159).

word like *vāsakū* added to it, showing that it was the site of the donor's camp. It seems, therefore, that Padmapura was the capital of a successor of Pravarasēna II who intended to issue this charter.

Let us next consider why the capital was shifted from Pravarapura. The Bālāghāt plates of Prithivishēna II describe that king as one 'who had raised his sunken family'.¹ This expression has not been satisfactorily explained.² It evidently refers to some foreign invasion in the reign of Prithivishēna's father and Pravarasēna II's son, Narēndrasēna, when he was reduced to great straits. Who was this powerful enemy of the Vākātakas? We should note in this connection that the Rithpur plates³ of Bhavattavarman which have been referred to a period falling between the end of the fifth and the first half of the sixth century were issued from Nandivardhana, which, as shown above, was formerly a capital of the Vākātakas. So Bhavattavarman must have occupied the western portion of the Vākātaka kingdom. The Vākātakas in this emergency seem to have shifted their capital to Padmapura in the East where they had the support of their loyal feudatories, the kings of Kōsala (Chhattisgarh) and Mēkala (the region round the source of the Narmadā).⁴ An inscription of Bhavattavarman's successor has been discovered at Pōdāgaḥ in the Jaypur Agency of the Vizagapatam district of the Madras Presidency, from which it appears that the Nalas suffered a great reverse after their initial success and their capital Pushkarī was made desolate.⁵ It seems, therefore, likely that Prithivishēna II carried the war into the enemy's territory and regained his ancestral kingdom evidently with the help of his maternal grandfather the king of Kuntala and his feudatories of Kōsalā, Mēkalā and Mālava. His Bālāghāt plates were intended to be issued when he was encamped at Vēmbāra.⁶ No other plates of either Prithivishēna II or his successors have been discovered; so we do not know the name of their capital. It seems likely that our present plate was intended to be issued either by Narēndrasēna or his son Prithivishēna II from the then capital Padmapura. If so, Padmapura is the last known capital of the Vākātakas.

The mention of Padmapura in the present plate is also important from another point of view. The well-known Sanskrit dramatist Bhavabhūti, who ranks in Sanskrit literature next only to Kālidāsa and flourished towards the close of the seventh century A.D., mentions Padmapura as his ancestral home. In one of his plays, the *Mahāvīracharita*, Padmapura is stated to be in the Dakṣiṇāpatha, while in another, viz., the *Mālātī-Mādhava*, it is mentioned as situated in Vidarbha. As no place named Padmapura was known till now from any epigraphic record as

¹ हि(नि ?)मद्रवंशस्थीहर्तुः वाकाटकानाम्परमभागवतमहाराजश्रीपृथिविविषणस्य वचनात् (above, Vol. IX, p. 271).

² There is no ground for Prof. S. K. Aiyangar's conjecture that Narēndrasēna allied himself with the Pushyimitras and the Paṭumitras who rose in revolt against Skandagupta and was subsequently defeated by the latter (*The Vākātakas in the History of India*, p. 50). Mr. K. P. Jayaswal thinks that the Vākātaka family must have sunk along with the Guptas owing to Hun invasions (*History of India*, 150 A.D.—350 A.D., p. 102). But there are no traces of Hun occupation in the heart of the Vākātaka kingdom, whereas we have clear evidence of the occupation of Nandivardhana by Bhavattavarman of the Nala family who rose about that time.

³ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 100.

⁴ कोसलामिकलामलवाधिपतिभिरभ्यर्चितशसनस्य प्रतापप्रलातारिसनस्य(प्रतापप्रणतारिशसनस्य) वाकाटकानामहाराज-
श्रीनरेन्द्रसेनस्य

⁵ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 153. Pushkarī has not been identified. It may be identical with modern Barsur in the State of Bastar, C. P., which abounds in ancient ruins. (See *Gazetteer of the Chhattisgarh Feudatory States*, p. 39.)

⁶ This place has not yet been identified. It is likely to be Bēmbāl about 28 miles to the east of Chāndā and 2 miles to the west of the Waingangā. This identification would further indicate that Prithivishēna II was on his way to the territory of the Nalas which lay further to the south-east, probably in the State of Bastar.

situated in Berār, some scholars¹ were inclined to take it as identical with Padmāvati, the scene of Bhavabhūti's *Mālātī-Mādhava*, which is now clearly shown to be Pawāyā 25 miles north-east of Narwār in Gwalior State.² The discovery of the present plate has settled this disputed point and proved incontrovertibly that Bhavabhūti was born in ancient Vidarbha. The Vākāṭaka kings were patrons of Vedic learning and performed many important Vedic sacrifices. It is no wonder, therefore, that we find such learned Mīmāṃsakas as the ancestors of Bhavabhūti,³ who themselves performed such sacrifices as the Vājapēya, settled in Padmapura, where they must have received the patronage of the Vākāṭakas. After the decline of the Vākāṭakas, there were no great royal dynasties ruling in C. P. and Berār in the 7th and the beginning of the 8th century A.D. Bhavabhūti seems, therefore, to have gone to the north where he found a patron in Yaśōvarman, the mighty king of Kanauj, as stated in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*.

We have seen above that Padmapura was situated in Vidarbha. From the *Mālavikāgnimित्रा* of Kālidāsa⁴ we learn that the river Wardhā divided Vidarbha into two parts. Ancient Vidarbha, therefore, comprised not only modern Berār but also the Marāṭhī districts of the Central Provinces, which, as I have shown elsewhere,⁵ were under the direct rule of the Vākāṭakas. As a matter of fact there is no village named Padmapura in modern Berār proper, while there are at least six villages of that name in the Chāndā and Bhandārā districts of C. P. Of these Padampur, 2 miles from Āmgaon, a station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, is probably the Padmapura of the present plate. As I have shown elsewhere⁶ the villages mentioned in the Siwani plates of Pravarasēna II can be identified in its vicinity. The village contains many ancient relics. When I visited the place during the Christmas of 1934, I found four finely carved but broken images of the Tirthaṅkaras Pārśvanātha and Rishabhadēva, some others of Hindu gods like Viṣṇu⁷ and remains of two Mediaeval Hindu temples, such as fragments of massive stone pillars, a large lintel measuring 8' × 1'-7" × 1'-6" and bases of door-jambs, in the adjoining fields. No other Padampur in C. P. is reported to have such ancient relics. There are at present no Brahmin families in Padampur itself which is now a small village of 112 souls, but there are many Brahmins in the neighbourhood of Padampur. It is noteworthy that they follow the Taittirīya branch of the Black Yajurveda to which Bhavabhūti's family belonged.⁸ I, therefore, feel no hesitation in concluding that Padampur in the Āmgaon Zamindari of the Bhandārā district, C. P., was the last Vākāṭaka capital and the ancestral home of Bhavabhūti.

¹ Cf. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar's Introduction to the *Uttara-Rāmacharita* (Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. XXI), p. xxxvi.

² A. S. R., for 1915-16, pp. 1-10.

³ अस्ति दक्षिणापथे पद्मपुरं नाम नगरम् । तत्र कवितैत्तिरीयिणः काश्यपाश्वरगुरुवः पङ्क्तिपावनाः पञ्चाग्रथी धृतव्रताः सीमपौथिन उदुम्बरनामानो ब्रह्मवादिनः प्रतिवसन्ति । तदामुभयायणस्य तत्रभवती वाजपेययाजिनो महाकवेः पञ्चमः श्रीकण्ठपदलाञ्छनो भवभूतिर्नाम जातृकर्णोपुत्रः । (*Mahāvīracharita* pp. 2-3, ed. Oxford University Press).

⁴ Act V, st. 13.

⁵ Above, p. 169.

⁶ Above, p. 171, footnote 1.

⁷ An old farmer of Padampur told me that one more image was taken to the Nagpur Museum about forty years ago. It cannot however be definitely identified there, as no accurate record of the findspots of images has been kept in the Museum and the provenance of many is not known. But from the dimensions of its stone *prabhāvalī*, which is still *in situ* at Padampur, the image seems to be identical with that of Śiva (A. 22 in the Descriptive List of Exhibits in the Nagpur Museum) which 'is said to have come from Bhandārā' (district ?).

⁸ It may be noted in this connection that the Siwani plates of Pravarasēna II which record the gift of the village Brahmapūraka in the neighbourhood of Padampur, were granted to a Brahmin of the Taittirīya-śākhā.

TEXT.¹

- 1 पद्मपुरात्² [।*] अग्निष्टोमासोऽर्थामोक्त्यपीड्यतिरात्रवाजपेयबृहस्पतिसवसाद्य-
स्त्रचतुरश्व-
2 मेधयाजिनः³ विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्रसम्माजः वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य सूनोः
सूनोः
3 अत्यन्तस्वामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य अंसभारसन्निवेशितशिवलिङ्गोद्धनशिवसुपरि-
4 तुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवंशानां पराक्रमाधिगतभागिर⁴त्थमलजलमूर्द्धाभिषिक्त⁵नाम्
5 दशाश्वमेधावभृत⁶ज्ञातानाम्भारशिवानाम्महाराजश्रीभवनागदौहित्रस्य⁷

¹ From the original plate.

² There is a space of "7" sufficient for incising three letters before this word.

³ Here and in some places below the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

⁴ Read भागीरथ्य.

⁵ Read मूर्द्धाभिषिक्तानाम्.

⁶ Read वसथ .

⁷ There is a space of 1·3" left after this word. Faint traces of the top portion of a letter can be seen on the plate.

THE SEAL OF THE LARGER LEIDEN PLATES OF RAJARAJA I.



ACTUAL SIZE

ANCIENT TOWER AT NEGAPATAM. (FROM IND. ANT. VOL. VII).



THE TOWER AS IT EXISTED IN 1846.

BRONZE IMAGE PRESENTED
TO LORD NAPIER IN 1868.

No. 34.—THE LARGER LEIDEN PLATES (OF RAJARAJA I).

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., COIMBATORE.

The Leiden University Museum in Holland preserves two sets of copper-plate charters of the Chōlas of which the larger contains 21 leaves or plates and the smaller 3 leaves. These are popularly known as the Large and Small Leiden Grants. They were edited nearly half a century ago, i.e., in 1886 by Pandit Natesa Sastri and Burgess in Volume IV of the *Archæological Survey of Southern India*.¹ The provenance of the plates is not noticed by the authors: but regarding the larger set they say that it is engraved in Chōla-Grantha characters on 21 plates each measuring 14" by 5". They also note:—"The plates are held together by a massive ring bearing a seal about 4½" in diameter with 16 knobs at about equal distances from each other round the margin. The central field contains, on the left, two fishes—the scales, fins, gills, eyes and mouth, of which are all clearly expressed; and on the right, an animal, seated dog-fashion, with its tail brought forward to touch the nearer of the fishes:—from the large tusk in its mouth, it is probably intended for a tiger—the Chōla symbol. Over it is a *chhatra*, with a *chāmara* on each side, the handles resting on the heads of two small pillars resembling lamp-stands,—each stand having a cloth knotted round the middle of it. The tops of these resemble lamp flames. A well-raised circle, double below, surrounds all this; and outside it, in raised characters of the Chōla-Grantha type, is the legend beginning at the bottom:—

Iti Rājendra-Chōlasya Parakēsarivarmmaṇaḥ rājarājanyamakūṭaśrēṇi-ratnēshu śāsanam ||"

The following additional information is found in the note recently received from Leiden, by Dr. Chakravarti, and kindly forwarded to me by him²:—"The plates are ½" in thickness. On the left side there is a hole (diameter 1") by means of which the plates are fastened to a massive copper-ring having an outward diameter of 13". The ring has a circular section with diameter of ⅔" and has been soldered into a cylindrical tube with raised rims. This tube, measuring 5½" in length and 1½" in section, contains a short inscription which contains the name Āpaimaṅgalam in Tamil. On the top of the tube there is a massive conical projection in the form of a lotus flower, with eight pointed leaves turned downward and sixteen pointed leaves turned upward. On the upper surface of this lotus is the seal" described above. The note further informs that "the writing has not been engraved: was written first on wax tablets and from these the copper-plates have been cast *à cire perdue*".

To the careful observations of Messrs. Burgess and Natesa Sastri I would only add that the inner one of the double line at the bottom of the raised circle is intended to denote the bow emblem of the Chēras whom the Chōlas had subdued, and that the legend requires slight emendation. Rājendra-Chōla's legend is given in two stone inscriptions published in the *South-Indian Inscriptions (Texts)*, Volume V,³ and also in the seal of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates.⁴ With the help of their readings the legend on the seal of the Leiden plates given by Burgess and Natesa Sastri may be corrected into—

Ētad-Rājendra-Chōlasya Parakēsarivarmmaṇaḥ [1*]

rājad-rājanya-makūṭa-śrēṇi-ratnēshu śāsanam [||*]

¹ Pp. 204 ff.

² [At my request Lt.-Col. Th. van Erp of Rijks Ethnographisch Museum, Leiden, kindly sent, through the good offices of Prof. J. Ph. Vogel, excellent ink-impressions of the grant from which the facsimiles accompanying this article are prepared—Ed.]

³ General Nos. 578 and 579.

⁴ A. S. R., for 1903-04, p. 234.

That this must be the reading is clear from the authors' own remarks that the symbol " used for the first syllable of *Rājendra* and for the third syllable of *rājarājanya* is quite different from that employed for *ra* elsewhere in the legend, being more like what one might expect to find for *dra* or *pra*." The photograph of the seal kindly sent by Lt.-Col. Th. van Erp was examined by me in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India and found to agree with the reading given above. I may remark that there is no punctuation mark in the legend.

At the time the large Leiden plates were published, the account furnished in them formed the only authentic source for Chōla history and served to remove some of the misconceptions and wrong conjectures regarding a few of the members of the Chōla family. The editors had correctly estimated the worth of the record when they said that it was ' the first Chōla inscription yet translated containing much definite information respecting the dynasty, and must be regarded as of the greatest importance'. The genealogy it furnished superseded those published by Sewell in his *Lists of Antiquities*¹ and formed an important basis for future investigations. Since the editing of these plates, a number of valuable Chōla records have been edited critically. Of these, the most important is the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant discovered by me in 1906 and edited in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume III.² No less useful is the stone inscription of Virarājendra found at Kanyākumāri by the late Gopinatha Rao and edited by me in the *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Volume III.³ The Anbil plates of Sundara-Chōla and the Madras Museum plates of Uttama-Chōla, the former edited in the *Epigraphia Indica*⁴ and the latter in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*,⁵ are other important ones. Besides these epigraphical sources, there are a few Tamil historical texts which also aid the student in his study of the Chōla history. These are the *Kalīṅgattupparan̄i* and the *Kulōttuṅgaśōlaṅ-ulā*, first noticed by the late Kanakasabhai Pillai in the *Indian Antiquary*, *Vikramaśōlaṅ-ulā*, *Rājarājaśōlaṅ-ulā* and others, the texts of which had since been edited with care.

Considering the time of publication, it must be said that the inscription on the Leiden plates has been fairly well made out. But there are a few mistakes of the authors as well as of the printer which mar the text and distort the sense. They could be easily corrected without having recourse to the original, mainly with the help of the reading of other allied records. I noted down the mistakes when I took up its study seriously while editing the Kanyākumāri inscription in the *Travancore Archaeological Series* nearly 15 years ago. On that occasion, I also revised the text of the Leiden plates, which on comparison with the impressions now kindly secured by the Government Epigraphist is found to agree. One of the serious defects in the previous edition of this inscription is the wrong arrangement of some of the plates. The plate marked there as " Fifteenth plate ; second side " is really the fourteenth plate, second side. Similarly the plate marked " Fourteenth plate : second side " is in fact the fifteenth plate, second side. The inscription then reads through without any interruption ; the regular order of the lines 284 to 316 given in the volume should be 284, 305 to 315, 295 to 304, 285 to 294 and 316.

While the published Sanskrit text is almost free from errors of transcription, the Tamil portion contains too many mistakes to be noticed here. The best way will be to give a correct version of the whole with proper division of words adding foot-notes wherever serious changes are effected. Most of the mistakes are simple ones due to taking *ra* for the length stroke from which it is hardly distinguishable or due to taking the basic consonant as the first combined consonant and *vice*

¹ Vol. II, pp. 154-156.

² See pages 383 to 439.

³ Pages 87 to 158.

⁴ Vol. XV, pp. 44-72.

⁵ Vol. III, pp. 264 ff.

versá. In effect, the significance of some of the words has been altered or distorted and rendered meaningless. For instance *karaṇattāṇ* has been read as *kūṇattāṇ* (l. 356)¹, *Pākkaraṇ* has been read as *Pākkāṇ* (l. 276), *Perēmapura* as *Perampura* (l. 156), *ulguṃ* as *ulakum* (l. 285), *virpiḍiyum* as *virapiḍiyum* (l. 285), *pāya-kkallīṇa* as *pāykkallīṇ* (l. 236), *Śiriyāṇ Kaḍambāṇ* as *Śiriyāṇa kaḍambāṇ* (l. 244), etc. The formation of *ta* and *na* being almost similar, one has been mistaken for the other. For instance, the proper name *Aṇaiyāṇ* has been read as *aṇaiyāda* (l. 159). As *lu* is shaped almost like *mu*, the latter letter has been mistaken for the former, e.g., *nāṭṭōḷukku* and *nāṭṭōḷun* (ll. 173 and 174), for *nāṭṭōṃukku* and *nāṭṭōṃun*. The *Grantha* letter *bha* being similar to the conjunct *tta*, the former has been mistaken for the latter, e.g., *Tammaḍittattāṇ* (l. 153) which must be *Tammaḍi-Bhaṭṭāṇ*. Wrong division of words has sometimes resulted in distorting words and obscuring their sense. For instance, what has been read as *brahmadēyamun-Kīrakuḍi* (l. 265f) ought to be *brahmadēya-Mūṇḍikuḍi*, what has been read as *peruttatōraṇgaḷum* (ll. 159-60) ought to be *pēr-ttāntōṇ-tāṅgaḷum* (*pēr tandōṇ-tāṅgaḷum*) and what has been taken as *pāl tēvavakai* (l. 287) should be *pālad-evragai*. It is unnecessary to cite more instances as the mistakes are corrected in the revised text given below.

The impressions now obtained show that the inscription has been very neatly executed from beginning to end. It is in **two sections**. The **first section** is in the **Sanskrit** language and written in the **Grantha** alphabet. It contains 111 lines of writing and covers the obverse and reverse sides of **five plates**.² Except the first plate, the rest are marked with the numerals 2 to 5 on the obverse sides, near the top of the ring hole, either to its left or right. These numerals are in smaller characters than the letters of the inscription.

The following **orthographical peculiarities** may be noted. The vowel *a* is represented by two separate symbols which could be easily mistaken for *tara*. The finals of consonants are indicated by a slight vertical stroke marked on the right top corner (for instances see *yāvat* in l. 4 and *pratāpavān* in l. 31), except in the case of *m* where it is marked on the top of the left side. The superscribed *rēpha* is denoted by a dot placed over the consonant (e.g., see *śāringiṇaś* in l. 3 and *Ravir=vvī* in l. 7). The length symbol is invariably separated from the letter to which it belongs. While *kri* (see *Kriṣṇa* in l. 43, *kṛita* in l. 66f., *kṛitya* in l. 67), is represented by a hook turned to the right crossing *ka*, *kri* is shaped by bending, at the bottom, the vertical stroke of *ka* to the left (see *chakra* in l. 52). There are many instances of the use of final *m* for *anuvāra*; for example see *sampatābhis* in l. 44, *Śambhu* in l. 69, *dakṣiṇ-āmbhō* in l. 69, *sambhūtēna* in l. 80, *sampanna* in l. 101, and *sambhavō* in l. 103. While the medial short *i* is denoted by a concave curve marked over the letter, long *ī* is denoted in two ways by having a closed loop at the beginning or end of the *i* curve. The *u* symbol is formed in three different ways:—(1) In the case of most letters (*ṣ*, *p*, *m*, *y*, etc.), it is indicated by the addition of a tube to the bottom of the letter: the long *ū* in these letters is denoted by the further addition of a convex curve passing from the right of the letter to the left covering its lower portion. (2) In the case of letters like *k* and *r*, which have a tube-bottom, the *u* symbol is represented by the addition of a curve passing at the bottom of the letter with a slight bend on the right side: the long *ū* in these letters is shown by a wavy line added to the letter at the middle of the right side. (3) In the case of *t* and *ś*, the *u* symbol is indicated by the addition of a hook at the bottom turned to the right. *Tū* and *śū* are not represented.

¹ The lines quoted in this paragraph refer to the edition of the text by Burgess and Natesa Sastri.

² On each side, the first plate contains 10 lines, the second 11 lines, and the third and the fourth 12 lines. While the obverse of the fifth plate has only 9 lines, the reverse of it contains 12 lines.

The **language** and **alphabet** of the **second section** is **Tamiḷ**, though Grantha letters are used in some words of Sanskrit origin. It contains 332 lines of writing and covers the obverse and reverse sides of **sixteen plates**.¹ These plates are marked with the numerals 1 to 16 as in the Sanskrit portion. The omission of *puḷḷi* or *virāma*, and the shaping of *mu* and *lu* alike are the only points worthy of note.

Omission of letters are noticeable in *grām* (l. 49) for *grāmam*, *viḷa* (l. 67) for *viḷaya*, *saṁāhvah* (l. 97) for *saṁāhvayaḥ*, *Jayaṅgoṇṣōḷa* (l. 108) for *Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa*, in the Sanskrit portion; *pūṇmai* (l. 56) for *pūṇḍamai*, *°yūḍattu* (l. 126) for *°yūḍaruttu*, *Kshatriśikhā* (l. 240) for *Kshatriyaśikhā*, *brahmadēṇ=* (l. 212) for *brahmadēyaṇ=*, *Naṇṇimaṇḷa* (l. 247) for *Naṇṇimaṇḍala*, *piśūḷndu* (ll. 232, 253, 268) for *piḍiśūḷndu*, and *eḷudi* (l. 234) for *eḷudiṇēṇ* in the Tamiḷ portion.

Both the Sanskrit and the Tamiḷ portions are in the **script of the 11th century A.D.** The writing of the Sanskrit section and the writing from the latter half of line 323 up to line 332 are alike, and seem to be somewhat in a different hand from the main Tamiḷ section from lines 1 to 323 of the 16 Tamiḷ plates.

We shall now notice the **contents** of the inscription. In the Sanskrit portion, the first verse is in praise of Viṣṇu² while the second is an invocation to the gods for the continuance of the Chōḷa family. Verses 3 and 4 introduce certain mythical ancestors of the solar family to which the Chōḷas belonged. They are Manu³ the son of Ahimakara (*i.e.*, Sūrya); his son Ikshvāku; the virtuous Māndhātā⁴ born in his family; his son Muchukunda⁵; his son Vaḷabha; and Śibi⁶ born in his family. Of the last, the poet exclaims "who, excepting Vyāsa, could extol the qualities of this king who protected his life only for the benefit of others!" (v. 5). The eponymous **Chōḷa**⁷ is

¹ There are generally 10 lines on each face except on IIb, VIIIb, IXa and b, XIVb and XVa, which contain 11 lines each, and XVb, and XVIa, which have 13 lines each.

² Verse 9 of Canto VIII of *Kalīṅgattupparaṇi* starts the mythical ancestry of the Chōḷas from Viṣṇu and carries it in regular succession through Brahman, Marichi, Kaśyapa, and Sūrya.

³ Verse 10 of Canto VIII of *Kalīṅgattupparaṇi* states that Ikshvāku was the son of Manu who was the son of Sūrya. It refers to the rendering of justice by Manu, to the astonishment of all, by holding the life of his own son as being no better than that of the calf overrun by the wheels of his car. The verse reads:—

Avv-Arukkaṇ maṇaṅ-āgi Manu mēdini purand ariya-kāḍalaṇaiy āviṇadu kaṇṇu-nigar-eṇṇ-
e-vvarukkamum viyappa muraḷ-śeyda kadaiyūm Ikkuvāguv-ivaṇ-maindaṇ-eṇa vanda pariśum [1*].

It is interesting to note that the account of the *Periāpurāṇa* of Manu rendering justice to a cow whose calf was run over by the car of his son, by running his own car over the latter, finds mention in an inscription of Vikrama-Chōḷa found at Tiruvārūr (No. 456 of S. I. I.—Texts, Vol. V, pp. 174ff.). This gives some more details that are not found in the hagiology. Here it is stated that a cow having rung the bell put up at the gate (of the palace) of Manu, the king sent his minister (*mantrin*) Ubhaiyakulāmalan of Pālaiyūr in Inḡa-nāḍu to know the cause of the ringing. On his reporting that a cow rang the bell, Manu came out, saw the cow and her calf that lay dead, enquired and learnt, that the calf was run over by the car in which his son drove and considering his son's life as being equal to that of the calf, he ordered his minister to run a car over his son. The minister set out with a heavy heart and piercing his ears died. The *dvārapālas* (*i.e.*, gate-keepers) informing the king of the happening, he felt sorry and himself ran the car over his son. At this juncture, the God showed His Grace by restoring to life the calf, the minister and the son of Manu. The king presented the calf to the mother cow and set out for *tapas* with the minister, anointing the revived son in his place and appointing to the office of his minister, the minister's son named Sūrya.

⁴ Before Māndhātā, the *Kalīṅgattupparaṇi* introduces Purandara as being the son of Ikshvāku (VIII, v. 11.).

⁵ Māndhātā and Muchukunda are described in verse 12. The former is described as making the fierce tiger and the deer drink together at the same *ghāṭ*.

⁶ In verse 13, Śibi is referred to only by his act of cutting his flesh from his body without the least agitation and entering the scales to equal the weight of the dove; and before him is mentioned one (*i.e.*, Prithulākṣhu) who carried the nectar arising from the churning of the ocean to the gods.

⁷ Speaking of Chōḷa, the *Kalīṅgattupparaṇi* (verse 14) states that he formed the Chōḷamaṇḍala and that Surādhiraḷa, *i.e.*, Suraguru and others came in his line. The same verse also speaks of Rājakēśarin and Parakēśarin.

then introduced as being born in his family (v. 6). It was after his name that the kings born in the family were called Chōlas. This is of importance in indicating that the name Chōla was first applied to a person, and then to the family, to the people and to the country. In this family was **Rājākēsarin** and in the latter's family was **Parakēsarin** (v. 7). It is stated that the names, or rather the titles, Rājākēsarin and Parakēsarin were borne alternately by kings born in the Chōla family (v. 8). Thus it is made clear that only ruling members of the line assumed the said titles and not the others. The next person mentioned as belonging to the family is Suraguru who acquired the name Mrityujit by conquering the god of death¹ (v. 9). In his family was Vyāghrakētu whose descendant was Pañchapa² (v. 10). From here, the information furnished in the plates relates to historical persons. King **Karikāla** who is described as the god of death to his enemies, is said to have been born in his family. The fact noted about him is that he constructed embankments to the river Kāvērī (v. 11). He seems to have won lasting fame by this deed. The composer of the Kanyākumāri inscription draws special attention to the damage caused annually to the country by the river when it was in floods. The building of embankments to it not only alleviated the frequent sufferings of his subjects but turned the very source of evil into good and made the country grow in wealth and prosperity. And posterity never failed to mention with gratitude this noble act of the king.³ His renovation of the city of Kāñchī, which as we know was the capital of the Pallavas from very early times, is recorded in the Tiruvālaṅgādu plates.⁴ In these ways Karikāla seems to have used the riches which he must have obtained by his successful fight with Trilōchana-Pallava and the influence which he must have gained thereby. In the first of these works, Karikāla was helped by several of the subjugated kings including Trilōchana-Pallava.⁵ The date of Karikāla has been taken to be the 5th century A.D.⁶ In Karikāla's family was king **Kōchchaṅgaṇṇāṇ**. He is described as the bee at the lotus feet of Śambhu (v. 12). While the story of Kōchchaṅgaṇṇāṇ's previous birth as spider weaving cobwebs over the *liṅga* at Jambukēśvaram is detailed in the *Periyapurāṇam* and the Tiruvālaṅgādu plates,⁷ his building activities and devotion are referred to in the *Dēvāram*. His victory in the battle of Kaḷumalam is fully described in the *Kaḷavaḷi*.⁸ After him came **kō-kKiḷḷi**. A descendant of Kiḷḷi was **Vijayālaya** (v. 13). While

¹ Mrityujit is described in the *Kalingattupparaṇi* (Canto VIII, v. 15) as "one who showed to Kala (i.e., the god of death) his way of conduct". In *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 417, n. 2, it has been pointed out that the poem evidently refers to Suraguru and Mrityujit as two different kings.

² After Mrityujit, Vyāghrakētu and Pañchapa are the only two kings mentioned in the Leiden plates. The former is referred to in the Tiruvālaṅgādu plates by his other name Chitraratha and it is stated that his banner-cloth bore the emblem of the tiger. The *Kalingattupparaṇi* evidently speaks of him when it refers to 'one who put in his flag Indra as the tiger'. Pañchapa is described in the Tamil poem as 'he who offered his blood to be drunk forcibly'. The Kanyākumāri inscription speaking of Pañchapa states that he cut open five arteries of his body and fed with blood five Yakshas.

³ *Tat-kulē Kalikālōbhūt Kāvērī-tira-kṛin-nṛipaḥ* (above, Vol. VII, p. 153). *Tasmin kulē samabharat Kalikāla-Chōlō viraḥ Kavēra-tanayān=taṭinim vidhātā* (ibid, p. 150). *Toḷudu maṇṇarē karai-śey Poṇṇi* (*Kalingattupparaṇi*, VIII, v. 20).

⁴ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, pp. 417f., v. 42.

⁵ *Charaṇa-sarōruha-vihita-vilōchana-Trilōchana-pramukh-ākhila-prithvīśvara-lārīta-Kāvērī-tira* (above, Vol. XI, p. 340, n. 2). *Kavēra-tanayā-[vē]l-ō[!]*laṁghana-prasamana-pramukh-ādy-anēk-ātīśaya-kārīṇaḥ*..... *Karikālasya* (Puṇyakumāra plates, above, Vol. XI, p. 345).

⁶ Above, Vol. XI, p. 340.

⁷ See *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 418, verse 43 and note 4. See v. 3 of Tirunāvukkaraṣu's *Dēvāram* on Tiruchchāy-kādu and his hymn on Tirunāpipaḷḷi, verse 2; also Sundaramūrttināyanār's hymn on Tiruvāvaḍudurai, verse 2. The Māḍakkōyil at Tiruvaigal is said to have been constructed by Śeṅgaṇṇāṇ: see Jñānasambandar's hymn on that place.

⁸ K. V. S. Aiyer's *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, pp. 187 and 188, and also above, Vol. XI, p. 156, n. 6.

the Kanyākumāri inscription states that he constructed the town of Tañchāpurī¹ in the Chōla country, the Tiruvālaṅgādu plates say that he captured that city and built the temple of Niśumbhasūdanī in it.² Since we know from the Śendalai pillar inscriptions that Tañchāpurī was one of the principal cities³ of Perumbidugu-Muttaraiyan, who flourished immediately before the time of Vijayālaya, the conclusion is irresistible that the latter must have conquered the Muttaraiyan chief and wrested the town from his possession and made it his capital.⁴ As such the information furnished in the Kanyākumāri inscription is not quite correct. And since we know from Vēlūr-pālayam plates that Nandivarman III, who was not far removed from Vijayālaya, had a certain Chōlamahārāja *alias* Kumārāṅkuśa as his *ājñapti*,⁵ it is not impossible that this Vijayālaya succeeded him and eventually made himself independent or paved the way for his son to raise the canopy of a dominion in Southern India. Of **Āditya**, the son of Vijayālaya (v. 14), much information is not given in the Leiden plates. But we know from other sources that he was a Rājakēśarivarman⁶ and had the name Kōḍaṇḍarāma,⁷ that he was a great conqueror and knew no defeat,⁸ that he was on friendly terms with the Chēra king Sthānu Ravi⁹ and the Western Gaṅga Prithvīpati II,¹⁰ that he extended his territory into Toṇḍai-nāḍu⁹ and killed or defeated the Pallava king Aparājita,⁷ that he acquired Koṅgu,¹¹ that he built large temples to Śiva on both banks of the Kāvērī and that he reigned from A.D. 870 to 907.¹⁰ Āditya's son was **Parāntaka (I.)** (v. 15). He is said to have founded big towns, to have effected some conquests and to have covered with gold the temple of Indumauli, *i.e.*, Śiva at Vyāghrāgrahāra (vv. 16-17). His achievements recorded in other places are the signal defeats inflicted on the Pāṇḍya Rājasimha, the acquisition of the Bāṇa kingdom and the bestowal of it on his ally the Western Gaṅga Prithvīpati II,¹² the conquest of Ceylon,¹³ the overcoming of the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇarāja III in battle¹⁴ and the establishment

¹ *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 155, v. 54.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 418, vv. 45, 46.

³ Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 134ff.

⁴ *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 211. There are ample evidences of the rule of the Muttaraiyans in the Pudukkōṭṭai State and Tanjore and Trichinopoly Districts. See pages 138-39, above, Vol. XIII.

⁵ See *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 512, v. 26, and the Tamil portion which follows it. It is said that this Chōlamahārāja was called the heroic head jewel of the Chōla race, that the glory of his prowess was well known, that his liberality was that of Karṇa and that his conduct was upright.

⁶ Above, Vol. XV, p. 68, v. 17.

⁷ *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 155, v. 55.

⁸ Above, Vol. XV, p. 68, v. 18.

⁹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 221.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 81ff.

¹¹ *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 213.

¹² These are recorded in the Udayēndiram plates of Prithvīpati II (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 387, vv. 9 and 10). The charter distinctly refers to two invasions of the Pāṇḍya country, in the earlier of which Parāntaka I. defeated the Pāṇḍya king and captured his city, and in the later he not only defeated the Pāṇḍya but also slew an immense army despatched to his aid by the lord of Lankā. Parāntaka's first invasion of Madura may be placed in A.D. 910 when he assumed the title 'Madiraikoṇḍa'. The second invasion referred to above may be placed in about A.D. 918 which is the date of one of his inscriptions mentioning the battle of Vēlūr in which it is also stated that Parāntaka defeated the allied forces of Pāṇḍya and the king of Ceylon.

¹³ The earliest inscription that gives to Parāntaka I., the epithet "*Madiraiyum Ilamum koṇḍa*" being dated in the 37th year of his reign, his conquest of Ceylon must be said to have taken place in or about A.D. 944. The Tiruvālaṅgādu plates referring to this event state that "all the waters of the sea were not enough to quench the fire of the Chōla king's anger, which consumed the enemies and which was put out only by the tears of the wives of the king of Simhala, cut and killed by the king's weapons" (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 419, v. 52). The Kanyākumāri inscription states that the name Simhalaṅtaka was acquired by Parāntaka I., by this achievement (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 155, v. 59).

¹⁴ *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 155, v. 58. Parāntaka's conquest of the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III must have happened before A. D. 944 which is the earliest date of Kṛṣṇa III's records in the Tamil country subject to the rule of the Chōlas (No. 375 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909).

of several *agrahāras* called after his name *Vīranārāyaṇa*.¹ The first over-seas invasion—which was to be continued long afterwards—was undertaken by him. He reigned for 48 years² from A.D. 907 and paid great attention to the internal administration of his country.³ Verse 18 states that **Parāntaka** had three sons named **Rājāditya**, **Gaṇḍarāditya** and **Ariṇjaya**. Of these, **Rājāditya** is said to have been the lord of the earth after **Parāntaka I.** had passed away (v. 19), and fighting with **Krishṇarāja**, *i.e.*, the **Rāshtrakūṭa** king **Krishṇa III.**, he is reported to have met with his end (v. 20). The incorrectness of the statement contained in verse 19 that **Rājāditya** became the lord of the earth after **Parāntaka** has been clearly shown on pages 82-83 of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, where, in a footnote, several records of **Parāntaka I.**, dated in regnal years corresponding to A.D. 947, 948, 952 and 953 have been cited. Because the battle of **Takkōlam**, in which **Rājāditya** lost his life, took place in A.D. 947 and is referred to in a record of A.D. 949, it is evident that he did not survive his father, who lived and reigned, according to a recently discovered inscription dated in the 48th year, up to at least A.D. 955. From verses 21 and 22 we learn that **Gaṇḍarāditya** reigned over the **Chōla** dominion and founded a city after his name on the north bank of the **Kāvērī**,³ and passed away after a son named **Madhurāntaka** had been born to him. The last statement is significant inasmuch as it indicates that **Madhurāntaka** was a child at the time of his father's demise. The next seven verses (vv. 23-29) state that **Ariṇjaya**, his son **Parāntaka II** who fought a sanguinary battle at a place named **Chēvūr**⁴ (v. 25), and the latter's son **Āditya II** who is said to have played sportively with **Vīra-Pāṇḍya** while he was yet a youth (v. 28), ruled the kingdom in succession and that **Madhurāntaka** succeeded **Āditya II** (v. 29). Thus, from the statements of the plates it is evident that the three kings **Ariṇjaya**, **Parāntaka II** and **Āditya II** held the reins of government only during the minority of **Madhurāntaka** and gave him the kingdom when he came of age. Their reigns must accordingly have been short. That this was actually the case can be gathered from a consideration of the time of the rule of **Uttama-Chōla**. His stone inscriptions carry his reign to 16 years and one of them gives **Kali 4083** as the equivalent of his 13th year.⁵ As such, his rule lasted from A.D. 969 to 985. Therefore, it is certain that the intervening kings between **Parāntaka I.** to **Madhurāntaka**, omitting of course **Rājāditya**, who, as shown above, did not survive his father, must have reigned in the interval A.D. 955 to 970. Verses 30 to 34 speak of **Rajārāja I.**, the successor of **Uttama-Chōla**. He is said to have conquered the countries of **Pāṇḍya**, **Tuḷu**, **Kēraḷa** and also **Simhālendra** and **Satyāśraya**. The genealogy furnished in the present plates is given below in a tabular form for easy reference along with those supplied by the **Tiruvālaṅgādu** plates, the **Anbil** plates, and the **Kanyākumāri** inscription.

¹ *Ibid.*, v. 60.

² *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1932, p. 49.

³ This place has been identified with **Kaṇḍarādittam** in the **Trichinopoly** District.

⁴ In some inscriptions he claims "to have driven the **Pāṇḍya** into the forest". The **Kanyākumāri** record states that the quivering **Pāṇḍya** contemporary of his crossed the mountain and fled away. **Sundara-Chōla's** general **Parāntakan Śiṅṅavēḷār**, a **Koḍumbālūr** chief, is said to have lost his life in a battlefield in **Ceylon** in the 9th year of the king's reign (above, Vol. XII, p. 124, and note 3).

⁵ *A. R. on Epigraphy* for 1908, p. 63.

THE TABLE SHOWING THE ANCESTRY OF THE CHOLAS IN

The Tiruvālaṅgaḍu plates.	Anbil plates of Sundara-Chōla.	The Kanyākumāri inscription.	The Leiden plates.
¹ Sun-Manu-Ikshvāku-Vikukshi-Purañjaya <i>alias</i> Kakutstha-Kakshivat-Aryyamā ... Analapratāpa ... Vēna-Prithu...Dhundhumāra...Yuvanāśva-Māndhātṛi-Muchukunda...Valabha-Prithulāksha-Pārthivachūdāmaṇi ... Dīrghabāhu <i>alias</i> Chandrajit—Sāmkṛiti...Pañchapa...Satyavrata <i>alias</i> Rudrajit ... Ausinara Sibi...Marutta ... Dushyanta-Daushyanti (Bharata)-Chōla or Chōla-varman. Rājakesarivarman or Rājakesarin. Parakesarin. Chitraratha. Chitrāśva. Chitradhanvan: (brought Kavérakanyakā). Suraguru <i>alias</i> Mrityujit. Chitraratha <i>alias</i> Vyāghrakētu. Narēndrapati. Vasu (Uparichara). Viśvajit. Perunatkiḷli. Kalikāla (Karikāla): (renovated Kāñchī with gold; constructed embankments to the Kāvērī).	Vishnu-Brahmā-Marichi-Kaśyapa-Aryaman ... Mahāvira ... Rudrajit-Chandrajit-Uśinara-Sibi ... Chōla. Seṇṇi, Kiḷli, etc. Karikāla, etc. Kōchchaṅgaṇṇāṇ: (built temples for the lord of Gauri in all countries, v. 13). Nallaṭikkōp. Valabha. Śrikanṭha. ² Vijayālaya. Rājakesarin: (built large temples of stone to Śiva on both banks of the Kāvērī). Vira-Chōla: (reduced Madhurā, married the daughter of the Kēraḷa king who was also called Paḷuvēṭṭarayar). Ariñchika: (married Kalyāṇi, the daughter of the Vaidumba king). Sundara-Chōla: (also called Rājakesarin and Parāntaka; his virtuous rule and his martial glory described in vv. 27-30).	Brahmā-Marichi-Kaśyapa-Vivasvān-Manu-Ikshvāku-Vikukshīśrava-Purañjaya...Prithu ... Kuvalāśva ... Māndhātṛi ... Muchukunda ... Hariśchandra ... Sagara ... Bhagīratha ... Rituparna ... Dilipa ... Rāma ... Chōla. Rājakesarin. Parakesarin. Mrityujit. Virasēna. Chitra or Vyāghrakētu. Pushpakētu. Kētumāla. Samudrajit. Pañchapa. Nṛimṛiḍa. Manōratha. Perunatkiḷli. Karikāla. Valabha. Jagadēkamalla. Vyālabhayāṅkara.	Sun-Manu-Ikshvāku ... Māndhātṛi-Muchukunda-Valabha ... Sibi ... Chōla. Rājakesarin. Parakesarin. Suraguru <i>alias</i> Mrityujit. Vyāghrakētu. Pañchapa. Karikāla: (constructed embankments to the Kāvērī). Kōchchaṅgaṇṇāṇ: (a devotee of Sambhu). Kō-kKiḷli. Vijayālaya. Āditya. Parāntaka I: (covered the temple of Śiva at Vyāghragrahāra with gold). Rājāditya: (fought with Krishnarāja and died in battle). Gaṇḍarāditya: (founded a village after his name on the bank of the Kāvērī). Ariñjaya. Madhurāntaka.

¹ The mythical ancestry of the Chōlas as furnished in these sources is given at the beginning of each list before the eponymous Chōla is mentioned. Hyphen after a name indicates 'son and successor' and dots 'a lineal descendant'.

² Tiruverumbūr was called Śrikanṭha-chaturvēdimāṅgalam.

The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates.	Anbil plates of Sundara-Chōla.	The Kanyākumāri inscription.	The Leiden plates.
<p>..... Kōchcheṅgaṇṇāṇ : (a spider in his previous birth ; devoted to Sambhu). Vijayālaya : (captured Tañchāpuri ; consecrated Niśumbhasūdanī). Āḍityavarman : (conquered in battle the Pallava Aparājita and took possession of his country). Parāntaka (I.) : (defeated Pāṇḍya, Simhaḷa ; built a Dabhra-sabhā to Śiva). Rājāditya : (defeated Kṛishṇarāja and went to heaven). Gaṇḍarāditya : (became king after his father). Arindama : (became the best of kings). Parāntaka (II.) : (called a Manu and Sundara ; on his death his queen Vāṇavanmahādēvi committed <i>sati</i>). Arupmōlivarman : (performed <i>tulābhāra</i> ; captured the town Viḷindā ; conquered the Pāṇḍya Amara-bujaṅga, and burnt the lord of Laṅkā ; defeated Satyāśraya ; killed Āndhra-Bhīma ; conquered the country of Paraśurāma, and subdued the kings of Gaṅga, Kāliṅga, Vēṅgi, Magadha, Aratṭa, Oḍḍa, Surāshṭra and Chālukya). Āḍitya (II.) : (ruled the earth after Parāntaka (II.) ; killed the Pāṇḍya king in battle).¹</p>		<p>..... Vijayālaya : (constructed Tañchāpuri in the Chōla country). Āḍitya (I.) <i>alias</i> Kōḍaṇḍarāma : (killed the Pallava king). Parāntaka (I.) : (killed the Pāṇḍya king, destroyed Madhurā and acquired the title of Madhurāntaka ; conquered the unconquerable Kṛishṇarāja and was famed as Vira-Chōla ; having killed the lords of Simhaḷa acquired the title of Simhaḷāntaka ; established <i>agrahāras</i> called after his other name Viranārāyaṇa). Arindama. Parāntaka (II.) : (hearing of his advance the Pāṇḍya king crossed the mountain and fled). Rājarāja (I.) : (Satyāśraya fled from the battlefield). Madhurāntaka <i>alias</i> Rājendra-Chōla : (conquered Kuntaḷa, made Mānyakhēṭa a playground for his armies ; had the kings of Kulūta and Utkala slain and the chiefs of Kalinga and Viṃśa destroyed ; burnt Kaṭāha). Rājādhirāja Rājendra (set fire to <i>dēva</i>. Kalyāṇapura, and conquered Āhavamalla). Virarājēndradēva <i>alias</i> Vira-Chōla : (slew at Kūḍalaṅgama the kings</p>	<p>..... Parāntaka II : (fought a sanguinary battle at Chēvūr). Āḍitya (II) <i>alias</i> Karikāla : (fought with Vira-Pāṇḍya). Rājarāja I : (conquered the Pāṇḍya, Tuḷu, Kēraḷa, Simhaḷendra and Satyāśraya ; destroyed ships at Kāndaḷūr-Sālai ; captured Vēṅgaināḍu, Gaṅgapāḍi, Nuḷambapāḍi, Taḍigaipāḍi, Kuḍamalaināḍu, Kollam, Kāliṅgam, and Īlam ; and removed the splendour of the Śēliyas). Madhurāntaka (Rājendra ; Chōla).</p>

¹ After Āḍitya (II), his paternal uncle Madhurāntaka bore the burden of the earth and installed Arupmōji in the office of heir-apparent : his devotion to Śiva is described.

The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates.	Anbil plates of Sundara-Chōla.	The Kanyākumāri inscription.	The Leiden plates.
Madhurāntaka <i>alias</i> Uttama-Chōla, Rājendra-Chōla and Chōlendra-simha : (conquest of the quarters with a powerful army; invasion of the South, the Pāṇḍya country and the fight of the Pāṇḍya king to the Malaya hill; his son Chōla-Pāṇḍya left in charge of the kingdom; invasion of the Western region, crossing the Sahya and fighting with and defeating the lord of Kēraḷa and leaving Chōla-Pāṇḍya in charge of the west also; entry into Kāñchī and conquest of Jayasimha :		of the Māṇḍa family; conquered the Vēṅgi and the Kalinga countries; established <i>brahmadēyas</i> in the Chōla, Tuṇḍira, Pāṇḍya, Gaṅgavāṭī and Kulūta countries; and saw the back of Āhavamalla three times).	

After tracing the pedigree of the Chōlas the Sanskrit portion of the inscription states that king **Rājarāja *alias* Rājakēsarivarman** gave in the 21st year of his reign the village of **Āṇaimaṅgalam** to the lofty shrine of the Buddha in the **Chūlāmaṇivarman-vihāra**, which the ruler of **Śrīvishaya** and **Kaṭāha** named **Māravijayōttuṅgavarman** of the **Sailendra** family having the *Makara* crest, the son of **Chūlāmaṇivarman**, had erected in the name of his father at the delightful city of **Nāgapaṭṭana** in **Paṭṭana-kūrṇam**, a sub-division of **Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu** (ll. 73-86) and that after Rājarāja had passed away, his son **Madhurāntaka** caused a permanent edict to be made for the village granted by his father (vv. 35-36). The Sanskrit *praśasti* given in this inscription was composed by a Brāhmaṇa resident of **Koṭṭaiyūr** named **Anantanārāyaṇa** of the *Vasishṭha* family (v. 39) : it was ordered by the officer **Tillaiyāḷi** of **Kāñchivāyil**, otherwise known as **Rājarāja-Mūvēṇḍavēḷ**, to be neatly incised (vv. 40-42). On the direction of the lord of Kaṭāha and at the instance of **Tuvavūravāṇ** **Apukkan**, the son of **Śrīmān Aṭikaḷ** (Aḍigaḷ)¹, the five artisans of the **Bhōvya** family at **Kāñchīpura**, viz., **Vāsudēva *alias* Rājarāja-Mahāchārya**, **Śrīraṅga** and **Dāmōdara**, the two sons of **Kṛishṇa**, **Kṛishṇa** son of **Vāsudēva**, and **Purushōttama**, the son of **Ārāvaṁṇita** incised the *praśasti* and affixed their signatures to it (vv. 43-48).

A word may now be said about the composer of the *praśasti* and the engravers of the grant. Since it is stated that this permanent edict was caused to be made by **Madhurāntaka** (*i.e.*, Rājendra-Chōla I., the son of Rājarāja I., there is no doubt that the *praśasti* was composed during his reign by his court poet. The composer's name given in it is **Anantanārāyaṇa** and not **Nandanārāyaṇa** as Messrs. Burgess and Natesa Sastri have it. He was a *Vasishṭha* and a resident of **Koṭṭaiyūr**. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant, which was issued in the early part of the same reign, *i.e.*, in the 6th or the 7th year, is said to have been drawn up by **Nārāyaṇa** the son of **Śarṅkara**. The village of **Koṭṭaiyūr**, to which the composer of the *praśasti* in the Leiden plates belonged, is renowned as the birth place of **Pāvattabhaṭṭa-Sōmayājiyār**, one of the Chōla officers that conducted enquiries in temples². It is identical with the village of that name in the Kumba-

¹ On this word, see note I, p. 243 below.

² No. 227 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1921.

konam Taluk of the Tanjore District. From one of the inscriptions of the place it is learnt that it was situated in Innambar-nāḍu¹. While the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant was incised by four persons, the Leiden plates were engraved by five. The proper names that occur in both are Śrīraṅga (Tiruvāraṅgan) and Dāmōdara, who were the sons of Kṛishṇa, and Purushōttama the son of Ārāvamṛita. While the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates give the additional name Ārāvamurta, the son of Kṛishṇa, the Leiden plates furnish the names Vāsudēva, son of Kṛishṇa, and his son Kṛishṇa. The attribute *a-kṛishṇa-charitaḥ Kṛishṇa-sambhavō=pi mahāmātiḥ* is given to Ārāvamurta in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, which distinctly state that Śrīraṅga and Dāmōdara were his younger brothers, whereas it is applied to Vāsudēva *alias* Rājarājappērāchāriyaṇ in the Leiden plates which mention Śrīraṅga and Dāmōdara immediately after him without specifying any relationship. The common application of the epithet cannot point to the identity of the individuals Vāsudēva and Ārāvamurta. But it is not unlikely that both Vāsudēva and Ārāvamṛita were the elder brothers of Śrīraṅga and Dāmōdara. The title Rājarājappērāchāryyaṇ borne by Vāsudēva might have been granted by Rājarāja I. himself, during whose reign the gift recorded in the Leiden plates was actually made, though the document was finally issued in the reign of Rājendra-Chōla I. This grant might even be slightly earlier than the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant issued in about the 6th year. In the Sanskrit portion, the word *hōvya* is used to denote the family (*anvavāya*) of the persons that incised the inscription on the plates and they are also called *chitrakāriṇaḥ*. In mentioning their names in the Tamil portion which follows, the persons that incised the edict get the epithet *ōviyaachchittirakāri*. It is thus made clear by the inscription itself that *hōvya* is only a variant of the Tamil *ōviya*. The word *ōviyam* occurs in the Tamil classical work *Maṇimēgalai*² in reference to a treatise called *ōviya-nūl* and this is made evident by the commentary of Aḍiyārkkunallār on *Vēṇṇikāḍai*³ of *Silappadikāram*. Thus, we are led to think that *hōvya* or *ōviya* is not the proper name of a family or caste but is the name of a profession, and that profession, we know from the inscription, to be 'painting' (*chittirakāri*). This sense of the word *ōviya* is clearly obtained from two other references in the *Maṇimēgalai*⁴ and *Jivakachintāmaṇi*.⁵ In the second reference, the commentator Nachchinārkkiniyar furnishes the synonym '*chittirakārar*' for *ōviyar*, as in the Leiden plates. In this connection, it is also worth noting that *ōvu* is used in the sense of "a painting" in *Maduraikkāñchi*.⁶ From what has been said above, it looks as if inscriptions were in the first instance painted on the materials, stone or metal, by painters, though the incising might have been left to be done by carvers on stone or metal. But it is not unlikely that both painting and carving were done by the same individuals; that is to say that *lēkhakas* knew both painting and carving.⁷

In the **Tamil portion** of this grant it is said that on the **92nd day after the 21st year of his reign**, king Rājarāja, while he was in the pavilion, on the southern side of his palace called Rājāsrayan, erected in a suburb of Tañjāvūr, declared that the income of 8,943 *kalam*, 2 *tūṇi*, 1 *kurūṇi*, and 1 *nāḷi* of paddy accruing from the payment of the assessment on 97 *vēli*, 2 *mā*, 1½ *kāṇi*, 1 *mundirigai*, *kīl* of three *mā*, three *kāṇi* and one *mundirigai* and *kīl* of half and 2 *mā* of land comprising the village of Āṇaimaṅgalam,—including such as had ceased to be *pallich-*

¹ No. 241 of the same collection for 1927.

² Canto II, ll. 30-31, which read *nāḍaga-maḡalirku naṅgaṇam vaguttav-ōviya-chchennūl-urai-nūr-kkidak-kaiyūm*.

³ See ll. 23-26.

⁴ Canto 5, l. 7.

⁵ Verse 102 of the *Gāndaruvatattaiyār-Iḷambagam*.

⁶ See l. 365.

⁷ This is evident from the use of the words *veṭṭinōm*, *āchāriyaṇ* and *chittirakāri* used in connection with the writers of this document.

śhandas (i.e., grants made to Buddhist or Jain temples), and omitting such as had been excluded in survey,—should be given as a tax-free *pallichchanda* to meet the requirements of the *palḷi*, i.e., the shrine of the Buddha in the Chūḷāmaṇivarmanavihāra which was being constructed by Chūḷāmaṇivarman, the king of Kaḍāram, at Nāgapattanam in Paṭṭanakūram, a sub-division of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu. This oral order of the king was committed to writing by the official who generally writes down the royal orders, was signed by four persons who bore the designation *tirumandiravōlai-nāyagam*, i.e., Superintendents of Royal Writs, and was issued. In accordance with it, it was ordered to be entered in the accounts by the officials bearing the designation *karumamārāyum*, i.e., Secretary, and *naḍuvirukkum*, i.e., arbitrators. Four officials of the tax department styled *puravuvuri* and three others styled *varippottagam* (i.e., maintainers of tax registers) being present, the entry in the state registers was made. This done, arrangements were made for drawing up the deed of gift, giving it to the donee and effecting the necessary changes in the divisional or village accounts. For the ceremony of walking along the boundaries taking round a female elephant, pointing out the limits and marking them with stones and milk-bush, one official called *kaṅkāni-naḍuvirukkum*, i.e., superintendent of arbitrators, four *Bhaṭṭas* and one *puravuvuri* officer were nominated; and a royal order was issued to the *nāṭṭār*, i.e., the members of the Divisional Assembly stating that they should be present with the nominated persons, point out in detail the boundaries and draw up and give the deed of assignment to the donee (Il. 49-50). On hearing the approach of the royal mandate, the administrative body of the division went in advance, and paying obeisance to the order, received it on their heads and acted as directed in the order. The deed drawn up by them is actually what is incised on plates I to XVI (Tamiḷ portion), which, after reciting the contents of the royal order noted above, gives in detail the boundaries of the lands comprising the village of Ānaimaṅgalam which is the object of the grant, specifies the conditions to be observed by the donees and the privileges to be enjoyed by them and bears the signatures of the persons that were present at the time of its being drafted. The names of the officials of Rājarāja I. that figure in this inscription, their designations and the villages with district and subdivision, to which they belonged, are given in List A; and the names of the persons who signed the deed, with their official designations, and the *sabhā* or *ūrār* of villages on whose behalf they attested it, are given in List B.

Here king Rājarāja I. is surnamed Rājarājakēsarivarman and is said to have cut off the ships at Kāndaḷūr-Śālai, to have taken Vēṅgai-nāḍu, Gaṅgapāḍi, Nuḷambapāḍi, Taḍigai-pāḍi, Kuḍamalai-nāḍu, Kollam, Kaliṅgam and Īḷamaṅḍalam with the aid of his highly powerful and victorious army, and to have deprived the Śēliyas of their splendour. In the numerous collection of stone inscriptions of Rājarāja I., Kāndaḷūr-Śālai sometimes occurs in the shortened form Śālai. That it was an important place in the Chēra kingdom is made clear from the epithet “*Vīra-Pāṇḍyaṅ talaiyum Śēralaṅ Śālaiyum Iḷaṅgaiyum koṇḍa*” (who took the head of Vīra-Pāṇḍya, the Śālai of the Chēra king and Laṅkā) applied to the Chōḷa king Rājādhirāja I.¹; and that it was a port town having a large number of ships is evident from the phrase “*eṇṇaiḷ vēlai-keḷu Kāndaḷūr-Śālai*” occurring in the historical introduction of the same king in describing his campaign against the Chēras.² As the destruction of the ships at Kāndaḷūr-Śālai is first recorded in Rājarāja’s stone

¹ A. R. of the Trav. Arch. Department for 1920-21, p. 65.

² Though Śālai and kalam mean also ‘feeding house’ and ‘vessel’ it seems improper to introduce this sense of the words in the phrase *Śālai-kalam-arutta* and to say that the Chōḷa king caused the discontinuance of “the feeding house or boarding school of the Chēras” (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, p. 3f.) for, it would turn one of the important military achievements of that king, on which he may be said to have prided himself by repeating it in his deeds of glory (i.e., the historical introduction), into an ignoble act which the king would hardly have allowed to be mentioned in his *meykirti*.

inscriptions dated in the 10th year of his reign, it must have taken place in about A.D. 994. Though the epithet *Kāndaḷūr-Śālai kalam-aṛutta* is applied in most records to Rājarāja I., there is but a single inscription which states that the king "by ordering his army, effected the destruction of ships at Kāndaḷūr-Śālai¹". Vēṅgai-nāḍu is the country of the Eastern Chālukyas; Gaṅgapāḍi is the territory of the Western Gaṅgas of Talakkāḍ; and Nuḷambapāḍi is the province subjected to the rule of the Nuḷambas. Kuḍamalai-nāḍu occurs in the form Kuḍagumalai-nāḍu in one of the Mysore State inscriptions² and may be the same as Coorg. But, it may also be interpreted as Malai-nāḍu (*i.e.*, the hill country) lying on the western side (*kuḍa* or *kuḍagu*). In this case, Malai-nāḍu or Kuḍamalai-nāḍu may be taken to represent the country of the Chēras.³ And it is worthy of note that some of the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājarāja I. state that he defeated the Chēra king (*Chēramāṇ*) and the Pāṇḍyas in Malai-nāḍu and presented the booty obtained there to the temple of Rājarājēśvara which he built at Tañjāvūr.⁴ The conquests of the places mentioned above are registered in the king's records dated between the 12th and the 14th years as having been effected with the help of his highly powerful and victorious army. Thus between A.D. 997 and 998 Rājarāja seems to have overcome the Western Gaṅgas, the Nuḷambas, the chief of the Coorg province or the Chēras, and the Eastern Chālukyas. Inscriptions dated between the years 14 and 15 (A.D. 998-999) add Kollam and Kalingam to the king's conquests. Bearing the name Kollam there were two places on the West coast. They had the distinguishing epithets Kurakkēṇi and Pandalāyani.⁵ The former is Quilon, a station in the Shencotta-Trivandrum line of the South Indian Railway, and the other is Pandalāyani near Quilandy, a station in the Mangalore line of the same Railway. Both appear to have been cities of considerable importance in early times. According to the Kōṭṭayam plates of the Chēra king Sthāṇu Ravi, a contemporary and ally of the Chōḷa sovereign Rājakēsarivarman Āditya I. (A.D. 870-907), a Christian Church—the earliest that is known from lithic records—was built at Kurakkēṇi-Kollam, which was subject to the immediate rule of the Vēṇāḍu Chief Aiyanadigaḷ-Tiruvaḍi and his heir-apparent Rāma-Tiruvaḍi.⁶ The Vēṇāḍu Chiefs are often called Kōḷambhādhiśas from the fact that they were the lords of Kōḷambha, *i.e.*, Quilon.⁷ Pandalāyani-Kollam or Kōlam is said to have been made the capital of a kingdom by Rāmaghaṭa-Mūshikēśvara.⁸ The chiefs of this place are called in lithic records 'Irāmakuṭa-Mūvar'.⁹ If Kollam referred to as having been captured by Rājarāja I. in his historical introduction is Kurakkēṇi-Kollam, *i.e.*, Quilon, he must have got it from the chief of Vēṇāḍu after defeating him, and if it is Pandalāyani-Kollam, he must have wrested it from Irāmakuṭa-Mūvar. Both these chiefs were subordinate to the Chēra king. Probably, referring to the conquest of the Chēras herein noted as having been effected by the army of Rājarāja I., the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant says that the commandant of the king captured the town of Viḷinda whose moat was the sea, whose extensive ramparts were glorious and high, (and) which was impregnable to the enemy warriors, thus omitting Kollam but mentioning Viḷiṇam (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 421, v. 79). The Sēṇūr inscription of Rājarāja I., which is somewhat differently worded from the rest, states that the Chōḷa sovereign conquered the haughty kings of Kollam, Kolladēśam and Koḍaṇi-

¹ No. 121 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1923.

² *Ep. carn.*, Vol. III, Tn. 122.

³ Kielhorn's *Southern List*, Nos. 704 and 764.

⁴ See Tanjore temple inscription mentioning this conquest.

⁵ See *J. R. A. S.*, 1922, p. 172.

⁶ *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, pp. 63 and 70.

⁷ *A. R. of the Trav. Arch. Department* for 1920-21, p. 54, para. 29.

⁸ *J. R. A. S.*, 1922, p. 166.

⁹ *A. R. on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1930, Part II, para. 40.

gōlūr (Cranganore) and that the kings of the sea (*kaḍal-araiśar*) waited on him¹. Here must be noted one other event, which seems to have taken place in the king's 14th year of reign (A.D. 998) and which seems to have furnished the king with the grandiloquent epithet *tanṇēḷil vaḷar uḷiyuḷ ellā yāṇḍum toḷutaḡa vilaruṇṇuṁ yāṇḍē Śēḷiyarai-utēśu-koḷ* meaning that "in the very year of his growing prosperity when he became the object of adoration in all quarters, he took away the splendour of the Śēḷiyas (i.e., the Pāṇḍyas)". This event was considered to be of such prime importance that it was ever afterwards inseparably associated with his title and name in all his later inscriptions and the epithet bodily removed to the end of the introduction giving place to the mention of later additional conquests before it. It is not unlikely that the king himself was engaged in the fight against the Pāṇḍyas and secured such unqualified success which gave him the permanent epithet while the additional conquests effected by the army were inserted before the phrase *tiṇḍiraḷ veṇṇi taṇḍāṇṇi=koṇḍu*.² An exact parallel to this may be found in the epithet *Śōṇāḍu koṇḍu Muḍiḱoṇḍaśōḷapurattu vīrābhishēkam paṇṇiy-aruḷiya*,³ which was similarly associated with the name of Māravarmaṇ Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., and taken to the end of his introduction giving his later conquests an earlier place. The Śēṇūr inscription adds that the Chōḷa sovereign destroyed Madura, i.e., the capital of the Pāṇḍyas and places that event before the conquests of Kollam, Kolladēśam and Cranganore.⁴ Speaking of the Pāṇḍya conquest the Tiruvālaṅḡaḍu grant says that when Rājarāja I. set out to conquer the South, the moon as if to afford protection to the Pāṇḍya king born in his family, became the white parasol of the invader; and records also that Amarabhujāṅga was seized⁵. The last item of conquest mentioned in the Leiden plates is Īlamaṇḍalam, i.e., the province of Ceylon. This was effected with the help of the army. Perhaps Rājarāja himself did not go to Ceylon. As the event is mentioned for the first time in the historical introduction of the 16th year, it has to be placed in A.D. 1001. Quite in agreement with the stone inscriptions that it was the highly victorious army which effected the conquest of this item also, the Tiruvālaṅḡaḍu grant registers the event in these words:—"This terrible General of that (*king Aruṇmoḷivarman*) crossed the ocean by ships and burnt the Lord of Laṅkā (Ceylon)".⁶

Since no additional conquests are recorded in Rājarāja's inscriptions from the 16th to the 20th years and since the annexation of Raṭṭapāḍi 7½ lakhs is noticed in the inscriptions of the 21st year and after,⁷ it seems that the invasion against the Western Chālukya country took place in some part of the 21st regnal year of the king (A.D. 1005). As the Leiden plates are also dated in the 21st year and 92nd day and as they do not mention Raṭṭapāḍi 7½ lakhs, it is evident that the conquest was effected in the latter part of A.D. 1005, after the date of this grant, i.e., after the 92nd day of the 21st year of reign. The greatness of Rājarāja I. as a conqueror is evident from the fact that he was able to bring under subjection not only the rulers of almost all the provinces of South India but also the king of Ceylon. It would thus appear that Rājarāja I. was the greatest sovereign of the day, greater than any of his predecessors and had a high claim for imperial honours. However much the valour of this king and the conditions that were prevailing in the various

¹ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1912, Part II, para. 22.

² The 16th year inscriptions of Rājarāja I., add Īlam to the list of conquests effected with the help of the army and this is inserted before *tiṇḍiraḷ* and the epithet *tanṇēḷil* taken after it. In the records of the 21st year and later, another conquest effected with the help of the army, viz., that of the Western Chālukya country or Raṭṭapāḍi 7½ lakhs, is mentioned. We find it also similarly entered after Īlam and the epithet of the king taken to the end of the introduction.

³ See above, Vol. VI, p. 302.

⁴ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1912, Part II, para. 22.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 421, vv. 77-78.

⁶ *Ibid.*, v. 80.

⁷ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1892, para. 6.

provinces of the Deccan in his day might have contributed to the success of his arms (in his vast scheme of conquests), credit must necessarily be given to "the highly powerful army" with whose aid he is expressly stated in hundreds of inscriptions to have effected the enlargement of his dominions.

A word about the conditions of the various states of the Deccan may not be out of place here. In fact it is necessary to know them to understand what opportunities presented themselves to Rājarāja I. and how he availed himself of them. During the period when Rājarāja I. was heir-apparent, which according to the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant covered the reign of Uttama-Chōla¹ (A.D. 970-985), there reigned over the Pāṇḍya country a king named Vira-Pāṇḍya who boasts of "having taken the head of the Chōla king".² As opposed to this, more than one ruler of the Southern provinces, who could be regarded as his contemporaries, have assumed the title "who took the head of Vira-Pāṇḍya". One of these latter was the Chōla king Āditya II *alias* Karikāla and about him the grant under publication states that though a young boy he played sportively with Vira-Pāṇḍya³. Others are the Koḍumbālūr chief Vikramakēśari and Pārthivēndravarmā⁴, both of whom appear to have been the Chōla king's allies. From this it can be safely said that there were hard fights between the parties. In some of these, Vira-Pāṇḍya must have been successful and in others his opponents. In ascertaining the actual truth in such a matter, the places of distribution of their inscriptions may be regarded as a sure test of their claims. This seems to be in favour of neither party. So far, we have not come across any inscriptions of Vira-Pāṇḍya in the Chōla country. Nor have we any record of his opponents in the Pāṇḍya territory, as we do find in the case of Parāntaka I. and Rājarāja I. The struggle between the Chōlas and the Pāṇḍyas was a hard and continuous one. It commenced in the reign of Chōla Parāntaka I. against Rājasimha-Pāṇḍya and his ally the king of Ceylon and was continued ever afterwards. Parāntaka II *alias* Sundara-Chōla is said to have driven the Pāṇḍya into the forest; and of his general Parāntakan Śiṛiyavēlār it is reported that he gave up his life in a battle in Ceylon⁵. Āditya Karikāla's claim to have conquered Vira-Pāṇḍya has just been noted. Rājarāja I. had to renew the struggle and his success was better than that of his predecessors. The numerous inscriptions of his found all over the Pāṇḍya country—i.e., Madura and Tinnevely districts—testify to the fact that his overlordship was acknowledged in that quarter⁶. Even the very name of the territory was changed into Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu⁷. For this continuance of hatred between the Chōlas and Pāṇḍyas there were good grounds. From the time when the ancient Chōlas ceased to be a ruling power and lost their hold of their ancient possessions in Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts and until Vijayālaya started a new line at Tanjore, their original home was occupied by the Pāṇḍyas on the one side and the Pallavas on the other: and there were severe fights between these two powers themselves. To wrest back from the new incumbents the kingdom, which had become theirs by long enjoyment and which they would not easily yield, led the Chōlas to be continually at war with the Pāṇḍyas.

While this was the case with the kingdoms in the extreme south of the Peninsula, the state of affairs in the countries of Vēṅgī, Kālīṅga and Raṭṭa, i.e., the dominion of the Rāshtrakūṭas was

¹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 420, v. 70.

² Nos. 163 of 1894 and 65 of 1896 which are dated in the 4+2nd year and 15+4th year of this king.

³ See below, p. 241, verse. 28. Stone inscriptions of Parakēśarivarman "who took the head of Vira-Pāṇḍya" have been attributed to this king.

⁴ *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekkan*, pp. 235-236.

⁵ See above note 4, p. 219.

⁶ See his inscription at Āṇaimalai near Madura published in *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 239, No. 106; also No. 119 of 1905.

⁷ See Madras Epigraphical Collections Nos. 408 of 1906, 70 of 1907, 392 and 613 of 1916.

anything but satisfactory. In the last quarter of the 10th century A.D., these countries were thrown into confusion, being torn by internal dissensions, and were subjected to wars and counter-wars bringing in their train all the evils of an unsettled life, reducing to the position of subordinates the dynasties that wielded once an extensive power and enjoyed high prosperity, and resulting in the deposition of rightful heirs, affording scope for rising into prominence of families which held but subordinate and feudatory positions and leaving some of the legitimate rulers to seek the aid of others to regain their lost position and country. The years 972-5 were highly eventful in the history of these countries. In A.D. 972-3, Siyaka Harsha, the Paramāra king of Mālwa, it is said, gained a victory over the Rāshtrakūṭa Khōṭṭiga and the latter's capital Mānyakhēṭa, i.e., Mālkhēḍ, was plundered and pillaged either by him or by his successor Muñja¹. This was followed by the rising of the Western Chālukya Taila II, who, in A.D. 973-4 overthrew Khōṭṭiga's successor Kakkala and acquired the fortunes of the Rāshtrakūṭas, leaving the once flourishing Raṭṭa rule to remain only in the memory of the people². At the very time when the Rāshtrakūṭa rule was wiped out, the Vēṅgī country, deprived of its legitimate ruler by the deposition of Dānārṇava, was experiencing a feverish desire to obtain a suitable lord and, it is said, it was only assuaged, after 27 years, by the appearance of Chālukya-Chandra, i.e., Śaktivarman. The earlier opinion as regards the interregnum in the Vēṅgī country was that it was caused by the Chōḷas. Dr. Burnell, speaking of this period, said that it was a period of anarchy and suggested that it should be attributed to a Chōḷa invasion; and Dr. Fleet suspected that the Vēṅgī country must have been conquered by the Chōḷas but considered that the claim of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I. to have conquered Vēṅgī was merely an honorary one based on some previous king's conquests, as that scholar was under the impression that Rājarāja's reign began in A. D. 1003 or 1004³. That the country of Vēṅgī, though deprived of its legitimate ruler Dānārṇava, was not subject to anarchy is established by the rule of Bādapa, Tāḷa and others belonging to the collateral line of the Eastern Chālukyas; and that the claim of Rājarāja I. to have conquered Vēṅgī was only honorary and must be based on a prior Chōḷa ruler's conquest is disproved by the fact that none of the predecessors claims it. On the other hand, the fact that Dānārṇava ruled for the short period of 3 years (970-972-3) and the evidence of the Conjeeveram inscription, that he killed (or defeated) Kāmārṇava, who must be no other than his contemporary the Eastern Gaṅga king Kāmārṇava IV (A.D. 950-980) might be reasonably taken to show that the latter made a counter invasion of the Eastern Chālukya dominion and brought about Dānārṇava's deposition⁴. The accession of Śaktivarman, the son of Dānārṇava, to the Vēṅgī throne immediately following Rājarāja's invasion suggests that the very object of the invasion might have been to secure the country to its rightful owner and was probably undertaken on behalf of the deposed Dānārṇava.

Here it may be remarked that the Sanskrit portion of the inscription on the Leiden plates, which contains the *praśasti* of the Chōḷa family, was composed later than the Tamil portion and during the time of Madhurāntaka, the son and successor of the donor, i.e., the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I. The *praśasti* seems to have been added on as a learned preface to the matter of fact Tamil portion which, as stated already, sets forth in detail everything relating to the grant of the village of Āṇaimaṅgalam to the *paḷḷi* in the Chūḷāmaṇivarman-vihāra at Nāgapattanam. While according to the Tamil portion the *vihāra* was in the course of construction by Chūḷāmaṇivarman, the chief of Kaḍāram, at the time of the grant, i.e., the 21st year of the reign of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I. (A.D. 1005), the Sanskrit introduction states that it was built by Māraviṇḍayōttuṅgavarman, the son of Chūḷāmaṇivarman, in the name of the latter. This apparent discrepancy

¹ Above, Vol. I, pp. 225 f.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 269; Vol. IV (Nūlgund Inser.), p. 206; and Vol. XII, pp. 311 f.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 272.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 29 ff. For *paritaḷḷa* (p. 34, l. 48) read *pariṣuḷḷa*.

may be explained by saying that the construction of the Chūlāmaṇivarman-vihāra was undertaken by the Kaṭāha king Chūlāmaṇivarman himself in about the 21st year of the reign of Rājarāja I. but was completed by Chūlāmaṇivarman's son Māraviṇyāyōttuṅgavarman in the reign of Rājarāja's son Rājendra-Chōla I. The number of years taken for the building of the *vihāra* which is not less than 9 and the munificent grant made to it by Rājarāja I. of the entire income from the village of Āṇaimaṅgalam amounting to 8943 and odd *kalam* of paddy for a year for the upkeep of the *paḷḷi* in it, speaks to the loftiness of the structure which in the words of the *praśasti* writer is said to have lowered Kanakagiri, i.e., Mount Mēru. In connection with this building we may note the following observation of Sir W. Elliot made in 1878 :—

“Till within the last few years there was to be seen on the Coromandel coast, between one and two miles to the north of Negapatam, a tall weather-beaten tower, affording a useful landmark to vessels passing up and down the coast. It went by various names, as the Puduveligōpuram, the old pagoda, Chinese pagoda (Valentyn mentions it Pagood China in 1725) and in the map of the Trigonometrical survey (sheet 79) it stands as the Jeyna (Jaina) pagoda. But save in name it has nothing in common with Hindu or Mahomedan architecture, either in form or in ornament. Tradition is silent as to its origin or purpose, and although it has been the subject of frequent speculations, no satisfactory theory has been formed to account for it.” In 1846 Sir W. Elliot saw it. He describes : “I found it to be a somewhat four sided tower of three stories, constructed of bricks closely fitted together without cement, the first and second stories divided by corniced mouldings, with an opening for a door or window in the middle of each side. At the top of the lowest story were marks in the wall showing where the floor of the second had been fixed. The top was open. The base of the ground story was worn at the angles, from collision with passers-by and cattle, but the structure was solid and firm. No trace of sculpture or inscription was visible.” (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 224.)

The history of its disappearance is shortly this :—The Jesuits expelled from Pondichery settled in its vicinity and applied for permission in 1859 to dismantle it. Captain Oakes, the District Engineer, recommended its demolition stating it to be an old ruin, crumbling to decay and not deserving the name of an ancient monument, as it had neither sculpture nor inscription. Sir W. Elliot protested against it and the Governor deferred final orders until he saw it himself. Meanwhile Sir W. Elliot left India. Sir Charles Trevelyn went to Negapatam, was not impressed with its high antiquity, thought that expenditure on it was a waste of public money, did not concur in the recommendation for demolition but directed its being fenced round with an enclosure to secure its safety and at the same time ordered photographs of it to be taken. These orders were not carried out. In 1867 the Jesuits renewed their petition, the Chief Engineer recommended repairs and the tower was allowed to stand. He added “there is no doubt that it is used as a landmark for vessels approaching the Negapatam roadstead” and the Master Attendant of the port had expressed the opinion that “the native population objected to its removal”. Then came the final order (28th August 1867) : “The Governor in Council is pleased to sanction the removal of the old tower at Negapatam by the officers of St. Joseph's College, at their own expense, and the appropriation of the available material to such school building purposes as they appear to have in contemplation”. Sometime after, Lord Napier visiting Negapatam was presented with a bronze image found in the excavation connected with the college.

The construction of the Chūlāmaṇivarman-vihāra and the *paḷḷi* in it, to which the grant of the village of Āṇaimaṅgalam, registered in these plates, was made, is referred to in lines 6-7, 13-15, and 200-1 and in all these places, the building is said to be in the course of construction by Kaḍārataraiaṇ, and not even once as having been built. In the first of the references given above, Kaḍārataraiaṇ is also called Chūlāmaṇivarman. King Rājarāja I. gave his oral order on the

92nd day after the 21st year of his reign that the grant should have effect from that very year. After the due observance of all the formalities, which took full two years and seventy-two days, the deed was finally drawn up and presented on the 163rd day after his 23rd year (ll. 322f.). It is only from the later Sanskrit introduction, composed during the reign of Rājendra-Chōla I., that we learn that Kaḍāratṭaraiyaṇ was not a mere local chief but was a member of the Śailēndra family and the lord of the country of Śrī-Vishaya and that he was ruling over Kaṭāha and had the *Makara* crest. Now the question arises as to how Chūlāmaṇivarman, the lord of Śrī-Vishaya and the ruler of Kaṭāha or Kaḍāram, came to erect a big *vihāra* for the Buddha at Negapatam in the heart of the distant Chōla dominion and how the powerful Chōla king came to grant the entire revenues of a village for the upkeep of a *paḷḷi* in it. It is a significant fact that the historical introduction of the Chōla king as detailed in these plates does not mention Kaṭāha, i.e., Kaḍāram or Śrī-Vishaya. And therefore the inscription leaves us entirely in the dark as to what kind of relationship existed between Kaḍāratṭaraiyaṇ (i.e., the lord of Kaṭāha) and the Chōla king Rājarāja I. Nor are we given to understand the circumstances under which the grant was made, i.e., whether it was done at the request of the Kaṭāha ruler or on the Chōla king's own initiative. But for the somewhat later Sanskrit introduction, any one, reading only the Tamil original grant, might be led to think that Kaḍāratṭaraiyaṇ must have been a local chief of affluence and subordinate to the Chōla king. Now, for aught we know, Rājarāja I. was tolerant of all religious creeds prevalent in his dominion, though his special leaning was towards Śaivism. In this connection, his construction of the Bṛhadiśvara temple, called Rājarājesvara after his name, at his capital Tanjore, and the immense gifts made to it from the treasures which he had acquired as booty in the conquests of the Chēra and the Pāṇḍya kings in Malai-nāḍu and the Chālukya king Satyāśraya, and his assumption of the significant surname Śivapādaśekhara, are worth remembering. Rājarāja I. was no mean monarch. It was he that for the first time in the annals of the Chōlas maintained a large standing army which consisted of 900,000 men and which is spoken of in his inscriptions as "highly powerful and victorious". The power of his arms, as we have seen already, was felt in India from Kāliṅga in the north to the southern cape and beyond the seas in Ceylon; but no mention is made of Kaṭāha. From the conquest of Kaṭāha described in detail in the records of the 16th year onwards of the reign of Rājendra-Chōla I., we learn that it was a kingdom of considerable importance and contained many strongly fortified places such as Śrī-Vijaya, i.e., Śrī-Vishaya of the Leiden plates, Paṇṇai, Malaiyūr, Māyiruḍiṅgam, Ilāmuriḍēsa, Ilāṅgāsōka, Pappāla, Mēvilimbaṅgam, Viḷaippandūr, Takkōla, Mādamaliṅgam, Nakkavāram, etc. As such, if Rājarāja I. had really conquered Kaṭāha, it would certainly have found mention in his historical introductions. The omission seems to indicate that he did not conquer it. On the other hand the fact that Kaḍāratṭaraiyaṇ was enabled to commence the construction of a monumental Buddhist *vihāra* at Negapatam in the Chōla country in the 21st year of Rājarāja I. and that the latter assigned the revenues of a village for the upkeep of a shrine in it might lead one to infer that the Kaṭāha ruler must have made a successful invasion of the Chōla country. This is, however, negatived for the reason that the inscription is not issued in the name of the Kaṭāha ruler but in the name of the Chōla king. Can it not therefore be said that the Kaṭāha ruler was on friendly terms with the mighty Chōla king and obtained his permission to build the *vihāra* in question and that the latter made endowments to a *paḷḷi* in it, which, as we know from the smaller Leiden plates, was called Rājarājapperumballī after the name of the Chōla king?

One other observation may be made with regard to the connection of the Buddhists with Negapatam. In the traditional account of Tirumaṅgai-Āḷvār, who is described in the *Guruparapparā* as a feudatory of the Chōla king of his day, it is stated that he once went to Nāgapattānam, got inside the Buddha temple at the place, carried away the gold image that was

enshrined within it and melting the same utilised the amount in building walls and other structures in the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam. If there is any truth in this, it would show that long prior to the construction of the Chūlāmaṇivarma-vihāra, i.e., before the beginning of the 9th century, Negapatam was renowned as a Buddhist centre and had in it a Bauddha monument. We do not know if the *vihāra* that was erected in the days of Rājaraṇa I., was a new one or was only the renewal of the old monument.

The order of the king granting the village of Āṇaimaṅgalaṃ was addressed to the *nāṭṭār* (the Divisional Assembly), the *brahmadēya-kīḷavar* (i.e., the head men of the *brahmadēyas*), the *ūrgaḷilār* (i.e., the body of *ūr*) of *dēvadānas*, *paḷlichchandas*, *kaṇimurrūṭṭu* and *veṭṭippēru* and to the *nagaras*. It will be shown below that in carrying out this order, men of several *brahmadēyas* and the *ūrār* of several villages, *dēvadānas* and *veṭṭippēru* actually took part. It is to be noted that this order, though addressed to all these bodies of men, was in the first instance received by the *nāṭṭār* only and was executed by all as required. The *nāṭṭār* appear to have had a better standing than the rest and the others were all subject to their administrative control. Here are four distinct assemblies, viz., (1) the assembly of the division (*nāḍu*), (2) the assembly of the *ūr*, (3) the assembly relating to the *brahmadēyas*, i.e., the *sabhās*, and (4) the *nagara* by which is perhaps meant the body of merchants. What is meant by a *brahmadēya*, *dēvadāna*, or *paḷlichchanda* is generally well known. They refer respectively to villages or lands granted to Brāhmaṇas, Hindu temples, and Jaina or Buddhist shrines. The significance of *kaṇi-murrūṭṭu* is not so plain. The word *kaṇi* is used in ancient Tamil works to denote the person or persons that announce to the king the time of day or night. They are also called *nāḷigaikkaṇakkar* or *kaḍigaiyār*¹. It is not unlikely that their services were paid for by grants of lands or villages as other services were. *Murrūṭṭu* may be taken to mean "complete yield". This sense of the word is obtained from its usage in reference to a piece of land granted to a temple in the text of an inscription from Kīlappaluvūr² where we find the phrase "*i-nṇilam uḷudu payir-ēṇṇi murrūṭṭum koṇḍuvandu tirumurruttu aḷappadāgarum*". The use of the word *murrūṭṭu* after the group *dēvadāna-paḷlichchanda-kaṇi* seems to indicate that in the case of lands of villages granted to temples, Buddhist or Jaina shrines, and to the announcers of time to the king, the entire produce without any incidental deductions should be made over to the respective donees. It is not unlikely that we meet with phrases like *dēvadāna-murrūṭṭu*, *paḷlichchanda-murrūṭṭu*, and *kaṇi-murrūṭṭu*. The separation of *brahmadēyas* from the group is perhaps due to the fact that they had assemblies of their own called *sabhās*, different, of course, from the assembly of the *ūr*, as we see it in this very inscription. That a particular village might have had more than one assembly according to its constitution could also be gathered from the circumstance that Kaḍambaṇūr had both the *sabhā* and the *ūrār* and one person on behalf of each of these assemblies signed the deed in respect of that village.

The transactions of the *nāḍu*, the *sabhā* and the *ūr* are usually recorded by the command of those bodies, by persons who bore the official designations *Madhyastha*, *Karaṇattāṇ* and the like. The functions of these individuals were perhaps similar to those of the secretaries of regularly constituted associations. Sometimes, we find that the order to these individuals is given by a single member instead of by the body collectively. This member is designated by the term *Tiruvāḍigaḷ*. In all likelihood *Tiruvāḍigaḷ* meant the President of the assembly. In this connection it is particularly worthy of note that he is stated to be one of the members constituting the body. This is made evident from the wording of an inscription of Rājaraṇa I.³, viz., *sabhaiyull-irundu sabhai-t-Tiruvāḍi paṇippa eḷudīnēṇ iruvūr madhyasthaṇ Mantrikulōttaman magan Karppagap-*

¹ See *Jivakachintāmaṇi*, v. 2733, and *Śilappadigāram*, Indira^o l. 49.

² No. 678 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

³ No. 34 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII.

piriyaṇṇē. Since the Secretary is called the *madhyastha* of the village, it may be even said that he was the accountant of the village and had a function in the assembly. In List B (p. 237, below), the official Kuṇavaṇ Nandi *alias* Alaṅkārapriyaṇ occurs thrice (Nos. 4, 15 and 16), firstly as the *madhyastha* of the *sabhā* of Mūṅgirkūḍi secondly as the *karaṇattāṇ-madhyastha* of the *sabhā* of Pirambil and lastly as the *karaṇattāṇ-madhyastha* of the *ūrār* of Kaḍambaṅguḍi. If all these refer to a single individual, it would show that one could hold the position of a *karaṇa* or *madhyastha* of several villages. Perhaps the three villages Mūṅgirkūḍi, Pirambil and Kaḍambaṅguḍi were close to one another.

From a number of inscriptions, we see clearly that the *sabhā* and the *ūr* were transacting their business independently. Though this was the case, they appear to have been completely subject to the orders of the king which they implicitly carried out. In this connection we may draw attention to the fact that the grant of the village of Ānaimaṅgalam, registered in the Leiden plates, was first made by the king without any reference to these bodies and was even entered in the State accounts, and the bodies were only required to give effect to it. Another point to note is, that as occasion required, the State deputed one or more persons to co-operate with the local bodies in the conduct of their business. Thus, in the matter of marking the boundaries of the village and drawing up the deed of gift, no less than six persons—all State officials, one being a *naḍuvirukkum*, one *puravuvāri* and four *Bhaṭṭas*—were nominated. In fact it was one of these officials that actually drew up the deed of gift : it is worthy of note that he was not even a resident of any of the villages of the division of Paṭṭaṇa-kūṇṇam.

From List B it will be seen that the assemblies of no less than 26 villages took part in going round the boundaries of Ānaimaṅgalam whose revenues were assigned by the Chōla king Rājārāja I. to the Bauddha shrine at Nāgapaṭṭaṇam. Like Ānaimaṅgalam, these villages were also situated in the sub-division Paṭṭaṇa-kūṇṇam of Kshatriyasikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu. Many of them bear the names given in the inscription even at the present day. Ten of these villages, *viz.*, (1) Kaḍambaṅūr, (2) Nāraṇamaṅgalam, (3) Mūṅgirkūḍi, (4) Śaṇṇamaṅgalam, (5) Koṭṭārakkūḍi, (6) Naṇṇimaṅgalam, (7) Poruvaṅūr, (8) Pirambil, (9) Uvarkkūḍi, and (10) Tirukkaṇṇaṅguḍi were administered by *sabhās* : except (4) and (10), the rest are expressly called *brahmadēyas*. Of the remaining places, fourteen, *viz.*, (1) Narimaṇṇam, (2) Śāttamaṅgalam, (3) Kōvūr, (4) Ūttūr, (5) Ālaṅguḍi, (6) Tuṛaiyūr, (7) Kaḍambaṅguḍi, (8) Śēndamaṅgalam, (9) Kurṛālam, (10) Tirunāvūr, (11) Muṇjikkūḍi, (12) Kaḍambavalavāṭkai, (13) Paḷaṅ-Korraṅguḍi and (14) Veṇkiḍaṅgil were under the control of the administrative bodies of the *ūrār* : it is worthy of note that none of these fourteen villages is called a *brahmadēya*. In the case of two other villages, *viz.*, Vēlaṅguḍi and Śīru-Śēndamaṅgalam, neither the *sabhā* nor the *ūrār* is mentioned. But as regards the latter, there is the possibility of its having been subject to the authority of the *ūrār* of Śēndamaṅgalam of which it must have formed part. It is not known why the assemblies of Śīvaḷaiyukūḍi (l. 103) and Nallūrchcheri (l. 163) which, according to the boundaries given, were in the outskirts of Ānaimaṅgalam do not figure among the signatories.

The ceremony of circumambulating the granted village, fixing its limits and marking the latter with stones and milk-bush, was performed by the members of the assemblies of the *sabhā* or the *ūrār* of the abovenamed twenty-six villages, at whose bidding and on whose behalf an official or two invariably signed the document. Besides these, on behalf of the other two villages two persons signed the deed. Ānaimaṅgalam itself contributed two individuals for the purpose. Of these, one, a Vellāla by caste, rode on the back of an elephant, pointed out the boundaries and signed the document, while the other a Brāhman also attested it. The four Bhaṭṭas who were nominated by the Government to co-operate with the representatives of the several divisions of the district in this matter, did so and affixed their signatures to the deed which they helped to be drawn up and given to the donee.

The officials who signed the deed at the command of the *sabhā* or the *ūrār* are variously called *madhyasthaṇ*, *karaṇattāṇ*, *vēṭkōvaṇ*, *karaṇattāṇ-vēṭkōvaṇ* or *karaṇattāṇ-madhyasthaṇ*.

The deed evidencing the gift, by the king, of the village of Āṇaimaṅgalam, drawn up as aforesaid in accordance with the royal order issued to the *nāṭṭār* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam in Kshatriya-śikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, conveying in due form the revenues of the village to the donees, stipulates the conditions (*vyavasthā*) to be observed by, and specifies the privileges (*parihāras*) conferred on, the said donees, *i.e.*, the authorities of the Bauddha *viḥāra* at Nāgaṭṭaṇam. It is interesting to note that the word *parihāra* has been defined by such an early authority as Kauṭilya, in his *Arthaśāstra*, in the following words :—

Jātēr=viśēṣēshu purēshu ch=aiva grāmēshu dēsēshu cha tēshu tēshu anugrahō yō nṛipatēr= nidēsāt taj-jñāḥ parihāra iti vyavasyēt ||¹

That favour, which by the command of the king has been bestowed on special castes, cities, villages or countries, is called a *parihāra* by one who knows it. From the use of the words *parihāra* and *anugraha* as synonyms, it can be gathered that the king refrained from taking the incomes due to him and favoured the donees with their gift.

The conditions for the enjoyment of the grant stated in this inscription are :—

(1) When fresh channels have to be dug, they shall be so done as to admit of an easy flow of water. With their aid, the lands of the village shall be irrigated. After the fields are irrigated, the waste or the excess water shall be collected and led away.

(2) Water passing in the existing channels for irrigating the lands of this village shall be allowed to do so as usual and the excess water shall, consistently with the prevailing custom, be collected. And none shall be permitted to cut any branch channels from them, to dam them across, to put up small picottahs or to bale out their water in baskets.

By these two clauses, the donees are given the sole right to the use of the existing irrigation channels and the privilege of opening fresh channels for irrigation in such a way as to admit of an easy flow of water.

(3) Good water (intended for drinking) shall not be used for common purposes, but that water may be dammed and made to irrigate lands.

This clause prevents the contamination of the sources of water intended for drinking purposes. The sanitary effect of it needs no saying.

(4) Mansions and big buildings shall be constructed with burnt bricks only.

This condition is perhaps intended to secure safety and permanency to stately edifices and to prevent their collapse and consequent loss arising from the use of bad materials such as unburnt bricks.

(5) Large wells shall be sunk.

This is possibly to afford facilities for irrigating dry lands that have no access to the existing irrigation channels.

(6) Cocoanut trees shall be planted in groves.

(7) *Damanaka*, *maruvu*, *iruvēli*, *śēmbaga*, *śēṅgaḷuṇṇīr*, mango, jack, areca-palms, *koḍi* (perhaps vines or betel creepers) and such other useful plants of various descriptions shall be grown.

These two clauses seem to afford facilities for availing to the fullest extent the resources of the village and to add to its wealth and beauty.

(8) Big oil-presses shall be installed.

(9) The irrigation channels passing through the lands of this village to other villages in the outskirts shall be permitted to flow without any impediment by the donee; and similarly also

(10) The channels passing through outside villages to irrigate the lands of this village shall be allowed to flow uninterrupted by the people of the outlying villages.

¹ Dr. Shama Sastri's second ed., p. 73.

The object of the last two clauses is perhaps to secure peace and harmony among the people of the adjacent villages and to safeguard their rights.

The next clause (11) prohibits the Īlavas from climbing the palmyra and cocoanut trees, possibly for tapping them for toddy : and the last clause (12) allows the use of big drums and ornamental arches by influential or aristocratic families living in the village and accustomed to have them by tradition or by family suffrage. The clause is indirectly meant to secure non-interference by the donees of the rights of privileged persons.

Subject to the above conditions the donees are given the *parihāras*, i.e., the privilege of realising and enjoying all such incomes as *nāḍāṭchi*¹, *ūrāṭchi*, *vaṭṭināli*, *pidānāli*, *kannālakkaṇam*, *vaṇṇā-rappārai*, *kuṣakkāṇam*, *nīrkūli*, *ilaikkūlam*, *taṟippuḍavai*, *taṟagu*, *taṭṭārappāṭṭam*, *iḍaiappāṭṭam*, *āṭṭuk-kirai*, *nallā*, *nallerudu*, *nāḍukāval*, *ūḍupōkku*, *viṟpiḍi*, *vālamaṇṇāḍi*, *ulgu*, *ōḍakkūli*, *maṇṇupāḍu*, *māvirai*, *tīyeri*, *īlampūṭchi*, *kūttikāl*², etc., which the donor, i.e., the king had the right to realise. The inscription states that these incomes shall not hereafter be claimed by the king but that they shall go to the donees.

After the deed had been completed, the following five persons, who were probably Royal officers of high standing, set their signatures to it (last plate : second side) :—

(1) Araiyaṇ Arumoḷi *alias* Rājendraśōḷa-Pallavaraiyaṇ, the headman of Naḍār in Tiraimūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of Uyyakkonḍār-vaḷanāḍu (ll. 323-25).

(2) Kṛishṇaṇ Rāmaṇ *alias* Rājendraśōḷa-Brahmamārāyaṇ of Kēraḷāntaka-chaturvēdimaṇ-galam in Veṇṇāḍu, a sub-division of Uyyakkonḍār-vaḷanāḍu (ll. 325-27).

(3) Īrāyiravaṇ Pallavayaṇ *alias* Uttamaśōḷa Pallavaraiyaṇ of Araiśūr in Pāmbuṇi-kūṛṇṇam, a sub-division of Nittavinōda-vaḷanāḍu (ll. 327-9).

(4) Dvēdaigōmapuṟattu Dāmōḍara-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Kaḍalaṅguḍi in Kuṟukkai-nāḍu, a sub-division of Rājendrasirihha-vaḷanāḍu (ll. 329-30).

(5) Araiyaṇ Śikaṇḍaṇ *alias* Miṇavaṇ-Mūvēndavēḷāṇ, the headman of Kuṟumbil in Ambar-nāḍu, a sub-division of Uyyakkonḍār-vaḷanāḍu (ll. 330-32).

In these names, it is particularly worthy of note that Nos. (2) and (3), i.e., Kṛishṇaṇ Rāmaṇ and Īrāyiravaṇ Pallavayaṇ, who bore the titles Mummaḍiśōḷa Brahmamahārāyaṇ and Mummaḍiśōḷa Pōśaṇ respectively in the body of the Tamil document (lines 19f., 21-22, 52 and 53) probably after the surname Mummaḍiśōḷa borne by Rājarāja I., had their titles changed into Rājendraśōḷa Brahmamārāyaṇ and Uttamaśōḷa Pallavaraiyaṇ when they affixed their signatures at the end of the document (see lines 325-7 and 327-9). The altered titles take after the names of Rājendra-Chōḷa I. and indicate that when these persons affixed their signatures king Rājendra-Chōḷa I. had assumed regal powers. It will thus be seen that this is in accordance with the paleographical indications noted on page 17.

Īrāyiravaṇ, Pallavayaṇ, with the surname Mummaḍiśōḷa-Pōśaṇ, figures in a number of inscriptions of Rājarāja I. of varying dates and is styled one of the *Perundanam* (of the king). His connection with the temple at Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District is known from the inscriptions of that place.³ The village Araiśūr, whence he hailed, is stated to have been situated in the Chōḷa country (*Śōḷa-nāḍu*) and to have belonged to the sub-division Pāmbuṇi-kūṛṇṇam on the southern bank (of the Kāvēri).⁴

¹ For the significance of these terms see pp. 343 f. of my *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekkan*.

² This word may be interpreted as "quarter (*paṣam*!)" to be paid by the dancing women (*kūttai*). It has not to be mistaken for *kuttukāl* which occurs in other records and means 'default'.

³ Nos. 208 to 210, 216, 219 and 238 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1921.

⁴ No. 216 of the same.

Kaḍalaṅguḍi in Kuṟukkai-nāḍu, a sub-division of Rājēndrasimha-vaḷanāḍu, to which the officer Dāmōdara-Bhaṭṭaṇ belonged, was also called Viḍēlviḍugu-chaturvēdimaṅgalam¹ and Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam² and contained in it the village of Tiru-Vēlvikuḍi now called Tiruvilakkuḍi³ in the Mayavaram Taluk of the Tanjore District. Though several inscriptions state that this Kaḍalaṅguḍi, surnamed Viḍēlviḍugu-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, was situated in Kuṟukkai-nāḍu,⁴ two records mention it as being in Nallārrūr-nāḍu.⁵ That Rājēndrasimha-vaḷanāḍu was also in the Chōḷa country (Sōḷa-maṇḍalam) is known from an inscription of Śeṅguṇṇam⁶ in the North Arcot District.

LIST A.

Designation.	Name of person.	Village.	Sub-division.	District.	Lines.
<i>Olai-eḷudum or Mandira-ōlai</i>	Amudaṇ Tīrttakaraṇ	Viḷattūr	Āvūr-kūṟṟam	Nittavinōḍa-vaḷanāḍu.	17, 18, 50.
<i>Olai-nāyagaṇ or Mandira-ōlai-nāyagaṇ</i>	Kriṣṇaṇ Rāmaṇ <i>alias</i> Mummaḍiśōḷa-Brahma-mahārāyaṇ	Kēraḷāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.	Vēṇṇāḍu	Uyyakkoṇḍār-vaḷanāḍu.	19-20, 52, 325-327.
Do.	Irāyiravaṇ Pallavayaṇ <i>alias</i> Mummaḍiśōḷa-Pōsaṇ	Araiśūr	Pāmbuṇi-kūṟṟam.	Nittavinōḍa-vaḷanāḍu.	21-22, 53, 327-29.
Do.	Vēḷāṇ Uttamaśōḷaṇ <i>alias</i> Madurāntaka-Mūvēndavēḷāṇ	Peruttikkūḍi	Nēṇmali-nāḍu	Arumolideva-vaḷanāḍu.	22, 23, 54.
<i>Karumamārāyum</i>	Ārūraṇ Aravaṇaiyaṇ <i>alias</i> Parākramaśōḷa-Mūvēndavēḷāṇ	..	..	..	25, 314.
Do.	Tattāṇ Sēndaṇ <i>alias</i> Sembiaṇ-Mūvēndavēḷāṇ	..	..	..	26, 314.
Do.	Aruṅguṇṇamudaiyaṇ Māp-pēṇ Porākāri	..	..	..	27.
Do.	Piśaṇṇaṇ Pālūr <i>alias</i> Miṇavaṇ-Mūvēndavēḷāṇ	Kaṟkuḍi	Tirunaṟaiyūr-nāḍu.	Kshatriya-śikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu.	29, 30, 312.
Do.	Saṅkaraṇārāyaṇaṇ Araṇ-ṇaṇ	Vaṅganagar	Puraṅgaram-bai-nāḍu.	Arumolideva-vaḷanāḍu.	30-31.
Do.	Śōḷavēḷāṇ	..	..	..	315.
Do.	Korṟamaṅgalamudaiyaṇ	..	..	..	312.
Do.	Tēvaṇkuḍaiyaṇ	..	..	..	312.
Do.	Araiśūruḍaiyaṇ	..	..	..	315.

¹ No. 121 of the same collection for 1926.² No. 143 of the same.³ No. 108 of the same.⁴ No. 120 of the same.⁵ Nos. 121 and 135 of the same.⁶ No. 149 of 1921.

LIST A—contd.

Designation.	Name of person.	Village.	Sub-division.	District.	Lines.
<i>Naduvirukkum</i>	Paramēśvara-Bhaṭṭa-sar- vakratuyājin	Puḷḷamaṅga- lam.	..	..	27, 28, 315.
Do.	Dāmōdara-Bhaṭṭaṇ	Kaḍalaṅguḍi .	..	..	28, 329-330.
Do.	Tammaḍi-Bhaṭṭaṇ	Veṇṇainallūr	..	..	32, 42.
Do.	Tiyambaka-Bhaṭṭaṇ	Paśalai .	..	..	32.
Do.	Pūvatta-Bhaṭṭaṇ	Koṭṭaiyūr .	..	..	313.
<i>Puravuvāri</i>	Korraṇ Poṟkāri	Kiḷinallūr .	..	..	33.
Do.	Śūrriyaṇ Tēvaḍi	Kaḷumalam .	..	..	33, 34.
Do.	Tēvaṇ Śāṭṭaṇ	Paḷuvūr .	..	..	34.
Do.	Aṇaiyaṇ Taḷikkulaṇ	Kaḷḷikuḍi .	..	..	35, 48, 206-7.
Do.	Kōḍaṇḍaṇ Śēṇaṇ	Ālaṅguḍi .	..	..	316.
Do.	Ilavaḍigaḷ Naḷḷāṇaṇ	Pūḍamaṅgalam	..	..	317.
Do.	Karpagaṇ Sōlai	Ālattūr	..	..	317f.
<i>Varippottagam</i>	Kumaraṇ Araṅgaṇ	Śāṭṭaṇūr	..	..	36.
Do.	Śiṅgaṇ Veṅkāḍaṇ	Paruttiyūr	..	..	36, 318.
<i>Varippottaga- Kanakku.</i>	Mādēvaṇ Būmi	..	..	..	320.
<i>Variyilidu</i>	Tāḷi Virasōḷaṇ	Uṟuvūr	..	..	320f.
<i>Mugavetti</i>	Kiḷvāy Kaṇavadi	..	..	..	319.
Do.	Muṇḍaṇ Araṅgaṇ	..	..	..	319.
Do.	Śaiyadaṇ Amalaṇ	..	..	..	319.
Do.	Tattaṇ Śikittāṇ	..	..	..	319f.
<i>Paṭṭōlai</i>	Perumāṇ Ambalattāḍi	..	..	..	321.
Do.	Śikaṇḍaṇ Dēvaṇ	..	..	..	321.
Do.	Mākāḷaṇ Ariṇji	..	..	..	322.
Do.	Nakkaṇ Maṇḍagaṇ	..	..	..	322.
<i>Bhaṭṭa</i>	Pārkkulattu Paṟpaṇā- bha-Bhaṭṭaṇ	Tirunallūr .	Veḷā-nāḍu .	Kshatriya- śikhāmaṇi- vaḷanāḍu.	44, 45, 304-5.
Do.	Pērēmapurattu Veṇṇaiya- Bhaṭṭaṇ	Do .	Do. .	Do.	46, 307f.
Do.	Dvēdaigōmapurattu Nan- diśvara-Bhaṭṭaṇ	Viranārāyaṇa- chaturvēdi- maṅgalam.	Kāra-nāḍu .	Rājendra- simha-vaḷa- nāḍu.	46-7, 309-10.
Do.	Tūrpil Śrīdhara-Bhaṭṭaṇ	Śrī-Tuṅga- maṅgalam alias Abhi- māṇa- bhūṣhaṇa- chaturvēdi- maṅgalam.	Tirunaṟaiyūr- nāḍu.	Kshatriya- śikhāmaṇi- vaḷanāḍu.	42-44, 301.

LIST B.

No.	Name of person.	Designation.	sabhā or ūrār.	Village.	Lines.
1	Muppattiruvan Yajñan alias Karpagādityan	<i>Madhyasthan</i>	<i>sabhā</i>	Kaḍambaṇūr (<i>brahmadēya</i>).	212f.
	Nārāyaṇan Dāmōdaran	<i>Vaikhānasa</i>	<i>ūrār</i>	Do.	213f.
2	Irunūrruvan Uttaman alias Brahmamaṅga- lyan	<i>Madhyasthan</i>	<i>sabhā</i>	Nāraṇamaṅgalam (<i>brahmadēya</i>).	216f.
3	Nārāyaṇan Orri	..	..	Vēlaṅguḍi . .	220.
4	Kuṇavan Nandi alias Alaṅkārapriyan	<i>Madhyasthan</i>	<i>sabhā</i>	Mūṅgirkuḍi (<i>brahmadēya</i>).	223f.
5	Aimbattiruvan Viḍēlv- dugan	Do.	<i>ūrār</i>	Narimaṅgam	225f.
6	Ediran Śāttan alias Nānūrruvapperuṅōvēl	<i>Vēḷkōvan</i>	Do.	Śāttamaṅgalam	230f.
7	Durukkan Kamudan	<i>Karaṇattāṇ-Madhyasthan</i>	<i>sabhā</i>	Śannamaṅgalam	233-35.
8	Ūraṇ Chandraśēkharan alias Brahmamaṅ- galyan	Do.	Do.	Kottāraḱkuḍi (<i>brahmadēya</i>).	237ff.
9	Aiyyan Aiyyan	Do.	<i>ūrār</i>	Kōvūr	240ff.
10	Nakkan Mulli	Do.	Do.	Uttūr	244f.
11	Kaṇṇan Alaṅkārapriyan	Do.	<i>sabhā</i>	Nāṇṇimaṅgalam (<i>brahmadēya</i>).	247ff.
12	Mādēvan Ūraṇ	<i>Karaṇattāṇ-Vēḷkōvan</i>	Do.	Poruvanūr (<i>brahmadēya</i>).	251-53.
13	Kāśyapan Sūryyan Araṅ- gan	<i>Karaṇattāṇ</i>	<i>ūrār</i>	Ālaṅguḍi	255f.
14	Bhāradvāji Tirutti Vaikundan	Do.	Do.	Turaṇiyūr	258-9.
15	Kuṇavan Nandi alias Alaṅkārapriyan	<i>Karaṇattāṇ-Madhyasthan</i>	<i>sabhā</i>	Pirambil (<i>brahmadēya</i>).	261-62.
16	Do.	Do.	<i>ūrār</i>	Kaḍambaṅguḍi	263f.
17	Ūraṇ Aiyyan	<i>Madhyasthan</i>	Do.	Śēndamaṅgalam	266f.
18	Eṭṭi Valaṅjūliyan Saṅgan	..	..	Śiru-Śēndamaṅga- lam.	269f.
19	Dēvan Ūraṇ	<i>Karaṇattāṇ-Vēḷkōvan</i>	<i>ūrār</i>	Kurālām	272-3.
20	Chaturmukhan Araṅgan	<i>Madhyasthan</i>	Do.	Tirunāvūr	275-6.
21	Mānagan Nārāyaṇan	<i>Karaṇattāṇ-Vēḷkōvan</i>	<i>sabhā</i>	Uvarkkuḍi (<i>brahmadēya</i>).	278-80.
22	Mānagan Kaṇṇan	Do.	<i>ūrār</i>	Muṇjikuḍi	282-3.
23	Atirāman Irubattunālvan alias Muṇṇūrruvan	Do.	<i>sabhā</i>	Tirukkanṇaṅguḍi	286-7.

LIST B—*contd.*

No.	Name of person.	Designation.	sabhā or ūrār.	Village.	Lines.
24	Ūrāṇ Ūrāṇ	<i>Karaṇaitāṇ-Madyasthaṇ</i>	<i>ūrār</i>	Kaḍambavalavāṭkai	290-91.
25	Do.	Do.	Do.	Pāṇkoraṅguḍi	294-95.
26	Ūrāṇ Nakkaṇ	Do.	Do.	Venkiḍāṅgil	297-98.
27	Āritaṇ Śiriyāṇ Kaḍambāṇ	..	..	Āpaimaṅgalam (<i>brahmādēya</i>).	300.

TEXT.

Sanskrit Portion.

Metres :—*Anuṣṭubh*, vv. 7, 8, 11, 14, 23, 26, 27, 35-37, 40-45, 47 and 48 ; *Mālabbhāriṇī*, v. 32 ; *Mandākrāntā*, vv. 12, 21, 30 and 39 ; *Mañjubhāṣiṇī*, v. 13 ; *Praharshiṇī*, v. 9 ; *Rathōddhatā*, v. 10 ; *Ruchirā*, v. 24 ; *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, vv. 1, 4, 18, 19 and 33. *Sragdharā*, vv. 2, 3, 20 ; *Upajāti*, vv. 5, 6, 15, 17, 22, 28, 34, 38 and 46 ; *Vaṁśasthā*, v. 29 ; *Vasantatīlakā*, vv. 16, 25 and 31.

First Plate ; First Side.

1 Svasti Śrī || ॐ

Lakṣmī-pīna-payōdhara-dvaya-tatī-kāsmīra-paṁk-āṁkitā

2 bhrāmyan-Mandara-tuṁga-śrīṁga-kashaṇa-bhrājishṇu-hēm-āṁgadāḥ [1*] rakshantō
ha-

3 rinūla-nūla-vapushō lōka-trayaṁ Śārṅgiṇaś=śārṅg-ādy-āyudha-śōbhina-

4 ś=śriyam=alam pushṇantu vō bāhavaḥ ||[1*] Yāvat Kailāsa-śailē

5 viharati bhagavān= Indumaulis=sva-dēvyā yāvat kshīr-āmburāśau

6 Harir=ahi-śayanē yōga-nidrān=tanōti [1*] yāvad=dhvāntan=nitāntam vyapa-

7 nayati Ravir=vviśva-lōk-aika-dipas=tāvat pāyād=apāyād=ayam=akhi-

8 la-mahī-maṇḍalaṁ=Chōḷa-vaṁśaḥ. ||[2*] Āsīd=ādyō nripāṇām=Manur=Ahimakarād=
viśva-

9 lōk-aika-nētrād=Ikshvākus=tat-tanūjō=jani nripa-makṣa-śrēṇi-līḍh-āṁghri-pī-

10 ṭhaḥ [1*] Māndhātā Dhātri-kalpō guṇa-nidhir=abhavat=tat-kulē bhūmipālō yō Lō-

First Plate ; Second Side.

11 kālōka-śail-āvadhi vidhivad=imām pālayāmāsa bhūmim ||[3*]¹ Rāj=āsīn=Muchukunda
ity=a-

12 bhihitas=tasy=ātmaḥ vīryavāms=tat-putrō. Valabhō=jani kshitipatiḥ kshatr-aika-

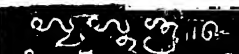
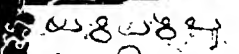



13 chūdāmaṇiḥ [1*] tad-vaṁśē Śibir=ity=aśēsha-jagati prakhyāta-kīrttir=nnripaś=śrīmān=
āvirabhūd=a-

14 śēsha-nripati-vrāt-ārchchit-āṁghri-dvayaḥ ||[4*] Par-ārttha-samrakṣita-jīvitasya tasy=
ā-






¹ The punctuation mark, which consists of double vertical strokes, seems to have been omitted at first and then inserted between *bhūmim* and *Rājā*.

THE LARGER LEIDEN PLATES OF RAJARAJA I.
SANSKRIT PORTION.






i, a.

2  2
4  4
6  6
8  8
10  10

i, b.

12  12
14  14
16  16
18  18
20  20

ii, a.

22  22
24  24
26  26
28  28
30  30

ii, b.

32 பார்த்து... 32
34 ... 34
36 ... 36
38 ... 38
40 ... 40
42 ... 42

iii, a.

[illegible]

iii, b.

[illegible]

- 15 ti-gambhīra-guṇasya rājñah [1*] Vyāsaṁ kavīnām=ṛishabham vihāya kō vā guṇā-
 16 n=varṇayitum samartthaḥ ||[5*] Tad-vaṁśa-vārākara-pūrṇachandrō nidhiḥ kalā-
 nām=a-
 17 janisṭha Chōḷaḥ [1*] yad-vaṁśa-jātā yad-upajñam=ēva Chōḷ-ābhīdhānan=dadhāti
 kṣhītīsāḥ ||[6*]
 18 Tatō jit-ākṣil-ārāti rāj=āsīd=Rājakēsarī [1*] tataḥ para-pura-ddhvamsa-parō=bbhūt
 19 Parakēsarī ||[7*] Rājakēsarīnō nāma Parakēsarīnō=sya cha [1*] sva-vaṁśa-janma-
 nām
 20 rājñām=ājñū=āsīt parivṛittitaḥ ||[8*] Tad-vaṁśē Suragurur=asta-vairi-varggō rājēn-
 drō

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 21 Ravi-kula-kētur=āvirāsīt [1*] yō jitvā raṇa-bhuvi Mṛityum=apy=ajayyan=dushprāpām=
 alabha-
 22 ta Mṛityujit-samākhyām ||[9*] Vyāghrakētur=abhavat=tad-anvayē vairi-vā[ra*]ṇa-
 mṛigādhi-
 23 pō nripaḥ [1*] Pañchapō=jani tad-anvayē balī pārthivō=rtthi-jana-kalpapāda-
 24 paḥ ||[10*] Ari-kālō mahipālāḥ Karikālas=tad-anvayē [1*] āvirāsīd=asau chakrē
 Kā-
 25 vēri-tīra-bandhanam ||[11*] Kōchcharakapṇān=abhavad=akhila-kṣmādhīp-ārādhit-
 āmghri-
 26 r=vvaṁśē tasya prathita-mahimā Śambhu-pād-ābja-bhṛīṅgaḥ [1*] Kōkkilli-śrīpati-
 27 r=amala-dhīr=anvavayē tadyē bhūpālō=bhūd=akhila-nṛpati-śrēṇi-chū-
 28 ḍ-ārchehit-āmghriḥ ||[12*] Vijayālayō=jani tad-anvayē jayī vijit-ākṣil-āvani-talō
 ma-
 29 hābalaḥ [1*] praṇaman-nṛpēndra-makuta-sthala-skhalan-maṇi-raśmi-rañjita-pad-
 āmbuja-dvayaḥ ||[13*]
 30 Adityō bhūbhṛitas=tasmād=udagād=amita-dyutiḥ [1*] dhvast-ārāti-mahipāla-ddhvānta-
 cha-
 31 kraḥ pratāpavān ||[14*] Ananta-ratna-prakar-aika-vāsād=udāra-sattvād=udiyāya
 tasmā-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 32 t [1*] Parāntakō viśva-hitāya rājā Rāj=ēva dugdh-āmbanidhēḥ kalābhiḥ ||[15*]
 Ā-Chakra-
 33 vāḷam=avanīm sa vijitya sarvvām rakshan sukhēna Kali-kāla-tamō-mśumālī [1*]
 grā-
 34 mām=nivēśya vividhān=mahatō yaśōbhiś=śubhrīchakāra śarad-abhra-nibhair=ddig-
 antān ||[16*] 6-
 35 Sva-bā[hu*]-vi(i)riyy-āvajit-ākṣil-āsā-mukh-ōpanīt-āmala-hāṭakēna [1*] samāvṛiṇō-
 36 n=mandiram=Indumaulēr=vVyāghrāgrahārō¹ Ravi-vaṁśa-kētuḥ ||[17*] Tasy=aśēsha-
 na-

¹ The length of *ghrā* seems to have been inserted afterwards.

- 37 'rēndra-vandita-pada-dvandvasya putrās=trayas=trē-āgni-dyutayō=bhavan=narapatē-
 38 s=Sutrāma-tulya-śriyaḥ [1*] Rājāditya iti kshitau nigaditāś=śrī-Gaṇḍarāditya ity=u-
 39 kt=Ōriñjaya ity=aśēsha-jagati khyāt-ābhidhānō bali ||[18*] Samrakshya kshitim=
 amburā-
 40 śi-raśanān=dharmm-ānuyātē divam yātē tatra Parāntakē para-bala-ddhvaṁs-aika-
 dakshē
 41 nripē [1*] bhūpāl-āvali-mauli-liḍha-charaṇa-dvandvas=tadīy=ātma-jō Rājāditya i-
 42 ti śrutās=sa balavān=āsīd=avanyāḥ patiḥ ||[19*] Rājādityas=sa vīrō Ravi-kula-
 tilakaḥ

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 43 Kṛishṇarājāṁ² sa-sainyaṁ saṁkshōbhy=ākshōbhyam=ājau nija-niśita-śarai-
 44 s=sampatat(d)bhis=samantāt [1*] nāg-ēndra-skandha-vartti vidalita-hridayas=tan-niśāt-
 ēshu-pātai-³
 45 r=āruhy=ōchchair=vvimānan=tribhuvana-mahitō vīra-lōkañ=jagāma ||[20*] Rājādityē
 46 surapura-vadhū-vaktra-paṁkēruhāṇām pritiṁ karttuṁ gatavati mahātējasi kshamā-
 47 m=aśēshām [1*] vīrō=rakshat .kshapita-sakal-ārāti-sāndr-āndhakārō
 48 bhrātā tasya prathita-mahimā Gaṇḍarādityavarmma ||[21*] Utpādya putram⁴=
 Madhurāntak-ā
 49 khyam Kavēra-kany-ōttara-tīra-bhūmau [1*] grā[ma*]m=mahāntaṁ=cha nijēna nāmnā
 pa-
 50 ratra-hētōs=sa divaṁ=jagāma ||[22*] Tasmin=divam gatē dēvē śāsāsa sa-
 51 kalām=mahim [1*] Ariñjayō=ri-bhūpāla-vana-dāvānalō bali ||[23*] Ariñjayād=
 aja-
 52 ni Purāntak-ōpamaḥ Parāntakaḥ para-nripa-chakra-marddanah [1*] apālayaj=
 jalanidhi-mē-
 53 khalām=mahim sukhēna yō nija-guṇa-rañjita-prajah ||[24*] Chēvūra-nāmani⁵
 purē
 54 nija-chāru-chāpa-mukt-⁶ātisāta-śara-rāśi-nirantar-āsāḥ [1*] sāt-āsi-bhinna-ripu-danti-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 55 girindra⁷-niryyad-rakt-āpagā bahuvidhā niravarttayāt saḥ ||[25*] Karikāl-ānya-
 nāmā-
 56 nam=Ādityam=udapipadat [1*] Rājarājañ=cha rājēndrō Ravi-varṁśa-śikhā-maṇim
 ||[26*]
 57 Suralōka-paritrāṇa-parē tasmin Parāntakē [1*] naralōka-paritrāṇam=A-

¹ The ē sign of rē is at the end of the previous line.

² After ja the length sign has been entered and erased.

³ The letter t is entered in the next line.

⁴ There is something like a virāma mark on the left top of mma.

⁵ After ma in nāmani, the length sign has been entered and erased.

⁶ After ta in muktāti, a length sign has been entered and erased.

⁷ Read gir-indra.

- 58 **dityō** vidhivāḍ=vyadhāt ||[27*] Sa **Vīra-Pāṇḍyēna** sa-hēlam=ājau chikrīḍha(ḍa) bālō
 59 Manu-vamśa-dīpaḥ [1*] mataṅga-jēn=ēva mad-ōtkatēna mṛigēndra-śābō(vō) ba-
 60 la-garvvitēna ||[28*] Divaṁ gatē tatra narādhip-ādhipē sa Gaṇḍārāditya¹-su-
 61 tō² mahā-bhujāḥ [1*] apālayad=vāridhī³-mēkhalām=mahīm=Mahēndra-kīrtti-
 62 **r-mMadhurāntakō** nṛipaḥ ||[29*] Tasmin=yātē Tridaśa-nīlayan=trātum=urvīpat-
 īndrē
 63 vīrō viśva-kshiti-pati-lasan-mauli-liḍh-āmghri-pīṭhaḥ [1*] dōshṇā Śēsh-ōraga-pa-
 64 ti-tanu-śrī-mushā **Rājarājō** gurvīm=urvī-dhuram=udavahach=Chōḷa-vamśa-pradīpaḥ
 ||[30*] Ji-
 65 tvā sa Pāṇḍya-D(T)uḷu-Kēraḷa-Simhaḷēndra-Satyāśray-ādi-nṛipatīr=n⁴nija-bāhu-vīryyāt
 [1*] ā-
 66 dāya tat-kari-turaṅgama-ratna-rāshṭrāṇy=āsā daś=āpi yaśasā dhavaḷi-chakāra⁵
 ||[31*] Kṛi-

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 67 ta-dig-vija[ya*]s=sa Rājarājāḥ karadīkṛitya mahīpatin=asēshān [1*] nyavasat⁶ sva-
 purē sukhan=nṛi-
 68 pēndras=tridivē lōka-namaskṛitō yath=Ēndrah ||[32*] Ā śailād=ahimāmśu-janma-
 mahi-
 69 tād=ā dakṣiṇ-āmbhōnidhēr=ā ch=Āst-āhvaya-parvvatāt⁸ giripatēr=ā Śambhun=
 ādhi-
 70 shṭhitāt [1*] rājānō nija-vamśa-rakṣhaṇa-parā bhōktuñ=cha bhōgān=bahūn=nītyā Nitya-
 71 vinōda-pāda-kamala-dvandvaṁ samāśīśriyan ||[33*] Yatas=sa rājā nija-pā-
 72 da-bhājām rājānām=udārō bahudh=āśrayō=bhūt [1*] ataḥ pṛithivyām=amita-
 73 prabhāvaṁ Rājāśrayan=tan=nigadanti santaḥ ||[34*] Sō=yam=akhila-kalā-kalāpa-
 74 pārāvāra-pārādīśv=āsēsha-nṛipa-chakra-chāru-chāmīkara-kirīṭa-kōṭi-gha-
 75 ṭit-ānēka-māṇikya-marīchi-puñja-puñjarīkṛita-pāda-pīṭhō **Rājarājō Rājakēsari-**
 76 **varmmā** sva-sāmrājya-varshē ēkaviṁśatitamē nikhila-dharaṇi-tilakāyamānē **Ksha-**
 77 ***triya-śikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu**-nāmni mahati janapada-nivahē **Paṭṭana-kkūrpa**-nāmni
 janapa-
 78 dē=nēka-sura-sadana-satra-prap-ārām-ābhirāmē vividha-saudha¹⁰-rāji-rājamānē **Nā-**

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 79 **gīpattanē** nija-mati-vibhava-vijita-Suraguruṇā budha-jana-kamala-vana-marīchimālin=ā-

¹ Read *Gaṇḍārāditya*. The length of *rā* seems to have been omitted at first and then inserted wrongly before *r* instead of after it.

² The *ē* sign of *tō* is at the end of the previous line.

³ Read *vāridhī*.

⁴ Read *nṛipatīn=nija*.

⁵ After *chakāra*, a *visarga* has been entered and erased.

⁶ The letters *rasat* are written over an erasure.

⁷ The *ē* sign of *pē* is incised at the end of the previous line.

⁸ Read *tād*.

⁹ From this line, Tamil characters are interspersed with Grantha.

¹⁰ The words *vividha-saudha* are written over an erasure. After *dha*, a length stroke has been erased.

- 80 rtthi-jana-kalpapādapēna Śailēnāra-vamśa-sambhūtēna Śrīviśay-ādhipati-
 81 nā Kaṭāh-ādhipatyam=ātanvatā Makara-ddhvajān=ādhipata-sakala¹-rāja-vidyasya
 Chūlā-
 82 maṇivarmmaṇaḥ putrēṣa śrī-Māraviṣayō²ttumgavarmmaṇā sva-pitur=³nnāmnā
 nirmāpitam=adha-
 83 rikṛita-Kanakagiri⁴-samunnati-vibhavam=atiramaṇiyañ=Chūlāmaṇivarmma-vihāram-
 adhiva-
 84 satē Buddhāya tasminn⁵=ēva janapada-nivahē Paṭṭana-kkūrā-nāmnī janapa-
 85 dē karīṇi-parikramaṇa-vispasṭa-sīmā-chatusṭayam=Āgaimaṇgal-ābhi-
 86 dhānam grāmam=adāt || Itthan=dēvēna dattasya sva-pitrā chakravartinā [1*]
 grāmasy=āsa ga-
 87 tē⁶ tasmīn=dēvabhūyam=mahaujasi ||[35*] Tat-simhāsanam=ārūḍhas=tat-putrō Madhu-
 rāntakaḥ [1*]
 88 śāsanam śāsvatan=dhīmān kārayitv=ādīśa[n*]=nripaḥ ||[36*] Śēshō=śēshām=mahīm
 yāva-
 89 d=dhattē=śēsh-ōrag-ēsvaraḥ [1*] sthēyāt=tāvan=viḥārō=yam vibhavēna sa-
 90 h=āvanau ||[37*] Sō=yam Kaṭāh-ādhipati[r*]=gguṇānān=nivāsa-bhūmir=mmahita-
 pra⁷-

Fifth Plate ; First Side.

- 91 bhāvaḥ [1*] āgāmināḥ prārthayātē narēndrān dharmmaṇ sad=ēmam=mama
 rakṣat=ēti ||[38*] Grāmē
 92 rāmyē jagati mahitē Kōṭṭayūr-ābhidhānē Lakṣmī-dhāmany=ajani vimalē yō
 Vasishṭh-
 93 ānvavāyē [1*] sat-samsēvi vimala-charit=⁸Ānantanārāyaṇ-ākhyas=sō=
 94 yan=dhīmān=arachayad=imām=agrajanmā praśastim ||[39*] Tasya rā-
 95 jñō⁹ mahīm¹⁰ sarvvān=dharmmēṇa parirakṣataḥ [1*] ajayyasya
 96 jīṭ-āsēsha-ripu-bhūpāla-samhatēḥ ||[40*] Mahādhikāri(1)
 97 matipāms=Tillayāli-samāhva[ya*]ḥ [1*] yaj-janma-bhūr=abhūt¹¹ bhūmau Kāñchi-
 vāyil=i-
 98 ti śrutah ||[41*] Yō Rājarāja-Mūvēndavēl=iti prathitō bhuvi [1*] tan-niyō-
 gād=i-
 99 dam sō=yam śāsanam sādhdv=akārayat¹² ||[42*] ॐ ॥ ॐ ॥ ॐ

¹ After *sakala*, a letter has been entered and rubbed out.

² The letter *yō* in *viṣayō* is a correction.

³ The letter *nnā* is a correction.

⁴ Read *giri*.

⁵ The letters *tasminn*=*ē* are written over an erasure.

⁶ The *ē* sign of *tē* is at the end of the previous line.

⁷ The last letter *pra* is a correction.

⁸ The proper name seems to be *Anantanārāyaṇa* and not *Nandanārāyaṇa* as Messrs. Burgess and Natesa Sastri have taken.

⁹ The *ē* sign of *jñō* is written at the end of the previous line.

¹⁰ Read *mahīm*.

¹¹ Read *abhūd=bhūmau*.

¹² The letters *sāddhvakāra* seem to have been entered over an erasure.

iv, a.

iv, b.

v. a.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

100	100
102	102
104	104
106	106
108	108
110	110

i, a.

[illegible][illegible]

Fifth Plate ; Second Side.

- 100 Kaṭāh-ādhipatēs=tasya niyōgāt=Tuvavūravān [*] Anukka iti vikhyātaś=śrīmān-
Aṭika|¹-ātmajaḥ ||[43*] ௮
- 101 Vinītō guṇa-sampannas=svāmi-kārya-hitē rataḥ [*] śāsanaṁ śāsvatam=idam=açhīkarad=
udāra-dhīḥ ||[44*] ௮
- 102 Rājarāja-mahāchāryyō Vāsudēv-āpar-āhvayaḥ [*] a-kṛishṇa-charitaḥ Kṛi-
shṇa-sambhavō=pi mahāmatih ||[45*] Śrīraṁga-Dāmōdara-nāmadhēyau Kṛishṇ-
ātma-
- 104 jau Kṛishṇa-pad-ābja-bhrīṁgau [*] Kṛishṇ-ābhīdhānō=pi cha Vāsudē-
105 va-sārīrajō nīraja-chāru-nētraḥ ||[46*] Ārāvamṛita-putraś=cha Purushō-
106 ttama-sa[m*]jñitaḥ [*] sparddhamānō=kshara-nyāsē Chitrāguptēna chitraguḥ
||[47*]
- 107 Hōvy-ānvavāya-tilakāḥ Kāñchīpura=samutbhavāḥ² [*] praśastim=ēnām=ali-
108 khan pañch=aitē chitrakāriṇaḥ ||[48*] I-śāsanaṁ veṭṭinōm Jayaṅkoṇ[ḍa]śō-
109 la-maṇḍalattu śrī-Kāñchīpurattu ōviya-chchitrakāri Kṛishṇaṇ Vāsudēvaṇ-āṇa
Rājarāja-ppē-
- 110 rāchāryyaṇṇum Kṛishṇaṇ Tiruvaraṅgaṇum Kṛishṇaṇ Dāmōdiraṇum Vāsudēvaṇ
Kṛishṇaṇum
- 111 Ārāvamirdu³ 'Purushōttam⁴anṇum||௮|| ௮||௮

*Tamil Portion.**First Plate ; First Side.*

- 1 Svasti śrī ||[*] ௮ Kōnēriṇmaikonḍāṇ Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=
2 pPaṭṭāṇa-kkūrrattu nāṭṭārkkum brahmadēya-kkiḷavarkkum dēvadāna-ppaḷli-
3 chchanda-kkaṇi-murrūṭṭu⁵-veṭṭappērr-ūrgaḷilārkkum nagaraṅgaḷilārkkum
4 namakku yāṇḍu irubatt-onṛāvadu nāl tonṇūrr-iraṇḍināl
5 Tañjāvūr=ppurambaḍi māḷigai Rājāśrayaṇil teṅkil maṇḍabat-
6 tu nām irukka=kKiḍāratt-araiyaṇ Chūlāmaṇipanmaṇ Kshatriyaśikhā-
7 maṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭāṇa-kkūrrattu Nāgapaṭṭaṇattu eḍuppikkiṇṇa Chūlā-
8 maṇipanma-vihārattu=ppaḷlikku vēṇḍum nivandattukku Kshatri[ya*]śikhāmaṇi-va-
9 ḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭāṇa-kkūrrattu Āṇaimaṅgalaṁ paḷlichchandaṁ iraṅgaḷ=ulpaḍa aḷa-
10 ndapaḍi niṅgaḷ nikki nilaṇ tonṇūrr-ēlēy=iraṇḍu-mā mukkāṇiy=araikkā-

¹ Abhikaḷa is the reading given in Volume IV of *Archæological Survey of South India*. As the letter bh is quite differently shaped from f, there is no doubt that the proper name here given is *śrīmān Aṭika|* (Aḍika|) and not Abhikaḷa.

² Read *samudbhavāḥ*.

³ The reading given in the *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 208 is *Ārāvamīrtuvum*. The additional *vum* is clearly a mistake. There is no trace of it in the plate. If *vum* is retained, there would be six names; but there must be only five for it is stated in line 108 *pañch-aitē chitrakāriṇaḥ*. Moreover, what is required is a double name like *Kṛishṇaṇ Vāsudēvaṇ*, etc., in which the first component indicates the name of the father. In fact we have it stated in verse 47, that this individual's name was *Purushōttama* and that he was the son of *Ārāvamṛita*.

⁴ The letter *pu* is corrected from *pi*.

⁵ Read *maṇum*.

⁶ The reading of *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, (p. 208, l. 114) is *murrurud*. It is evidently a mistake. The plate reads only *murrūṭṭu* which is also found in other inscriptions.

First Plate ; Second Side.

- 11 ni mundirigai=kkil-mūṇṇu-mā mukkāṇi mundirigai=kkil araiyēy-iran-
 12 du-māvināl irai-kattina kāṇikkadaṇ nellu eṇṇāyirattu=ttollāyi-
 13 rattu nārpattu mu-kkalanē iru-tūṇi=kkuruṇi oru-nāliyum Kaḍārat-araiyan
 14 Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūrrattu Nāgapattāṇatt=eduppi-
 15 kkiṇṇa Chūlāmaṇipanma-vihārattu=ppāḷḷikku iruppād-āga yāṇḍu irubat-
 16 t-onṇāvadu-mudal paḷlichchanda-irai-iliy-āga variyil=iṭṭu-kkuḍukka-
 17 v=enṇu nām solla nam olai eludum Nittavinōda-vaḷanāṭṭu Ā-
 18 vūr-kkūrrattu Viḷattūr-kilavaṇ Amudaṇ Tirttakaraṇ eluttinālum nam ō-
 19 lai-nāyakaṇ Uyyakkonḍār-vaḷanāṭṭu Venṇāṭṭu=kKēraḷanta[ka*]-chchaturvvē-
 20 dimāṅgalattu Kṛṣṇaṇ Irāmaṇ-āṇa Mummaḍiśōḷa-Brahmamāhārāyaṇum¹ Nitta-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 21 vinōda-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPāmbuṇi-kkūrrattu Araśūr-uḍaiyāṇ Irāyiravaṇ Palla-²
 22 vayan-āṇa Mummaḍiśōḷa-Pōsaṇum Arumolidēva⁴-vaḷanāṭṭu Neṇmali-nāṭṭu=pParu-
 23 ttikkudaiyāṇ Vēlāṇ=Uttamaśōḷan-āṇa Madurāntaka-Mūvēndavēlāṇum
 24 oppiṇālum pukka nan=tittinpaḍiyē variyil=iṭṭu-kkolgav=enṇu
 25 nam karumam-ārāyum Āruraṇ Aravaṇaiyāṇ-āṇa Parākkiramaśōḷa-Mūyē-
 26 ndavēlāṇum Tattaṇ Śēndan-āṇa Śembiyaṇ-Mūvēndavēlāṇu-
 27 m Aruṅṇuṇram-uḍaiyāṇ Māppēraṇ Poṇkāriyūṇ naḍuvirukkum Pulla-
 28 maṅgalattu=pParamēśvara-Bhaṭṭa-Sarvvakratuyājiyūṇ Kaḍalaṅguḍi=tTāmōdara-Bha-
 ṭṭaṇu-
 29 m nam karumam-ārāyum Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=tTirunaraṇiyūr-nāṭṭu=kKaṇ-
 kuḍai-
 30 yāṇ Piśaṅgaṇ Pālūr-āṇa Miṇavaṇ-Mūvēndavēlāṇum Arumolidēva-vaḷanāṭṭu=

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 31 pPuṇṇāgarambai-nāṭṭu Vaṅganagar-uḍaiyāṇ Śaṅkaranārāyaṇaṇ-Araṅgaṇum naḍuvi-
 32 rukkum Venṇainallūr=tTammaḍi-Baṭṭaṇum Paśalai=tTiyambaka-Baṭṭaṇum śo-
 33 lla=ppuravuvāri=kKilīnallūr-kilavaṇ Korraṇ Poṇkāriyūṇ Kaḷumalam-uḍai-
 34 yāṇ Sūṇṇiyaṇ Tēvaḍiyūṇ Paḷuvūr-uḍaiyāṇ Tēvaṇ Śāṭṭaṇum
 35 Kaḷikkudaiyāṇ Aṇaiyaṇ Talikkulavaṇum varippottagam Śā-
 36 ttaṇūr-uḍaiyāṇ Kumaraṇ-Araṅgaṇum Paruttīyūr-kilavaṇ Śiṅgaṇ Ve-
 37 ṇkāḍaṇum irundu yāṇḍu irubatt-onṇāvadu nāl tonṇūrr-ā-
 38 ṇṇāḷ paḷlichchandam iraiy-iliy-āga vari[ai*]=iṭṭu-kkuḍutta taṅga=nāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-
 39 kkūrrattu Āṇaimaṅgalam aḷandapaḍi nūṅgal nikkī nilaṇ tonṇūrr-ē-
 40 lēy-iraṇḍu-mā=kkāṇiy=araikkāṇi mundirigai=kkil-mūṇṇu-mā mukkāṇi

¹ Read *Brahmamahā*.² *Pallavaṇ* has been taken as *Pallava[rai*]yaṇ* by inserting *rai*, in *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 209. As there is not a single place where *Pallavaraiyaṇ* occurs, the proper name *Pallavaṇ* needs no correction.³ *mma* in *Mummaḍi* is written over an erasure.⁴ The letters *vavaḷa* in *dēva-vaḷa* are damaged.

$\dot{z} = z$

ii, b.

iii, a.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

iii, b.

52 உதவியுள்ளன மனம்மேலும் பரிசுபூசியுள்ளன உதவியுள்ளன 52
 54 உதவியுள்ளன மனம்மேலும் பரிசுபூசியுள்ளன உதவியுள்ளன 54
 56 உதவியுள்ளன மனம்மேலும் பரிசுபூசியுள்ளன உதவியுள்ளன 56
 58 உதவியுள்ளன மனம்மேலும் பரிசுபூசியுள்ளன உதவியுள்ளன 58
 60 உதவியுள்ளன மனம்மேலும் பரிசுபூசியுள்ளன உதவியுள்ளன 60

in, a.

62 நான்குபுள்ளியுள்ளன மனம்மேலும் பரிசுபூசியுள்ளன உதவியுள்ளன 62
 64 உதவியுள்ளன மனம்மேலும் பரிசுபூசியுள்ளன உதவியுள்ளன 64
 66 உதவியுள்ளன மனம்மேலும் பரிசுபூசியுள்ளன உதவியுள்ளன 66
 68 உதவியுள்ளன மனம்மேலும் பரிசுபூசியுள்ளன உதவியுள்ளன 68
 70 உதவியுள்ளன மனம்மேலும் பரிசுபூசியுள்ளன உதவியுள்ளன 70

iv, b.

72 உதவியுள்ளன மனம்மேலும் பரிசுபூசியுள்ளன உதவியுள்ளன 72
 74 உதவியுள்ளன மனம்மேலும் பரிசுபூசியுள்ளன உதவியுள்ளன 74
 76 உதவியுள்ளன மனம்மேலும் பரிசுபூசியுள்ளன உதவியுள்ளன 76
 78 உதவியுள்ளன மனம்மேலும் பரிசுபூசியுள்ளன உதவியுள்ளன 78
 80 உதவியுள்ளன மனம்மேலும் பரிசுபூசியுள்ளன உதவியுள்ளன 80

- 41 mundirigai kil-araiyēy=iraṇḍu-māyum [piḍi] sūlndu piḍāgai naḍappi[p*]pad-āga=
kkaṇkāṇi naḍu¹.

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 42 virukkum² Venṇainallūr=tTammaḍi-Bhaṭṭaṇaiyum³ Baṭṭaṇ Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-
va-
43 lanāṭṭu=tTirunaṇaiyūr-nāṭṭu śrī-Tuṅgamaṅgalam-āṇa Abhimāṇabhūshaṇa-chchla-
turvvē-
44 dimaṅgalattu=tTūrpil Śrīdhara-Bhaṭṭaṇaiyum i-ṇnāṭṭu Vēlā-nāṭṭu=tTirunallū-
45 r Pārkkulattu=pParpanāba⁴-Bhaṭṭaṇaiyum ivv-ūr Pērēmapuṇṇattu⁵ Venṇaiya-
46 Bhaṭṭaṇaiyum Rājēndrasimha-vaḷanāṭṭu Kāra-nāṭṭu=ttaṇiyūr śrī-Vīraṇārāya-
47 ṇa-chchaturvvēdimaṅgalattu ⁶Dvēdaigōmapuṇṇattu Nandiśvara-Bhaṭṭaṇaiyum pura-
vuva-
48 ri Kaḷikkudaiyāṇ Aṇaiyaṇ⁷ Taḷikkulavaṇaiyum pēr⁸=ttandōn=tā-
49 ṇgaḷum ivargaḷōḍu niṇṇu ellai terittu=ppiḍi sūlndu piḍāgai naḍandu kallu-
50 ṇ=kaḷliyum nāṭṭi aṇavōlai še[y*]du⁹ pō¹⁰-ttagav=enṇum vāṣagattāl mandira-
51 ¹¹vōlai Viḷattūr-kilavaṇ Amudaṇ Tirttakaraṇ eḷuttiṇālum mandiravōlai nā-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 52 yakaṇ Kṛishṇaṇ Irāmaṇ-āṇa Mummaḍiśōḷa-Brahmamahārāyaṇum Araisūr-uḍai-
yāṇ [I]-
53 rāyiravaṇ Pallavayaṇ-āṇa Mummaḍiśōḷa-Pōṣaṇum Paruttikkudaiyāṇ
54 Vēlāṇ=Uttamaśōḷan-āṇa Madurāntaka-Mūvēndavēḷā¹².
55 ṇum oppinālum [I*] Tiru-magaḷ pōla=pperu-[ni]la-chchelviyu-
56 n=tanakkēy=urimai pūṇ[ḍa*]mai maṇa-kkoḷa=kKāndaḷūr-
57 chchālai kalam=aṇutt-aruḷi Vēṅgai-nāḍuṇ=Gaṅgapāḍiyu[m*] Nu-
58 lambapāḍiyuṇ=Tadigaipāḍiyuṇ=Kuḍamalai-nāḍuṇ=Kollamuṇ=Kali-
59 ṇgamum eṇ-ḍiśai pugaḷ tara Ḽa-maṇḍalamun=ti[ṇ*]-ḍiṇal-venṇi-ttaṇ-
60 ḍār=koṇḍu taṇṇ=eḷil vaḷar ūliyuḷ=ellā yāṇḍun=to¹³

¹ This word is omitted in *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 209, text-line 152.

² This word has been incorrectly read as *kaḷukkum* in the above. The official designation *naḍuvirukkum* of *Venṇainallūr=tTammaḍibhaṭṭaṇ* actually occurs in text line 142 f. on the same page.

³ This word has been incorrectly read as *ttaṭṭaṇaiyum* in the *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 209, text-line 153.

⁴ The Tamil letters *nāba* are written in smaller characters than the rest and *ba* appears as a convex curve. The traces show that the Grantha letter *bha* was originally written and then erased. The reading given in the *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 209, text-line 156 is *Parapa(-la)*.

⁵ The reading of this word given in *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, is *Perampura* in line 156 and *Verempura* in line 415 which are clearly inadmissible.

⁶ The reading in *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, is [*Dvenda(?)*]-*kompurattu*.

⁷ This word has been wrongly read as *aṇaiyāda* in text-line 159 of *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 209.

⁸ Read *pēr tandōm* : see, above p. 215.

⁹ Without inserting *y*, we may read *śēdu* which is but the colloquial form of *śeydu*. But as the inscription uses *śeydu* later on (ll. 204 and 206), it is preferable to have here also the grammatically correct form.

¹⁰ *Pōṭṭaga* seems to be the contraction of *pōga* and *taga*.

¹¹ The *ē* sign of *vō* is entered at the end of the previous line.

¹² The letters in this line are larger in size than those in the other lines.

¹³ There is space for the length of *to* at the commencement of the next line, but it is not written.

61 lutaga viḷaṅgum yāṇḍēy Śeliyarai-ttēṣu kol śrī-kōv-I.

Fourth Plate; First Side.

- 62 rājarājakēsarivarṃmar-āṇa. śrī-Rājarājadēvarṅku yāṇḍu irubatt-onṇāvadu nāṭṭō-
 63 mukku=ttirumugam vara [*] nāṭṭōmun=tirumugaṇ=kaṇḍu edir-eḷundu seṇṇu
 toḷudu vā-
 64 ṅgi=ttalai-mēl vaittu=ppiḍi sūḷṇdu piḍāgai naḍandu ellai terittu kaḷṇa-
 65 ṇ=kaḷḷiyu[m*] nāṭṭi aravōlai śeyda nilattukku=kkilpārk-ellai Kshatri-
 66 yaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭana-kkūṇṇattu=kKōvūr mēl-ellai¹ [*]
 67 Kōvūr=ttachcha=ṇilattukkum Kōvūr=kKāvidiy-ōḍaiṅku[m*] mēṅkun=[*]
 68 teṅk=ṇṇum ivv-ūr=pPugaiyūṇṇiy=ēṇṇum nilattukku mē-
 69 ṅkum [*] teṅk=ṇṇum ivv-ellaiyē kiḷakku nōkki=ppōy i-ṇṇilat-
 70 tukku teṅk=ṇṇum Pugaiyūṇṇiy=ēṇṇum nilattukku mēṅkun [*] te-
 71 ṅk=ṇṇum mēṅk=ṇṇum Pugaiyūṇṇikku=ppāyum vāyṅkāḷiṇ mēlaiy-a-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 72 raikkālil nāṇṇukkāl-āga aṭṭi=kkidanda śīru-varambukku vaḍakkum [*] ṇṇum ivv-
 arai-
 73 kkālilēy mēṅku nāṇṇukkāl-āga aṭṭi=kkidanda śīru-varambukku mēṅkun [*] ṇṇum
 74 i-nnāṇṇukkālukkēy teṅku varamb-āga aṭṭi=kkidanda varambukku vaḍakkum [*]
 ṇṇu-
 75 m ivv-araikkālil mēl-varambukku mēṅkun [*] ṇṇum ivv-araikkā-
 76 liṇ teṅkil=pPugaiyūṇṇiy-araikkālukkum mēṅkun [*] ṇṇum ida-
 77 ṇ teṅkil Kōvūr=kkuśava-ṇilaṇ oru-māv-araikku mēṅkun [*] idaṇ teṅkil
 78 oru-māv-araikku mēṅkun [*] idaṇ teṅkil ṇḍaiyil² naḍuvukku=ttēṅkun [*] in-
 79 ṇum i-kKōvūr ellaiṅku mēṅkun [*] teṅk=ṇṇum Kōvūr vellāḷaṇ A-
 80 raiśūr³ Maṇiyāḍi⁴ oru-māvukku mēṅkun [*] idaṇ teṅkil ṇḍai naḍuvukku=ttēṅkun [*]
 i-
 81 vv-ōḍaiyē teṅ-kiḷakku nōkki=ppōy mēṅ⁵-Paḷlavāyṅkāḷ ivv-ō-

Fifth Plate; First Side.

- 82 ḍaikkēy viḷunda iḍattukku mēṅkun [*] ṇṇum mēṅ-Paḷlavāyṅkāḷiṇ teṅ-
 83 karaikku=ttēṅkun Kōvūr Mēḷpaḷḷattu mēl-varambukku mēṅkun [*] ivv-ūr Mē-
 84 ḷpaḷḷattu vellāḷaṇ Urāppaḷi⁶ Pākkaraṇ araikkālil vaḍa-varambukku va-
 85 ḍakku[m*] [*] ivv-araikkālil mēlai ṇḍaiyiṇ naḍuvukkum vellāḷaṇ Pa-
 86 ramēśvaraṇ Naraīyūr araikkālukkum mēṅkun [*] ivv-ōḍaiyiṇ naḍu-⁷

¹ The letters *mēḷḷai*, written at the end of this line, are in bigger characters.

² The letter *ḍu* almost encircles the previous letter in *naḍuvukku*.

³ The *ai* sign of *rai* is written at the end of the previous line.

⁴ Before *ḍi* in *Maṇiyāḍi* the letter *ṭ* has been entered and erased.

⁵ The letters *rpa* in *mēṅpaḷḷa* are written over an erasure.

⁶ The reading given in *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, text-lines 195 and 276 is *Urappāḷi-ppākkāṇ*. The plate clearly reads *rā*, not *ru*. It being a double name it has to be read as given in our text.

⁷ The letter *ḍu* almost encircles the previous letter.

THE LARGER LEIDEN PLATES OF RAJARAJA I. (IV).

c, a.

82	புறவயத்துக்குடையதென்று சொல்லுகின்றவன்	82
84	புறவயத்துக்குடையதென்று சொல்லுகின்றவன்	84
86	புறவயத்துக்குடையதென்று சொல்லுகின்றவன்	86
88	புறவயத்துக்குடையதென்று சொல்லுகின்றவன்	88
90	புறவயத்துக்குடையதென்று சொல்லுகின்றவன்	90

v, b.

[illegible]

vi, a.

102		102
104		104
106		106
108		108
110		110

112 உமது உயலுமது கதிமதி மரு உயலுமது கதிமதி மரு உயலுமது கதிமதி மரு 112
114 114 உயலுமது கதிமதி மரு உயலுமது கதிமதி மரு உயலுமது கதிமதி மரு 114
116 116 உயலுமது கதிமதி மரு உயலுமது கதிமதி மரு உயலுமது கதிமதி மரு 116
118 118 உயலுமது கதிமதி மரு உயலுமது கதிமதி மரு உயலுமது கதிமதி மரு 118
120 120 உயலுமது கதிமதி மரு உயலுமது கதிமதி மரு உயலுமது கதிமதி மரு 120

[illegible][illegible]

- 87 vukku mērkum [i*] Kōvūr vellāḷaṇ=Aiyyāraṇ Śēndaṇ araikkāliṇ
 88 kottattu ivv-ōḍaikkē mērkum [i*] ivv-araikkālukkū=tterku-
 89 m [i*] Mēlpalla-nilattiṇ kottattu ivv-ōḍaikkēy mērkum [i*] ivv-ō-
 90 dai¹ Eriṇṇaṭṭi-vāykkālukkēy viḷunda idattuku mērkum [i*] ivv-Eriṇṇaṭṭi-vāykkā-
 91 lukkē mērkum [i*] iṇṇum ivv-Eriṇṇaṭṭi-vāykkālukkēy terku [i*] ivv-E-

Fifth Plate; Second Side.

- 92 riṇṇaṭṭi-vāykkālukkē mērkum [i*] Tenpārḷ-ellai ivv-Eriṇṇaṭṭi-vā-
 93 ykkālukku vaḍakkum [i*] ivv-Eriṇṇaṭṭi-vāykkālē mērkū nōkki=chche-
 94 ṇru i-vvāykkālay-ūḍaruttu=tten-karaikkēy=ēri terku=iṇṇu-
 95 m ivv-Ānaimaṅgalattu brahmadēyattu=ppaḍugai vēli nila-
 96 ttiṇ mēl-ellaiyē śeṇṇu te[n]-²maḍalāy=kkidanda ḍaikk-
 97 ku mērkum [i*] ivv-ellaiyē [t]erku nōkki=chcheṇṇu mērkū=i-
 98 ṇṇum ivv-ōḍaikkēy vaḍakkum [i*] iṇṇum ivv-ōḍaikkū
 99 vaḍakku nōkkiy=Eriṇṇaṭṭi-vāykkālū[k]kēy=urru=adaṇku kiḷakkum [i*] ivv-Eriṇṇaṭṭi-
 100 vāykkālay=ūḍaruttu vaḍa-karaiyēy=ēri i-vvāykkālāṇ vaḍa-karaiyē³
 101 mērkū nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-vvāykkālukku vaḍakkum [i*] ivv-ellaiyēy

Sixth Plate; First Side.

- 102 mērkū nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-vvāykkāl tāṇ kiḍandavārē mērkū nōkki i-ṇṇaṭṭu-p-
 103 Paṭṭaṇa-kkūṇṇattu brahmadēyam Śivaḷaiyukuḍiyil nilaṇ nāṇ-māvil vaḍa-varam-
 bēy=ur-
 104 ru i-vvarambē mērkū nōkki=chcheṇṇu ivv-ellaikku vaḍakkum [i*] ivv-ellai-
 105 yē⁴ mērkū nōkki=chcheṇṇu Paḷaviḷapp-āṇa ḍaiyēy=urru ivv-ellai-
 106 kku vaḍakkum [i*] Mēlpārḷ-ellai vaḍakku nōkki Nāṭṭuppōkku=ttalai-
 107 vāyar vēṭṭappēṇṇukku=kkilakkum [i*] vaḍakk=iṇṇum i-ṇṇaṭṭu=pPaṭṭa-
 108 ṇa-kkūṇṇ[⁵]attu Muṇṇikuḍi nilattiṇ kiḷ-ellaiy-āṇa ḍaiyēy=urru-iv-
 109 v-ōḍaiyṇ naḍuvēy vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu ivv-ōḍaiy=uḷppaḍa ivv-ō-
 110 ḍaikkū=kkilakkum [i*] ivv-ōḍai tāṇ kiḍandavārēy vaḍakku nōkki i-mMuṇṇiku-
 111 ḍi nilamēy=urru i-mMuṇṇikuḍikku=kkil⁶-ellaiy-āṇa ḍaiyēy=urru vaḍakk-iṇ

Sixth Plate; Second Side.

- 112 ṇṇum ivv-ellaikku=kkilakkum [i*] ivv-ōḍai tāṇ kiḍandavārēy pala muḍokkum⁶-u-
 113 ḍoṇḍi vaḍakku nōkki i-mMuṇṇikuḍi nilamēy=urru i-mMuṇṇikuḍikku=kkil-ellaiy-āṇa
 114 ḍaiyē vaḍakk=iṇṇum ivv-ellaikku=kkilakk=iṇṇum ivv-ōḍai tāṇ ki-
 115 ḍandavārēy vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu idanai viṭṭu i-mMuṇṇikuḍi vellāḷa-
 116 ṇ Irāmaṇ Gōvindaṇ nānmāviṇ ten-varambēy=urru ivv-ellaiyē va-

¹ The ai sign of *dai* is written at the end of the previous line.

² Read *vaḍalāy*.

³ At the end of line 100 and at the beginning of line 101 there is unwritten space for one or two letters. It is not clear if some letters were written and erased.

⁴ The ē sign of *yē* is entered at the end of the previous line.

⁵ Read =*kkil*.

⁶ *Muḍokku* and *muḍoṇḍi* are perhaps mistakes for *muḍakku* and *muḍaṇḍi*.

- 117 ḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-mMuñjikuḍi brahmadēyam-āṇa nilattiṇ teṇ-varambē-
 118 y=uṛṛu idaṇukku=tterkum [*] idaṇukkēy kiḷakkum [*] iṇṇum i-mMuñjikuḍi
 119 brahmadēyam nilattukkēy. vaḍakkum [*] ivv-ellaiyē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-
 120 mMuñjikuḍi vellāṇ-vagai=kkil-ellaiy-āṇa nilattukku=kkilakkum [*] iv-
 121 v-ellaiyē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu vaḍa-mērku nōkki Muñjikuḍi Ūdārimaya-

Seventh Plate ; First Side.

- 122 kkal=enṇum nilamēy=uṛṛu i-ṇṇilattiṇ kiḷ-varambukku=kkilakkum [*] idaṇ vaḍa-
 123 varambēy mērku nōkki=chcheṇṇu vaḍa-varambukku vaḍakku[m*] i-chcheyiṇ
 mēlai-ppa-
 124 raiyōḍai vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu ivv-ōḍaikkum=kkilakkum [*] ivv-ōḍaiyē vaḍa-
 125 kku nōkki=chcheṇṇu ivv-Āṇaimaṅgalattukku=ppāya=kkallina¹ Rāja-
 126 rājaṇ-vāykkālēy=uṛṛu i-vvāykkālāiy=ūḍa[ru*]ttu vaḍa-karaikkēy=ēri
 127 ivv-Āṇaimaṅgalattu brahmadēyattu=kKālāvāy=enṇum nilatti-
 128 ṇ kiḷ-varambukku=kkilakkum [*] vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu[m*] kiḷakku nōkki=chche-
 129 ṇṇu[m*] ivv-Āṇaimaṅgalattu brahmadēyattu=kKilāṇ² Kilāṇ kār-cheyiṇ teṇ-va-
 130 rambēy=uṛṛu=tteṇ-kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu idiṇṇu vaḍa-kiḷakku nōkkium
 131 kiḷakku nōkkium śeṇṇa ellaikkum=tterkum kiḷakkum [*] idaṇ vaḍa-varambēy

Seventh Plate ; Second Side.

- 132 vaḍa-mērku nōkki=chcheṇṇu idaṇukku vaḍakkum [*] iṇṇum ivv-Āṇaimaṅgalattu
 133 brahmadēyattu Āritan Śiriyāṇ Kaḍambaṇ mūṇṇu-māviṇ kiḷ-varambukku=kkilakkum [*]
 Va-
 134 ḍapārka-ellai i-chcheyiṇ teṇ-varambēy kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu idaṇukku=tterku-
 135 m [*] i-ṇṇāṭṭu=pPaṭṭana-kkūrattu brahmadēyam Pirambil Kottidal-āṇa nilat-
 136 tiṇ ellaiyēy kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu ivv-Āṇaimaṅgalattu brahmadēya-
 137 ttu Vāchchiyaṇ Paramēśvaraṇ Pūvaṇ nilattiṇ mēl-varambēy³=uṛṛ=adaṛku=t-
 138 terkum [*] i-ṇṇilattukkēy mērkun=terkum kiḷakkum [*] i-ṇṇāṭṭu brahmadēyam
 139 Pirambil Kottidal-āṇa nilattiṇ kiḷ-varambukku=kkilakkum [*] i-vvarambēy vaḍakku
 nōkki=ch-
 140 cheṇṇu Viḷapp=enṇum ārrin teṇ-karaiyēy=uṛṛu=tteṇ-karaikkum=tterkum [*] i-kkarai-
 141 yē⁴ kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu ivv-Āṇaimaṅgalattu Mahādēvar dēvaḍaṇam-āṇa o-

Eighth Plate ; First Side.

- 142 ru-māv-araiyiṇ mēl-varambēy=uṛṛu i-vvarambukku mērkum [*] i-vvarambēy terku
 143 nōkki i-ttēvar dēvaḍaṇam-āṇa Muḷḷivaravaiyiṇ⁵ mēl-varambēy=uṛṛu i-
 144 vvarambukku mērkum [*] i-vvarambē terku nōkkium=kiḷakku nōkkium=cho-
 145 ṇṇu i-ttēvar kuḷamēy=uṛṛu i-ttēvar kuḷattukku=ppāyūm vāykkā-

¹ The reading *pāykkallin* given in *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, is due to the mistake of taking *yā* and *ṇa*, for *y* and *ṇ*. In so doing, the sense is obscured.

² A letter has been entered and erased after *-kki*.

³ The letters *bēy* of *bēy=uṛṛ* are written over an erasure.

⁴ After *yē*, a letter has been entered and erased.

⁵ This proper name may also be read *Muḷḷivāvai*.

- 146 liṇ mēl-varambē teṭku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-ttēvar dēvadānaṅ=Ka-
 147 ṇavadikāl-āṇa nilattiṇ mēl-varambukku mēṭkum [*] i-kKaṇavadikāl-āṇa
 148 teṇ-varambēy kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-vvarambukku=tteṭkum [*] i-t-
 149 tēvar dēvadāṇam-āṇa Meḷukkuppuṇam oru-māviṇ mēl-varambukku mēṭkum [*] ivv-oru-
 150 māviṇ teṇ-varambēy kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-vvarambukku=tteṭkum [*] i-ttē-
 151 var dēvardānam mukkāṇiyiṇ teṇ-varambēy kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Pat-

Eighth Plate ; Second Side.

- 152 tal-vāykkālēy=urṛ=adaṛku=tteṭkum [*] i-pPattal-vāykkālīṇ mēl-karaiyē va-
 153 ḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Viḷappēy=urṛ=adaṛku=kkiḷakkum [*] i-vViḷappaiy=ūḍaru-
 154 ttu vaḍa-karaikkēy=ēṛi i-nnāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūrṛattu brahmadēya[m*] Mūṅgīr.¹
 155 kuḍiy=ellaiyēy=urṛu ivv-ellaiyē vaḍakku nōkkiyuṅ=
 156 kiḷakku nōkkiyuṅ=cheṇṇu idaṇukku=kkiḷakkun=teṭkum [*] iṇ-
 157 ṇum i-mMūṅgīrkuḍi nilattukkēy mēṭkum [*] ivv-ellaiyē
 158 teṭku nōkki Viḷappukkēy=urṛu Viḷappaiy²=ūḍaruttu=tteṇ
 159 karaikkēy=ēṛi=tteṇ-karaiyē kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-nnāṭṭu=kKōvū-
 160 r=kKaṇavadimayakkal-āṇa nilattiṇ mēl-varambēy=urṛ=adaṛku=tteṭkum [*] i-kKa-
 161 ṇavadimayakkal-āṇa nilattiṇ mēl-varambukku mēṭkum [*] i-kKaṇavadimayakka-
 162 liṇ teṇ-varambēy kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-nnāṭṭu=[pPaṭṭa]ṇa-kkūrṛattu

Ninth Plate ; First Side.

- 163 brahmadēya[m*] Nallūrchchērikku=ppāyūm vāykkālaiy=urṛ=adaṛku=tteṭkum [*] i-v-
 164 vāykkālīṇ teṇ-karaiyēy kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-nnāṭṭu=kKōvūr
 165 vellāḷaṇ Uṛāppali Pākkaran=oru-māviṇ teṇ-varambēy=urṛu i-tteṇ-
 166 varambēy kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kōvūr muṇ=ṛuḍaṅgiṇa tachchaṇ-ṇilattukkēy=u-
 167 ṛṛ=adaṛku=tteṭkum [||*] Āga ivv-iśaitta peru-nāṅg-ellaiyilum=agappaṭṭa nīr-nilāṇu-
 168 m puṇṣeyum ūrum ūr-irukkai[yu*]ṇ=kūḷamum Śrī-kōyilgaḷum paṛai-chchēri-
 169 yuṅ=kammāṇ-sēriyuṅ=chuḍukāḍum peṇuvad-āgavum [*] ivv-ūr maṇaiyūm ma-
 170 ṇai-ppaḍappaiyuṅ=kāḍai[yu]ṇ=kāḍai-tteruvum maṇruṅ=kaṇṇu-mēy-pāluṅ=ku-
 171 ḷamuṅ=koṭṭagāramuṅ=kiḍaṅguṅ=kēṇiyum puṇṇu=terriyuṅ=kāḍum piḍiligiayuṅ=[ka]-
 172 ḷarum uvarum āṇum āṇ-īḍu-paḍugaiyūm ōḍaiyūm uḍaippum miṇ-payil-paḷlamun=³ēṇ-pa-
 173 yil podumbu⁴[m*] mē[||*]-nōkkiya maramum kiḷ-nōkkiya kiṇarum ulliṭṭu nīr pūṣi ne-

Ninth Plate ; Second Side.

- 174 ḍum-paramb=erindu uḍumb=⁴ōḍiy=āmai tavaḷndad=evvagai⁴-ppaṭṭadum uṇṇilam=ō-
 175 liṇ-iṇṇi=kkārāṇmai miyāṭchiyu[m*] migudi=kkurāiyum=ullaḍaṅga ippaḍi peṇṇada-
 176 ṛku=ppērṛa vyavasthai [||*] i-ṇṇilattukku nīrkk=īndavāru⁵ vāykkāl kutti=p-

¹ The reading *brahmadēyamun=Kīraḷuḍi* in *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV (l. 265, p. 212) is a mistake. That the name of the village is *Mūṅgīrkuḍi* is evident from line 157.

² The letters *lap* are written in smaller characters after erasing a letter which was probably *la*.

³ The letters *mbu* are faintly marked over an erasure.

⁴ The letters after *bōḍi* and *gai* are written over an erasure.

⁵ This is a variant of *iśainda*^o or *iyainda*^o.

- 177 pāyttavum vāravum viḍavum peruvad-āgavum [i*] i-ppilattukku=
 178 ppāyum vāykkālgaḷ mēṇaḍai nīr pāyavum vāravum peruva-
 179 d-āgavum [i*] i-vvāykkālgaḷ appiyar kuṇṅ=arattu-kkuttavum
 180 vilāṅ=aḍaikkavun=kurṛēttam paṇṇavun=kūḍai=nīr=iṇaikkavum
 181 perādad¹-āgavun=cheṇṇīr=ppoduvinai śeyyādad-āgavum [i*] a-nīr-aḍattu=ppā-
 182 chcha²=pperuvad-āgavun=chutt-ōṭṭāl māḍa-māligaiy=ēḍukka=pperuvad-āgavun=
 183 turavu-kiṇaru ilichcha=pperuvad-āgavun=kāvu teṅ=ida=pperuvad-āgavun=damana[ka]-
 184 mu[m*] maruvum=iruvēliyuṅ=cheṇbagamuṅ=cheṇḷaḷunirum māvam palāvun=kamugum
 paṇai-

Tenth Plate ; First Side.

- 185 yuṅ=kōḍiyum=ullittā pall-uruvil payaṇ-maram-idaḍun=naḍavum peruvad-āgavum [i*]
 peru-
 186 ñ-chekk=ida=pperuvad-āgavum [i*] ivv-ūr nilattaiy=īḍaruttu=ppurav-ūrgaḷukku=ppōy
 187 nīr pāyum vāykkālgaḷ mēṇaḍai nīr pāyavum vāravum peruvad-āgavum [i*] purav-ūr mī-
 188 lattūḍu pōṇdu ivv-ūr nilattukku=ppāyum vāykkālgaḷ mēṇa-
 189 ḍai nīr pāyavum vāravum peruvad-āgavum [i*] ivv-ūr-ittā teṅum paṇaiyum i-
 190 lavar=ēra=pperādad-āgavun=taṇ kūḍikk=ēra-vaṇṇam muraiṣum muppaḍi-ttō-
 191 raṇa[mu*]m nāṭṭa=pperuvad-āgavum [i*] ippaḍi perāḍarku=pperā pariḥāran=nāḍāṭchi-
 192 yum ūrāṭchiyum vaṭṭi-nāliyum piḍā-nāliyuṅ=kāṇṇāla-kkāṇamum vaṇṇāra-ppārai-
 193 yuṅ=kūṣa-kkāṇamun=nīr-kkūliyum ilai-kkūlamun=taṇi-ppuḍavaiyun=taragun=tattār-
 ppāṭṭa-
 194 mum idai-ppāṭṭamum=āṭṭukk-iraiyu[m*] nallāvun=nalīrudun=nāḍu-kāvalum ūḍupō-

Tenth Plate ; Second Side.

- 195 kkum viṭṭidiyum³ vālamañḍāḍiyum ulgam³ ōḍa-kkūliyum maṇṇupāḍum mā-
 196 viṇaiyun=tiyeriyum ilam-pūṭchiyum kūṭti-kālam ullittu=kkō=ttōṭṭi=un-
 197 nappāḷad=evvagaippaṭṭaḍuṅ=kō=kkollāḍey pallichchandattukkē.⁴
 198 y peruvad-āgavum [i*] ippaḍi perā vyavasthaiyum pariḥāramum
 199 perā i-nūḷaṅ=kārāṇmai miyāṭchiyu[m*] migudi-kkūraimaiyum=ulla-
 200 ḍaṅga=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūrrattu Nāgapattāṇattu=kKaḍāratt-araiyaṇ eduppi-
 201 kkiṇra Chūḷāmaṇipaṇma-vihārattu=ppallikku=ppallichchandam=i-
 202 raiy-iliy-āga=kkuḍutta i-ppāṭṭu Ānaimaṅgalam pallichchanda iṇṅal=u-
 203 ḷpaḍa yāṇḍu irubatt-onṛāḍadu-mudal piḍi sūḷṇdu piḍāgai naḍandu kallu-
 204 ṇ=kāḷliyu[m*] nāṭṭi aṇavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-va-

Eleventh Plate ; First Side.

- 205 lanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūrrattu nāṭṭōm nāṭṭārōḍum uḍa-niṇru piḍi sūḷṇdu piḍāgai naḍandu
 kal-
 206 luṅ-kāḷliyu[m*] nāṭṭi aṇavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm puravuvai Kāḷikkāḍaiyāṇ Āṇaiyaṇ

¹The *a* sign of *pe* is marked at the end of the previous line.

²Insert *y* before *chcha* and read *pāychcha*.

³For *a* note on these words see above, p. 215.

⁴The *k* of *kē* is written at the beginning of the next line.

THE LARGER LEIDEN PLATES OF RAJARAJA I. (VI).

xi,a.

206	செய்துபெற்றவர்களுள் ஒருவராகிய இவ்வரசர் திருநெல்வேலிக்குப் புதிய கட்டளை	206
208	கட்டளைபெற்றவர்களுள் ஒருவராகிய இவ்வரசர் திருநெல்வேலிக்குப் புதிய கட்டளை	208
210	கட்டளைபெற்றவர்களுள் ஒருவராகிய இவ்வரசர் திருநெல்வேலிக்குப் புதிய கட்டளை	210
212	கட்டளைபெற்றவர்களுள் ஒருவராகிய இவ்வரசர் திருநெல்வேலிக்குப் புதிய கட்டளை	212
214	கட்டளைபெற்றவர்களுள் ஒருவராகிய இவ்வரசர் திருநெல்வேலிக்குப் புதிய கட்டளை	214

xi,b.

216	செய்துபெற்றவர்களுள் ஒருவராகிய இவ்வரசர் திருநெல்வேலிக்குப் புதிய கட்டளை	216
218	செய்துபெற்றவர்களுள் ஒருவராகிய இவ்வரசர் திருநெல்வேலிக்குப் புதிய கட்டளை	218
220	செய்துபெற்றவர்களுள் ஒருவராகிய இவ்வரசர் திருநெல்வேலிக்குப் புதிய கட்டளை	220
222	செய்துபெற்றவர்களுள் ஒருவராகிய இவ்வரசர் திருநெல்வேலிக்குப் புதிய கட்டளை	222
224	செய்துபெற்றவர்களுள் ஒருவராகிய இவ்வரசர் திருநெல்வேலிக்குப் புதிய கட்டளை	224

xii,a

226	செய்துபெற்றவர்களுள் ஒருவராகிய இவ்வரசர் திருநெல்வேலிக்குப் புதிய கட்டளை	226
228	செய்துபெற்றவர்களுள் ஒருவராகிய இவ்வரசர் திருநெல்வேலிக்குப் புதிய கட்டளை	228
230	செய்துபெற்றவர்களுள் ஒருவராகிய இவ்வரசர் திருநெல்வேலிக்குப் புதிய கட்டளை	230
232	செய்துபெற்றவர்களுள் ஒருவராகிய இவ்வரசர் திருநெல்வேலிக்குப் புதிய கட்டளை	232
234	செய்துபெற்றவர்களுள் ஒருவராகிய இவ்வரசர் திருநெல்வேலிக்குப் புதிய கட்டளை	234

உலகமே நம்மது தாய்மொழி - உலகமே நம்மது தாய்மொழி

 $xiii, a.$

xiii, b.

[illegible]

- 207 Talikkulavanēṇ=ivaṇ=enn=eḷutt=enrum [*] ivv-Āṇaimaṅgalam piḍi sūḷṇ-
 208 du piḍāgai naḍakkirapōdu āṇaiy=eri i-[*] āṭṭārōḍum uḍa-ṇiṇṇ=ellai
 209 terittu=kkāṭṭiṇēṇ ivv-Āṇaimaṅgalatt=irukkum vellāḷaṇ Kōṇ Put-
 210 taṇēṇ=ivaṇ=enn=eḷutt=enrum [*] ippaḍi piḍi sūḷṇdu piḍāgai naḍandu
 211 aṇavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkū-
 212 ṇṇattu brahmadē[ya*]ṇ=Kaḍambaṇūr sabhaiyōm ivargaḷ śolla ivv-ūr maddhyasthaṇ
 Muppattiru-
 213 vaṇ Yajñān-āna Kaṇpagāḍittanēṇ=ivaṇ=enn=eḷutt=enrum i-kKaḍambaṇūrār śo-
 214 ḷa ivv-ūr Vaikhānaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ Dāmōdaraṇēṇ=ivaṇ=enn=eḷutt=en-

Eleventh Plate ; Second Side.

- 215 rum [*] ippaḍi piḍāgai naḍandu piḍi sūḷṇdu aṇavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm
 216 Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṇṇattu brahmadēyam Nāraṇama-
 217 ṇgalattu sabhaiyōm ivv-ūr maddhyastaṇ¹ Irunūṇṇuvaṇ Uttaman-āna Bra-
 218 hmamaṅgalyaṇēṇ=ivaṇ=enn=eḷutt=enrum [*] ippaḍi piḍi sūḷṇdu aṇavō-
 219 lai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkū-
 220 ṇṇattu Vēlaṇḍuḍi Vēlaṇḍuḍaiyāṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ Orriyēṇ
 221 ivaṇ=enn=eḷutt=enrum [*] ippaḍi piḍi sūḷṇdu piḍāgai naḍandu a-
 222 ṇavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṇṇa-
 223 ttu brahmadēya[m*] Mūṇḍirkuḍi sabhaiyōm ivv-ūr maddhyastaṇ¹ Kuṇava-Na-
 224 ndiy-āna Alaṇkārappiriyaṇēṇ=ivaṇ=enn=eḷutt=enrum [*] ip-

Twelfth Plate ; First Side.

- 225 paḍi piḍi sūḷṇdu piḍāgai naḍandu aṇavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhā-
 226 maṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṇṇattu Narimaṇṇattu ūrōm ūṇ[ā*]ṇ śolla eḷu-
 227 ḍiṇēṇ ivv-ūr maddhyastaṇ¹ Aimbattiruvaṇ Viḍēlviḍugaṇēṇ ivai eṇ-
 228 ṇ=eḷutt=enrum [*] ippaḍi piḍi sūḷṇdu piḍāgai naḍandu aṇavōlai
 229 śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṇṇattu=ch-
 230 Chāttamaṅgalatt=ūrōm ūrār² śolla eḷuḍiṇēṇ ivv-ūr Vē-
 231 ṭkkōvaṇṇ=Ediraṇ Śāttan-āna Nānūṇṇuvapperuṇḍōvēḷā-
 232 ṇēṇ=ivaṇ=enn=eḷutt=enrum [*] ippaḍi pi[ḍi*] sūḷṇdu piḍāgai naḍandu aṇa-
 233 vōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṇṇat-
 234 tu brahmadēyam Śannamaṅgalattu sabhaiyōm sabhaiyār śolla eḷuḍi[ṇēṇ*]

Twelfth Plate ; Second Side.

- 235 ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṇ maddhyastaṇ¹ Durukkaṇ Kamudaṇēṇ ivaṇ=enn=eḷu-
 236 tt=enrum [*] ippaḍi piḍi sūḷṇdu piḍāgai naḍandu aṇavōlai śeydu kuḍuttō-
 237 m Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṇṇattu brahmadēyam Koṭṭārakkuḍi sa-
 238 bhaiyōm ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṇ maddhyastaṇ¹ Ūraṇ Chandiraśēkharan-āna
 239 Brahmamaṅgalyaṇēṇ ivaṇ=enn=eḷutt=enrum [*] ippaḍi piḍi sūḷṇdu

¹ Read *ōsthan*.² Read *ūrār*.

- 240 piḍāgai naḍandu aṛavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatri[ya*]śikhāmaṇi-vaḷa-
 241 nāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṛṛattu=kKōvūr ūrōm ūrār² śolla eḷi(lu)diṇēṇ
 242 ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṇ maddhyastāṇ¹ Aiyyaṇ-Aiyyaṇēṇ=ivaḷi=enṇ=elutt=e-
 243 ṇrum [i*] ippaḍi piḍi sūḷndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṛavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatri-
 244 yaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṛṛattu Uttūr ūrōm ūrār² śolla[v]-e-

Thirteenth Plate ; First Side.

- 245 ḷudiṇēṇ ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṇ maddhyastāṇ¹ Nakkaṇ Mulliyēṇ=ivaḷi=enṇ-
 246 ṇ=elutt=enṇrum [i*] ippaḍi piḍi sūḷndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṛavōlai śeydu kuḍut-
 247 tōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṛṛattu brahmadēyam Naṇṇimaṇ[ga*]-
 248 lattu sabhaiyōm sabhaiyār śolla ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṇ maddhyastāṇ¹
 249 Kaṇṇaṇ Alāṅkārappiriyaṇēṇ=ivaḷi=enṇ=elutt=enṇrum [i*] i-
 250 ppaḍi piḍi sūḷndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṛavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriya-
 251 śikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṛṛattu brahmadēyam Poruvanūr sabhai-³
 252 yōm sabhaiyār śolla eḷudiṇēṇ ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṇ Vēṭkōva-
 253 ṇ Mādēvaṇ Ūraṇēṇ=ivaḷi=enṇ=elutt=enṇrum [i*] ippaḍi pi[ḍi*] sūḷndu piḍā-
 254 gai naḍandu aṛavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-

Thirteenth Plate ; Second Side.

- 255 kkūṛṛattu Āḷaṅguḍi ūrōm ūr[ā*]r śolla eḷudiṇēṇ ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṇ Kā-
 256 śyapaṇ Sūryya(ya⁴)ṇ=Arāṅgaṇēṇ ivai enṇ=elutt=enṇrum [i*] ippaḍi piḍi sūḷndu pi-
 257 ḍāgai naḍandu aṛavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkū-
 258 ṛṛattu=tTuṛaiyūr ūrōm ūr[ā*]r śolla eḷudiṇēṇ ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattā-
 259 ṇ Bhāradvāji Tiritti Vaikundaṇ elutt=enṇrum [i*] ippaḍi piḍi sūḷndu piḍā-
 260 gai naḍandu aṛavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-[pPaṭ]-
 261 ṭaṇa-kkūṛṛattu brahmadēyam Pirambil sabhaiyōm ivv-ūr=kkaraṇatt[ā*]ṇ maddhya-
 262 sthaṇ Kuṇavaṇ Nandiy-āṇa Alāṅkārappiriyaṇēṇ ivai=enṇ=elutt=enṇru-
 263 m [i*] ippaḍi piḍi sūḷndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṛavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kaḍambaṅkuḍiṇ=
 ūrō-
 264 m ūr[ā*]r śolla eḷudiṇēṇ ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṇ maddhyasthaṇ Kuṇava[ṇ*] Nandiy-āṇa
 Ala-

Fourteenth Plate ; First Side.

- 265 ṅkārappiriyaṇēṇ ivai=enṇ=elutt=enṇrum [i*] ippaḍi piḍi sūḷndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṛa-
 266 vōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṛṛattu Śēndamaṇ-
 267 galattu ūrōm ūrār śolla eḷudiṇēṇ ivv-ūr maddhyasthaṇ Ūraṇ Aiyyaṇē-
 268 ṇ=ivaḷi=enṇ=elutt=enṇrum [i*] ippaḍi pi[ḍi*] sūḷndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṛavōlai śe-
 269 ydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṛṛa[ttu*]=chChiruchchēnda-
 maṅga-
 270 lattu Eṭṭi Valaṅjūliyaṇ Saṅgaṇēṇ ivai=enṇ=elutt=enṇrum [i*] ippaḍi piḍi sūḷ-
 271 ndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṛavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=

¹ Read *sthan*.

² Read *ūrār*.

³ The *bh* of *bhai* is entered at the commencement of the next line.

⁴ This letter is superfluous.

THE LARGER LEIDEN PLATES OF RAJARAJA I. (VII).

xiv, a.

[illegible]

xiv, b.

276	செய்து	276
278	செய்து	278
280	செய்து	280
282	செய்து	282
284	செய்து	284

xv, a.

[illegible]

பெரிய நகரங்களில் இருந்து வந்தவர்கள் அங்கு வந்ததற்கு காரணம் என்ன?

298

300

302

904

206

100

1

புதுச்சேரி, 19-12-2019

310

312

314

216

520

042

தலைப்பதுபுறாதிதலவழியில் கிடைக்கத் து. அளவுகையுத்தான.

—

0225

0123

000

100

- 272 pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṛṛattu=kKurṛālatt=ūrōm ūrār śolla eḷudiṇēṇ ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṇ
 273 Vēṭkōvaṇ Dēvaṇ Ūraṇēṇ=ivai eṇṇ=eḷutt=enṇum [*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḷndu piḍā-
 274 gai naḍandu aṇavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭi.¹

Fourteenth Plate ; Second Side.

- 275 ṇa-kkūṛṛattu=tTirunāvūr ūrōm ūrār śolla eḷudiṇēṇ ivv-ūr maddhyastha-
 276 ṇ Śadurmugaṇ=Ara[n]gattēṇ=ivai eṇṇ=eḷutt=enṇum [*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḷndu
 277 piḍāgai naḍandu aṇavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭ-
 278 ṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṛṛattu brahmadēyam Uvarṅkuḍi sabhaiyōm sabhaiyār śo-
 279 lla eḷudiṇēṇ ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṇ Vēṭkōvaṇ Mānāga[n*] N-
 280 āraṇaṇēṇ=ivai eṇṇ=eḷutt=enṇum [*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḷndu pi-
 281 ḍāgai naḍandu aṇavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāma-
 282 ṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṛṛattu Muṇḷikuḍi ūrōm ūrār śo-
 283 lla eḷudiṇēṇ ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṇ Vēṭkōvaṇ Mānāgaṇ Kaṇṇa-
 284 ṇēṇ=ivai eṇṇ=eḷutt=enṇum [*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḷndu piḍāgai naḍandu a-
 285 ṇavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṛṛattu Ti-

Fifteenth Plate ; First Side.

- 286 rukkaṇṇaṇkuḍi sabhaiyōm sabhaiyār śollav=eḷudiṇēṇ ivv-ūr=kkaraṇat-
 287 tāṇ Vēṭkōvaṇ Atirāmaṇ Irubattunālvan-āgiya Muṇṇūṛruvaṇē-
 288 ṇ=ivai eṇṇ=eḷutt=enṇum [*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḷndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṇavōlai
 289 śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-k-
 290 kūṛṛattu Kaḍambavalavāṭkai ūrōm ūrār śolla eḷudiṇēṇ i-
 291 vv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṇ maddhyasthaṇ Ūrāṇ=Ūrāṇēṇ=ivai eṇṇ=eḷu-
 292 tt=enṇum [*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḷndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṇavōlai śeydu
 293 kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṛṛattu=
 294 pPāḷaṇkorraṇkuḍi ūrōm ūrār śolla eḷudiṇēṇ ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattā-
 295 ṇ maddhyasthaṇ Ūrāṇ=Ūrāṇēṇ=ivai eṇṇ=eḷutt=enṇum [*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḷn-
 296 du piḍāgai naḍandu aṇavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-

Fifteenth Plate ; Second Side.

- 297 pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṛṛattu Veṇkiḍaṅgil ūrōm ūr[ā*]r śolla eḷudiṇēṇ ivv-ūr=kkara-
 298 ṇattāṇ maddhyasthaṇ Ūrā[n*] Nakkaṇēṇ=ivai eṇṇ=eḷutt=enṇum [*] i-ppaḍi piḍi śūḷndu
 299 piḍāgai naḍandu aṇavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm ivv-Āṇaimaṅgalattu brahmadē-
 300 yattu Āritaṇ Śiṇiyāṇ Kaḍambaṇēṇ=ivai eṇṇ=eḷutt=enṇum i-ppariśu².bBaṭṭā-
 301 y niṇṇu piḍi naḍappittu aṇavōlai śeyvittēṇ Kshatriyaśikhāma-
 302 ṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=tTirunaṇaiyūr-nāṭṭu brahmadēyam śrī-Tuṅgamaṅgalattu=
 303 tTūṛpil Śrīdhara-Bhaṭṭaṇēṇ=ivaiy=eṇṇ=eḷutt=enṇum [*] ippaḍi Bhaṭṭā[y*]
 304 niṇṇu piḍi naḍappittu aṇavōlai śeyvittēṇ Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷa-
 305 nāṭṭu Vēḷā-nāṭṭu=tTirunallūr-pPārkuḷattu=pPaṇanābha-Bhaṭṭaṇēṇ=ivai eṇ-
 306 ṇ=eḷutt=enṇum [*] i-ppariśu Bhaṭṭāy niṇṇu [piḍi*] naḍappittu aṇavōlai śeyvittēṇ Ksha-
 307 triyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu Vēḷā-nāṭṭu=tTirunallūr Pērēmapurattu Veṇ-

¹ This word is generally written *Paṭṭa*.

² Delete *b*.

- 308 naiya-Bhaṭṭaṇṇ=ivaiy=enn=elutt=enrum .[*] i-ppariśu .Bhaṭṭāy .ninru .pi .
 309 di naḍappittu aravōlai śeyvittē . Rājēndrasimha-vaṇaṇṭtu . Śrī-Viraṇā .

Sixteenth Plate ; First Side.

- 310 rāyaṇa-chchaturvvēdimāṇgalattu . Dvēdaigōmapurattu . Nandiśvara-Bhaṭṭaṇṇ=ivai
 311 enn=elutt=enrum .[*] pugunda . aravōlaippaḍiyē . variyil-iṭṭu=kkoḷgav=enru nañ-
 karumam=ārā-
 312 yum Miṇavaṇ-Mūvēndavēḷāṇum . Korṇamaṇgalamuḍaiyāṇum . Tēvaṇkuḍaiyāṇum na-
 313 ḍuvirukkuñ=Kaḍalaṇḍuḍi=dDāmōdara-Bhaṭṭaṇṇum . Kōṭṭaiyūr=pPūvatta-Bhaṭṭaṇṇum nañ-
 karuma-
 314 m=ārāyum . Parākramaśōḷa-Mūvēndavēḷāṇum . Sembiaṇ-Mūvēndavēḷāṇum . Śōḷavē-
 315 ḷāṇum . Araiśūr-uḍaiyāṇum . naḍuvirukkum . Pullamaṇgalattu . Paramēśvara-Bhaṭṭa-sarvva-
 316 kratuyājiyuñ=cholla=ppuravuvāri . Ālaṇḍuḍaiyāṇ . Kōḍaṇḍaṇ . Śēṇaṇṇum . Pū-
 317 damaṇgalamuḍaiyāṇ . Iḷavaḍigaḷ . Naḷḷāraṇṇum . Ālattūr-uḍaiyāṇ . Karpagaṇ-
 318 Chōlaiyum . varippottagam . Paruttiyūr-kilavaṇ . Śiṅgaṇ . Venkāḍaṇṇum .
 319 mugaveṭṭi . Kilvāy . Kaṇavadiyum . Muṇḍaṇ=Araṇḡanuñ=Chaiyadaṇ=Amalaṇṇum . Tattaṇ
 320 Śikittāṇṇum . varippottaga-kkaṇakku . Mādēvaṇ . Būmiyum . variyiliḍu . Uruvūr-uḍaiyā-
 321 ṇ . Tāḷi . Virāśōḷaṇṇum . paṭṭōlai . Perumāṇ=Ambalattāḍiyum . Śikaṇḍaṇ . Dēvaṇṇum
 322 Mākāḷaṇ=Ariṇṇiyum . Nakkaṇ . Maṇḍagavaṇṇum . irundu . yāṇḍu . irubattu-mūṇṇrāva-

Sixteenth Plate ; Second Side.

- 323 du nāl nūṇṇ-arubattu-mūṇṇrāvaḷ-variyl-iṭṭu-kkuḍuttadu . Iḷai Uyyakkonḍār-
 324 vaṇaṇṭtu=tTiraimūr-nāṭtu . Naḍār-kilāṇ . Araiyaṇ . Arumoliy-āṇa . Rājē-
 325 ndraśōḷa=pPallavaraiyaṇ . eluttu . Uyyakkonḍār-vaṇaṇṭtu . Vēṇṇāṭtu=
 326 kKēraḷāntaka-chchaturvvēdimāṇgalattu . Krishṇaṇ . Rāmaṇ-āṇa . Rājēndraśōḷa-
 327 Brahmamār[ā*]yaṇukkum . okkum . Nittavinōda-vaṇaṇṭtu=pPāmbuṇi-kkūṇṇat-
 328 [tu*] Araiśūr-uḍaiyāṇ . Īrāyiravaṇ . Pallavayaṇ-āṇa . Uttamaśōḷa-pPallava-
 329 raiyaṇukkum . okkum . Rājēndrasimha-vaṇaṇṭtu=kKurukkai-nāṭtu=kKa-
 330 ḍalaṇḍuḍi . Dvēdaigōmapurattu . Dāmōdara-Bhaṭṭaṇṇukkum . okkum . Uyyakkonḍā-
 331 r-vaṇaṇṭtu . Ambar-nāṭtu . Kuṇumbil-kilāṇ . Araiyaṇ . Śikaṇḍaṇ-āṇa . Miṇavaṇ . Mūvē-
 332 ndavēḷāṇukkum . okkum . || 6 ||

TRANSLATION.

Sanskrit portion.

(L. 1) Hail! Prosperity!

(V. 1) May the arms of Śārṅgin (i.e., Viṣṇu) of the *harinīla*-blue body, which are resplendent with *śārṅga* and other weapons, which are marked with the *kāśmīra* ointment (smeared) on the surface of Lakṣmī's two round breasts, whose golden bracelets glitter as they rub against the high summits of the whirling Mandara (*mountain*), (and) which protect the three worlds, increase greatly your prosperity!

¹ From this word onwards the writing is slightly different and the letters are more deeply cut. This portion might belong to the time of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I., while the previous portion might have been written at the time of Rājārāja I.

(V. 2) As long as the moon-crested deity (*i.e.* Śiva) sports with his consort on the Kailāsa mountain, as long as Hari (Viṣṇu) performs meditative sleep (*yōga-nidrā*) on the serpent couch in the milk-ocean, and as long as the sun, the sole light of all the worlds, dispels the dense darkness of the world, so long, may the Chōla family protect from danger the circle of the whole earth.

(V. 3) From the Sun (*Ahīmakara*), the sole eye of the whole world, was (born) Manu the first of kings; (then) was born his son Ikshvāku, whose footstool was licked by rows of diadems of kings. In his family was (born) king Māndhātṛi, who was a storehouse of virtues, who was equal to Dhātṛi (Brahman) and who justly ruled this earth (extending) as far as the Lōkālōka mountain.

(V. 4) His son was the heroic king named Muchukunda. As his son was born king Vaḷabha who was the sole crest jewel of the Kshatra (*i.e.* the Kshatriya race). In his family was born the illustrious king, who was widely renowned throughout the world as Śibi and whose two feet were worshipped by the whole host of kings.

(V. 5) Who, excepting Vyāsa, the best among poets, is able to describe the qualities of that profoundly virtuous king who preserved his own life (*only*) for the benefit of others?

(V. 6) As a full moon to the ocean of that family, was born (*king*) Chōla, who was the repository of all arts (*kalā*) (just as the fullmoon is the repository of the sixteen *kalās*) and the kings born in whose family bore the name Chōla after his name.

(V. 7) Then came king Rājakēśarin, who conquered all (*his*) enemies. After him came Parakēśarin, who was bent on destroying the towns of hostile kings.

(V. 8) The name of Rājakēśarin and (*that*) of this Parakēśarin became alternately the order of kings born in their family.

(V. 9) In that family was born the lord of kings, Suraguru, who destroyed all (*his*) enemies, who was the standard of the Solar race, (*and*) who, having conquered in the battle-field even the unconquerable Mṛityu, acquired the unattainable epithet Mṛityujit.

(V. 10) In his family was born king Vyāghrakētu, who was a lion (*as it were*) to the elephants — (*his*) enemies. In that race was born the strong king Pañchapa (*who was*) the *Kalpa*-tree to (*his*) supplicants.

(V. 11) King Karikāla, (*the god of*) Death to his enemies, was born in that family. This (*king*) constructed embankments to the Kāvērī (*river*).

(V. 12) In his family was (*born*) Kōchchamkannān of well established fame, the bee at the lotus-feet of Śambhu (Śiva), (*and one*) whose feet were worshipped by all kings. In his family (*there*) was king Kōkkilī of clear intellect, the lord of prosperity, whose feet were worshipped by the crests of the whole host of kings.

(V. 13) In that family was born the victorious Vijayālaya of great strength, who conquered the entire surface of the earth (*and*) whose two lotus-like feet were brightened by the lustre of gems emanating from the region of the diadems of prime kings that prostrated before him.

(V. 14) From that king (*also* mountain) came forth Āditya (*also* Sun) of great splendour, who possessed (*mighty*) powers (*also* heat) and destroyed the dense darkness, *i.e.*, enemies.

(V. 15) From him, who was the sole abode of countless heaps of gems (*and*) who possessed enormous strength, rose for the benefit of the world, king Parāntaka with full glory, just as the moon does with all his rays, to give pleasure to the world, from the milk-ocean (which contains within it countless gems and huge aquatic animals).

(V. 16) Having conquered the earth right up to the Chakravāla (*mountain and*) protected the whole (*of it*) with peace, that sun to the darkness, *i.e.* the Kali age, founded various big towns

(and) brightened the ends of the quarters with (*his*) fame which was as (*white as*) the clouds of the autumn (*śarad*).

(V. 17) With the pure gold brought from all the quarters which were subdued by the prowess of his own arm, this banner of the solar race (*i.e.*, Parāntaka) covered the mansion of Indumauli (Śiva) at Vyāghrāgrahāra (*i.e.*, Chidambaram).

(V. 18) To that king, whose two feet were worshipped by all the rulers of men, were born three sons prosperous as Sutrāman (Indra) and resplendent as the three fires, the (*one*) called Rājāditya in this world, (*another*) named the glorious Gaṇḍarāditya (*and the third*) Ariñjaya, the valorous, whose name was famous throughout the world.

(V. 19) When king Parāntaka, who was pre-eminent in destroying the armies of (*his*) enemies (*and*) who was a follower of *dharma*, had gone to heaven after having protected the earth girdled by the ocean, there (*was*) his son known as **Rājāditya**, who was strong, (*and*) whose two feet were rubbed by the crests of hosts of kings : he became the lord of the earth.

(V. 20) That heroic Rājāditya, the ornament of the solar race having agitated in battle, the imperturbable **Kṛishṇarāja** along with his army, with his sharp arrows falling in all directions, while (*seated*) on the back of an excellent elephant, had his heart split by the thrusts of his (*i.e.* Kṛishṇarāja's) sharp arrows and mounting a celestial car went to the world of heroes (*vīraloka*) praised by the three worlds.

(V. 21) When Rājāditya (or the sun among kings) of great prowess (or splendour) had gone to give pleasure to the lotus-faces of heavenly damsels, his heroic brother of wide-spread fame, (*named*) **Gaṇḍarādityavarmman**, protected the whole earth dispelling the dense darkness, (*viz.*) all (*his*) enemies.

(V. 22) Having got a son named **Madhurāntaka** and (*having founded*) a big village after his own name in the country on the north bank of (*the river*) Kavērakanyā (*i.e.* Kāvērī), he (Gaṇḍarāditya) went to heaven for achieving the objects of (*that*) other world.

(V. 23) When that lord had gone to heaven, the heroic **Ariñjaya**, a very conflagration in (*consuming*) the forest of enemy kings, ruled the whole earth.

(V. 24) From Ariñjaya was born **Parāntaka**, (*who was*) equal (*in prowess*) to the destroyer of the (*three*) cities (*i.e.* Śiva), (*who was*) the crusher of the circle of enemy kings, (*and*) who, (*causing his*) subjects to be pleased by his good qualities, peacefully ruled the earth girdled by the ocean.

(V. 25) At the city named Chēvūra, he (Parāntaka) had the quarters filled with heaps of sharp and pointed arrows sent forth from his beautiful bow and caused to flow manifold rivers of blood springing from the high mountains, *i.e.* the enemies' elephants cut asunder by (*his*) sharp sword.

(V. 26) This lord of kings (rājendra) begot (*two sons*), Āditya, otherwise called **Karikāla** and **Rājarāja**, the head-jewel of the solar race.

(V. 27) When that Parāntaka directed his attention to protect the world of gods (*i.e.*, died), **Āditya** justly carried out the protection of the world of men.

(V. 28) That young boy (Āditya), the light of the family of Manu, played sportively in battle with **Vira-Pāṇḍya**, just as a lion's cub (*does*) with a rutting mad elephant proud of (*its*) strength.

(V. 29) When that chief of kings went to heaven, the son of Gaṇḍarāditya, (*i.e.*) king **Madhurāntaka**, he, of powerful arms and famous as Mahendra (Indra), protected the earth which had the ocean for its girdle.

(V. 30) When that chief of the rulers of the earth passed away to protect the abode of the gods, the heroic **Rājarāja**, the light of the Chōla race, whose footstool was licked (*i.e.* rubbed)

by the glittering crests of all kings, bore the heavy burden of the earth on his arm which was surpassing the lustre of the body of Śēsha, the lord of serpents.

(V. 31) Conquering the kings of the Pāṇḍya, Tuḷu and Kēraḷa (*countries and*) **Śirṃhaḷēndra** and **Satyāśraya** and others by the power of his arm and taking possession of their elephants, horses, gems, and kingdoms, he caused to glow all the ten quarters with (*his*) fame.

(V. 32) Having accomplished the conquest of the regions and made all kings tributary, that lord of kings, Rājarāja, lived happily in his town, honoured by (*his*) people, just as Indra, worshipped by the world, was in heaven.

(V. 33) As far as the mountain which has the glory of bringing forth the Sun, as far as the Southern ocean, as far as the mountain named Asta and as far as the lord of mountains (*i.e.*, the Himālaya) occupied by Śambhu (Siva), the kings that were concerned in the protection of their own families sagaciously sought refuge in the pair of lotus-feet of Nityavinōda, in order to enjoy many pleasures.

(V. 34) Because that sovereign was liberal to, (*and*) in many ways the refuge of, the kings that sought his feet, the good men in this earth call him **Rājāśraya** of boundless magnanimity.

(Il. 73 to 86) He, this **Rājakēsarivarman Rājarāja**, who had seen the other shore of the ocean of the collection of all sciences, whose foot-stool was made yellow by the cluster of rays (*emanating*) from many a gem set on the borders of the beautiful gold diadems worn by the entire circle of kings, gave, in the twenty-first year of his universal sovereignty,

to the Buddha residing in the surpassingly beautiful **Chū'āmaṇivarman-vihāra**, of (*such*) high loftiness (*as had*) belittled the Kanakagiri (*i.e.* Mēru), which had been built—in the name of his father, by the glorious **Māravijayōttuṅgavarman**, who, by the greatness of his wisdom, had conquered the teacher of the gods, who was the sun to the lotus-forest (*viz.*) the learned men, who was the *Kalpa*-tree to supplicants, who was born in the **Śailēndra** family, who was the lord of the **Śri-Vishaya** (*country*), who was conducting the rule of **Kaṭāha**, who had the *Makara* crest, (*and*) who was the son of **Chū'āmaṇivarman** that had mastered all state-craft—at **Nāgipattana**, delightful (*on account of*) many a temple, rest-house, water-shed, and pleasure garden and brilliant with arrays of various kinds of mansions, (*situated*) in the division called Paṭṭana-kūrṇa (*included*) in the big group of districts named **Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-va'anāḍu**, which was the forehead-mark of the whole earth,

the village named **Āṇaimaṅgalam** (*which had its*) four boundaries defined by the circumambulation of the female elephant and (*which was situated*) in the division called Paṭṭana-kūrṇa (*included*) in the same group of districts (*as had been named above*).

(Vv. 35-36) When that powerful (*Rājarāja*) had obtained divinity, his wise son, king **Madhurāntaka**, who ascended on his throne, caused an enduring edict (*to be made*) for this village, which had thus been granted by his father, the king-emperor, and ordered thus :—

(V. 37) As long as Śēsha, the lord of all serpents, holds the entire earth, so long may this *vihāra* last in (*this*) world with its endowment.

(V. 38) This lord of Kaṭāha of great valour, the abode of virtues, thus prays to all future kings :—

“Protect (*ye*) for ever this my charity.”

(V. 39) In the delightful village called Kōṭṭaiyūr, famed in this world, that intelligent Brāhman of stainless character named Anantanārāyaṇa, the follower of the wise, born in the spotless family of Vasishtha, which was the abode of prosperity, composed this *praśasti*.

(Vv. 40-42) Of that king who was justly protecting the entire earth, who was invincible and who had subdued the whole host of hostile kings, the chief officer was the wise person called **Tilla-**

yāli, whose birth place in this earth was known as **Kāñchivāyil** and who was known in the world as Rājārāja-Mūvēndavēl : At his (*i.e.* the king's) injunction, he caused this edict to be neatly executed.

(Vv. 43-44) At the direction of that lord of Kaṭāha, Śrīmān Atikaḷ's son, who was well-known as **Tuvavūravān Aṇukka**, who was modest, endowed with virtues, devoted to his master's concerns and of generous mind, caused to be made this lasting edict.

(Vv. 45-48) The most intelligent Rājārāja-Mahāchārya, otherwise called Vāsudēva, who, though born of Kṛishṇa, was not of black (*kṛishṇa*) conduct; the two sons of Kṛishṇa, called Śrīraṅga and Dāmōdara, who were the bees (*as it were*) at the lotus-feet of Kṛishṇa; and also the son of Vāsudēva, named Kṛishṇa, who had beautiful lotus-like eyes; and the son of Ārāvampita, called Purushōttama, of excellent speech (?), who was vying with Chitrugupta in stamping (*i.e.* engraving) letters—these five artists, who were the forehead-marks of the Hōvya family and born in Kāñchīpura, wrote this eulogy.

(Il. 108f.) This edict was incised by us, the engraving sculptors of the prosperous (*city of*) Kāñchīpura in Jayaṅgaṇḍachōḷamaṇḍalam, *viz.*, Kṛishṇaṇ Vāsudēvaṇ *alias* Rājārājappērāchāryaṇ, Kṛishṇaṇ Tiruvāṇṅaṇ, Kṛishṇaṇ Dāmōdaraṇ, Vāsudēvaṇ Kṛishṇaṇ and Ārāvamirdu Purushōttamaṇ.

Tamiḷ portion.

(l. 1) Hail! Prosperity! (*This is the order of*) Kōnēriṇmaikoṇḍāṇ (*issued*) to the *nāṭṭār* (*i.e.*, the members of the Divisional Assembly) of Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam, a sub-division in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, the headmen of *brahmadēyas*, the representatives of the *ūr* in *dēvadānas*, *paḷlichechanda*, *kaṇimurrūṭṭu* and *veṭṭippēru* (villages) and the *nagaraṇḡalālār* (*i.e.*, the body of merchants).

(l. 4) In the twenty-first year and ninety-second day of our (*reign*) when we were in the pavilion to the south of the palace of Rājāśrayan (*situated*) outside Tañjāvūr, we having declared that, (*in order to meet*) the necessary requirements of the *paḷḷi* (*attached to*) the Chūlāmaṇivarma-vihāra which is being built by the Kīḍāra king Chūlāmaṇivarmaṇ at Nāgapattāṇam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, the income of eight thousand nine hundred and forty-three *kalam*, two *tūṇi*, (one) *kurūṇi* and one *nāḷi* of paddy accruing from the payment of land assessment on ninety-seven (*vēḷi*), two *mā*, one and a half *kāṇi*, one *mundirigai*; *kīḷ* (*i.e.* 1/320) of three *mā*, three *kāṇi*, and one *mundirigai* and *kīḷ* (*i.e.* 1/320) of half and two *mā* of land, inclusive of those that had ceased to be *paḷlichechanda* and exclusive of those that had been removed in survey, which formed the village of Āṇaimaṇḡalam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu shall be entered in the (*revenue*) register as a tax-free *paḷlichechanda* from the twenty-first year (*of our reign*) and the taxes paid over to the *paḷḷi* in the Chūlāmaṇivarma-vihāra which (*as aforesaid*) is being erected by the Kaḍāra king at Nāgapattāṇam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, (*this*) our order was written by Amudaṇ Tirttakaraṇ, the headman of Viḷattūr in Āvūr-kūrṇam (*a sub-division*) of Nittavinōḍa-vaḷanāḍu, who writes our orders, signed by the superintendents of our writs (*viz.*, Kṛishṇaṇ Rāmaṇ *alias* Mummaḍichōḷa-Brahmamārāyaṇ of Kēraḷāntaka-chaturvēdimāṇḡalam in Veṇṇāḍu (*a sub-division*) of Uyyakkoṇḍār-vaḷanāḍu, Irāyiravaṇ Pallavayaṇ *alias* Mummaḍichōḷa Pōṣaṇ, (*a native*) of Araisūr in Pāmbuṇi-kūrṇam (*a sub-division*) of Nittavinōḍa-vaḷanāḍu and Vēḷāṇ Uttamachōḷaṇ *alias* Madurāntaka Mūvēndavēḷāṇ (*a native*) of Paruttikkūḍi in Neṇmali-nāḍu (*a sub-division*) of Arumolideva-vaḷanāḍu, and was issued; and in accordance with it, it was ordered to be entered in the accounts by our Secretaries Ārūraṇ Aravaṇaiyaṇ *alias* Parākramachōḷa-Mūvēndavēḷāṇ, Tattaṇ Sēndaṇ *alias* Sēmbiyaṇ-Mūvēndavēḷāṇ (*and*) Māppēraṇ Poṇkāri (*a native*) of Aruṇkuṇṇam, the arbitrators Paramēśvara-Bhaṭṭa-Sarvakrātuyājin of Puḷḷamaṇḡalam and Dāmōdara-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Kaḍalaṇḡuḍi, our

Secretaries Pīsaṅgaṇ Pālūr *alias* Mīṇavaṇ-Mūvēṇḍavēḷāṇ of Kaṟkuḍi in Tirunaṟaiyūr-nāḍu (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, and Śaṅkaranāṟayaṇaṇ Araṅgaṇ of Vaṅganagar in Puṇḅarambai-nāḍu (*a sub-division*) of Arumolīdēva-vaḷanāḍu, and the arbitrators Tammaḍi-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Veṇṇainallūr and Tiyaṁbaga-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Paśalai.

(l. 33) The *Puravuvāri* (*officers*) Korraṇ Poṟkāri, the headman of Kiḷinallūr, Śūṟriyaṇ Tēvaḍi (*a native*) of Kaḷumalan, Tēvaṇ Śāṭṭaṇ (*a native*) of Paḷuvūr and Aṇaiyaṇ Taḷikkulaṇ (*a native*) of Kaḷḷikkudī, the *varippattaṅgam* (*i.e.* officers in charge of Tax registers), Kumaraṇ Araṅgaṇ (*a native*) of Śāṭṭaṇūr and Śiṅgaṇ Veṇkāḍaṇ, the headman of Paruttiyūr, being present, Āṇaimaṅgalam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam (*a sub-division*) of their district, comprising of ninety-seven (*vēli*), two *mā*, one and a half *kāṇi*, one *mundirigai*, *kīḷ* (*i.e.* 1/320) of three *mā*, three *kāṇi* and one *mundirigai* and *kīḷ* (*i.e.* 1/320) of half, and two *mā* of land, after deducting those that had been removed in survey, was entered in the revenue register as a tax-free *pallichchandaṁ* on the ninety-sixth day of the (*said*) twenty-first year.

(l. 41) We furnished the names of (*the following persons*) for going round the hamlets accompanying the female elephant:—

Our (*officer*) Kaṅkāṇi-naḍuvirukkum Tammaḍi-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Veṇṇainallūr and the Bhaṭṭas (*viz.*) Śrīdhara-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Tūṟpil residing at Śrī-Tuṅamaṅgalam *alias* Abhimānabhūṣaṇa-chaturvēdimāṅgalam in Tirunaṟaiyūr-nāḍu (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, Paṟpanābha-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Pārkkulaṁ (*residing at*) Tirunallūr in Vēḷānāḍu (*a sub-division*) of the same *nāḍu*, Veṇṇaiya-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Pērēmapuram (*residing*) in the same village and Nandīśvara-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Dvēḍaigōmapuram (*residing*) at Śrī-Viraṇāṟayaṇa-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, a free village in Kāra-nāḍu (*a sub-division*) of Rājēndrasimha-vaḷanāḍu and the *Puravuvāri* (*officer*) Aṇaiyaṇ Taḷikkulaṇ (*a resident*) of Kaḷḷikkudī.

(l. 49) A royal order (*tirumugaṁ*) embodying the above and with the words “it behoves you also to be with these persons, to point out the boundaries, to go round the hamlets accompanied by a female elephant, to set up (*boundary*) stones and milk-bush and to draw up and give the deed of gift,” having been sent to us, the *nāṭṭōṁ* (the assembly of the district), in the writing of the Royal scribe (*mandiravōlai*) Amudaṇ Tirttakaraṇ, the headmen of Viḷattūr, and with the signatures of the Superintendents of Royal Writs (*tirumandiravōlai-nāyakam*) Kṛiṣṇaṇ Rāmaṇ *alias* Mummaḍiśōḷa-Brahmaṇāṟayaṇ, Īṟāyiravaṇ Pallavayaṇ *alias* Mummaḍiśōḷa-Pōṣaṇ (*a resident*) of Araīśūr and Vēḷāṇ Uttamaśōḷaṇ *alias* Maduraṇṭaka-Mūvēṇḍavēḷāṇ (*a resident*) of Paruttikudī, in the twenty-first year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Rājarājakeśarivarman *alias* Rājarājadēva, who having conceived in his mind that, like the goddess Lakṣmī, the great goddess of the Earth had become his own, was pleased to destroy the ships at Kāṇḍalūr-Śāḷai, took, with (*the aid of*) his highly powerful and victorious army, Vēṅgai-nāḍu, Gaṅgapāḍi, Nuḷambapāḍi, Taḍigai-pāḍi, Kuḍamalai-nāḍu, Kollam, Kaliṅgam and the province of Īḷam (*i.e.* Ceylon), famous in the eight quarters, and who carried away the splendour of the Śēḷiyas (*i.e.* the Pāṇḍyas) in the year of his acquiring excessive glory fit for being praised till the end of time, we, the *nāṭṭōṁ* (*i.e.*, the assembly of the district), seeing it (*i.e.* the order) being brought, respectfully advanced (*towards*) received and carried (*it*) on our heads and accompanying the female elephant, walked round the hamlets, set up (*boundary*) stones and milk-bush and drew up and gave the deed of gift.

(l. 65) The eastern boundary of the land (*thus granted*) forms the western boundary of Kōvūr in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu; (*it is*) to the west of the land of the carpenter of Kōvūr and of the (*stream*) Kāvidi-ōḍai of Kōvūr; further south (*it is*) to the west of the field called Pugaiyuppi (*belonging to*) the same village; further south, proceeding in an easterly direction on the same boundary and further south of the same field, (*it is*) to the west of the field called Pugaiyuppi; further south and further west, (*it is*) to the north of the

small ridge (*which had been*) converted into a nursery (*and made to form part*) of the one-eighth (*vēli of land lying*) to the west of the channel irrigating the (*land called*) Pugaiyuṇṇi ; further, (*it is*) to the west of the (*said*) small ridge which had been converted into a nursery at the western side of this one-eighth (*vēli*) ; further still, (*it is*) to the north of the ridge made on the southern side of the same nursery ; further on, (*it is*) to the west of the western ridge of this one-eighth (*vēli*) ; further, (*it is*) to the west of the one-eighth (*vēli*) of Pugaiyuṇṇi (*lying*) on the southern side of the said one-eighth (*vēli*) ; further south of this, (*it is*) to the west of the one *mā* and a half of land belonging to the potter of Kōvūr ; on the south of this (*land*), (*it is*), to the west of the one *mā* and a half (*of land*) ; on the south of this, (*it is*) to the south of the middle of the stream ; further on, (*it is*) to the west of the boundary of this (*village of*) Kōvūr ; further south, (*it is*) to the west of the one *mā* of land of Araiśūr Maṛiyāḍi, a Vellāla of Kōvūr ; on the south of this, (*it is*) to the south of the middle of the stream ; going in a south-easterly direction along this stream, (*it lies*) to the west of the spot at which the western Paḷlavāyakkāl falls into this very stream ; further on, (*it is*) to the south of the southern bank of the western Paḷlavāyakkāl and to the west of the western ridge of (*the land called*) Mēlpaḷḷam of Kōvūr ; (*further*), it is to the north of the northern ridge of the one-eighth (*vēli of land*) of the Vellāla Uṛappaḷi Pākkaṛaṇ in Mēlpaḷḷam of this village ; (*it is also*) to the west of the middle of the stream at the western side of this same one-eighth (*vēli*) and of the one-eighth (*vēli of land*) of the Vellāla Paramēśvaraṇ Naraṇiyūr ; (*it is*) to the west of the middle of this stream ; (*further, it is*) to the west of this same stream which forms the boundary(?) (*kottam*) of the one-eighth (*vēli of land*) of Aiyyāraṇ Śēndaṇ, a Vellāla of Kōvūr ; (*it is also*) to the south of the same one-eighth (*vēli of land*) ; (*further, it is*) to the west of this stream at the boundary(?) (*kottam*) of the land (*called*) Mēlpaḷḷam ; and (*also*) to the west of the spot at which this stream falls into the (*channel*) Eṛivaṭṭi-vāyakkāl and to the west of this Eṛivaṭṭi-vāyakkāl ; further, (*it is*) to the south of this Eṛivaṭṭi-vāyakkāl and to the west of this Eṛivaṭṭi-vāyakkāl.

(l. 92) The southern boundary is to the north of this Eṛivaṭṭi-vāyakkāl ; and going in a westerly direction along this Eṛivaṭṭi-vāyakkāl, crossing the same channel and getting up (*its*) southern bank, and going further south along the western boundary of the (*one*) *vēli* of *paḍugai* land belonging to the *brahmadēya* of this (*village of*) Āṇaimaṅgalam, (*it lies*) to the west of the stream which (*here*) lies in the direction of south-north ; going then in a southerly direction along this (*same*) boundary, (*and proceeding*) further west, (*it is*) to the north of the same stream ; again (*going*) in a northerly direction along the said stream and reaching this Eṛivaṭṭi-vāyakkāl, (*it is*) to the east of it ; crossing the Eṛivaṭṭi-vāyakkāl and getting up its north bank and proceeding (*then*) in a westerly direction along the north bank of this channel, (*it lies*) to the north of the channel ; passing in a westerly direction along this boundary, and then in a westerly direction in the course of the stream, and reaching the northern ridge of the four *mā* of land in Śiṣaḷaiyukuḍi, a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam in this *nāḷu*, and (*then*) passing along the same ridge in a westerly direction, (*it lies*) to the north of this boundary ; proceeding in a westerly direction along the same boundary and reaching the stream (*called*) Paḷaviḷappu, (*it lies*) to the north of this boundary.

(l. 106) The western boundary is to the east of the *veṭṭappēru* (*granted to the men in charge of*) the head sluice of the Nāṭṭuppōkku-(*channel*) which runs in a northerly direction ; going further north and reaching the stream which forms the eastern boundary of the lands of (*the village of*) Muñjikuḍi in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam of the same district and going then in a northerly direction along the middle of the same stream as it lay, (*it lies*) to the east of this stream, and includes the stream also ; proceeding thence in a northerly direction along the stream, as it lay, till reaching the lands of the same (*village of*) Muñjikuḍi, and reaching also the stream which formed the eastern boundary of this Muñjikuḍi, and proceeding further north, (*it is*) to the east of the same boundary ; going through the several turnings of the stream as it lay and then passing in a northerly direc-

tion till reaching the lands of this Muñjikuḍi (*village*), and proceeding further north of the stream which forms the eastern boundary of the same village of Muñjikuḍi and further to the east of the same boundary, and going then in a northerly direction along this stream as it lay, and leaving this (*stream*) and reaching the southern ridge of the four *mā* of land (*belonging to*) Rāmaṇ Gōvin-
dan, a Vellāla of this Muñjikuḍi and passing (*then*) in a northerly direction along the same boundary and reaching the southern ridge of the lands which formed the *brahmadēya* of this (*same*) Muñji-
kuḍi, (*it lies*) to the south of it and also to the east of it; further on (*it lies*) to the north of the
lands (*belonging to*) the *brahmadēya* of the said Muñjikuḍi; going then in a northerly direction
along the same boundary, (*it lies*) to the east of the land forming the eastern boundary of the holding
of the Vellālas (*vellāṇ-vagai*) of the said Muñjikuḍi; going then in a northerly direction along the
same boundary, and then in a north-westerly direction till reaching the field called Ūḍārimayakkal
in Muñjikuḍi, (*it lies*) to the east of the eastern ridge of the said field; going in a westerly direction
along the northern ridge of the same field, (*it lies*) to the north of the northern ridge; going in a
northerly direction along the (*stream of*) Paraiyōḍai on the western side of the same field, (*it lies*)
to the east of the same stream; going then in a northerly direction along the same stream till
reaching the channel called Rājarāṇa-vāykkāl which was dug out to irrigate the lands of this
(*village of*) Āṇaimaṅgalam and then crossing this channel and getting up its northern bank, (*it*
lies) to the east of the eastern ridge of the field called Kālavāy in the *brahmadēya* of this (*village*
of) Āṇaimaṅgalam; going in a northerly direction and (*then*) in an easterly direction and reaching
the southern ridge of the quarter (*vēli*) of land of Kīlāṇ Kīlāṇ in the *brahmadēya* of this
Āṇaimaṅgalam, and passing (*again*) in a south-easterly direction, (*it lies*) to the south and east
of the boundary which proceeds from this (*ridge*) in north-easterly and easterly directions; going
(*then*) in a north-westerly direction along the northern ridge of the same, (*it lies*) to the north of
this (*line*); further, (*it lies*) to the east of the eastern ridge of the three *mā* (*of land*) of Āritāṇ
Śiriyāṇ Kaḍambaṇ in the *brahmadēya* of this (*village of*) Āṇaimaṅgalam.

(l. 134) Proceeding in an easterly direction along the southern ridge of this (*land*), the
northern boundary is to the south of this (*field*); proceeding in an easterly direction along the
boundary of the land called Koṭṭiḍal in the *brahmadēya* (*village of*) Pirambil in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṭṭam,
(*a sub-division*) of the said district (*of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaṇanāḍu*) till reaching the west-
ern ridge of the land of Vāchchiyaṇ Paramēśvaraṇ Pūvaṇ in the *brahmadēya* of the said Āṇai-
maṅgalam, (*it lies*) to the south of it; (*it also lies*) to the west, south and east of the said land;
(*it is*) also to the east of the eastern ridge of the land called Koṭṭiḍal in the *brahmadēya* (*village*
of) Pirambil in the above said *nāḍu*; proceeding in a northerly direction along the same
ridge and reaching the southern bank of the river called Viḷappu, (*it lies*) to the south of its
southern bank; proceeding in an easterly direction along this bank and reaching the western
ridge of the one *mā* and a half (*of land*) in the *dēvadāna* of (*the god*) Mahādēva of this (*village of*)
Āṇaimaṅgalam, (*it lies*) to the west of this ridge; proceeding in a southerly direction along the
same ridge and reaching the western ridge of (*the field of*) Muḷḷivaravai which is (*also*) a *dēvadāna*
of the same god, (*it lies*) to the west of that ridge; proceeding (*then*) in southern and eastern direc-
tions along the same ridge and reaching the tank of this god, and then going in a southerly direc-
tion along the western bank of the channel feeding the said tank of this god, (*it lies*) to the west
of the western ridge of the field called Kaṇavadi-kāl which is also a *dēvadāna* of (*the above men-*
tioned) god; proceeding (*then*) in an easterly direction along the southern ridge of this Kaṇavadi-
kāl, (*it lies*) to the south of this ridge; (*it is also*) to the west of the western ridge of the one *mā*
of the *dēvadāna* land called Meḷukkuppuram¹ (*belonging to*) this god; proceeding in an easterly

¹ Assignments made for meeting the expenses of supplying oil for the anointing of images of gods and for
cleaning the courtyards of temples are called Meḷukkuppuram.



direction along the southern ridge of this one *mā*, (*it lies*) to the south of this ridge ; proceeding (*then*) in an easterly direction along the southern ridge of the three *kāṇi* of the *dēvadāna* land of (*i.e.*, belonging to) this god and reaching the Pattal-channel, (*it lies*) to the south of it ; proceeding (*further*) in a northerly direction along the western bank of the said Pattal-channel till reaching the (*river called*) Viḷappu, (*it lies*) to the east of it ; crossing the said Viḷappu and getting up its northern bank and arriving at the boundary of Mūṅgirkūḍi which is a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam in the same district and then proceeding in northern and eastern directions along that boundary, (*it lies*) to the east and south of it ; further on, (*it is*) to the west of the lands of this Mūṅgirkūḍi ; proceeding in a southerly direction along the said boundary till reaching (*the river*) Viḷappu, crossing the Viḷappu and getting up its southern bank and then proceeding in an easterly direction along the southern bank and reaching the western ridge of the land called Kaṇavadimayakkal (*situated*) in Kōvūr of this *nāḍu*, (*it lies*) to the south of it ; (*it lies also*) to the west of the western ridge of this land (*viz.*), Kaṇavadimayakkal ; proceeding in an easterly direction along the southern ridge of this land (*viz.*), Kaṇavadimayakkal and reaching the channel irrigating Nallūrcheṛi, a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam of this district (*it lies*) to the south ; proceeding then in an easterly direction along the southern bank of the said channel till reaching the southern ridge of the one *mā* of land (*belonging to*) Uṇṇappali Pākkaṇ, a Vellāḷa of Kōvūr in the same district and then going in an easterly direction of this southern ridge and reaching the carpenter's land in Kōvūr where the boundary originally commenced, (*it lies*) to the south.

(l. 167) The donee shall have possession of the wet lands, dry lands, the village, village-site, ponds, sacred temples, the quarters of the Paraiyas, the quarters of the artisans and the burning grounds included within the four great boundaries thus described.

(l. 169) The following are the conditions to be observed in thus taking possession of this village inclusive of *kārāṇmai* and *mūyāṭchi* (*rights*) with its excess and deficiency in measurement including in it the houses, house-sites, shops, the bazaar street, assembly grounds, waste lands set apart for grazing calves, ponds, *koṭṭagāram* (*i.e.*, kraals or palaces), valleys and wells, ant-hills, *terri*, forests, *piḍiligai*, barren lands and brackish lands, rivers, arable lands near rivers, streams, breaches, pits containing fish, gardens with their honey (*produce*), trees growing up and wells sunk down, without excluding any of the existing lands covered with water or rolled by the harrow or where the *inguana* runs or the tortoise crawls.

(l. 176) Channels shall be dug (*so as*) to irrigate the lands of the village; and their waste water shall be collected in canals and led away. Existing water courses over channels irrigating these lands shall be allowed to flow and their waste water shall be collected and led away. It is not permissible for others to cut branches, dam them across, put up small picottahs or bale water in baskets. Good (*i.e.*, drinking) water shall not be used for common purposes ; but it may be dammed and made to irrigate (*lands*). Mansions and large edifices shall be built of burnt tiles (*i.e.*, bricks). Large wells shall be sunk. Coconut trees shall be planted in groves. *Damanaka*, *maruvu*, *iruvēli*, *senbagam*, *seṅgaḷunīr*, mango, jack, areca-palm, palmyra, *koḍi* and other useful trees of various descriptions shall be sown and planted. A big oil-press shall be set up. (*Such of*) the irrigation channels as are cut through the lands of this village and (*made to*) pass to outlying villages shall be permitted to flow over and be collected. (*Similarly also*), the channels cut through the lands of the outlying villages (*and made to*) pass into this village for the irrigation of lands shall be permitted to flow over and be collected. *Īḷaras* shall not be permitted to climb the palmyra and coconut trees planted (*on the borders*) of this village. Big drums and ornamental arches in three rows shall be allowed for families, according to traditions.

(l. 191) On receiving the lands as aforesaid, the privileges conferred are as follows :—*nāḍāṭchi* (fee for the administration of the district), *ūrāṭchi* (fee for the administration of the

village), *vaṭṭināḷi* (i.e., one *nāḷi* of grain on each basket), *pidānāḷi*, *kaṇṇālakāṇam* (i.e., fee of one *kāṇam* of gold received on every marriage occasion), *vaṇṇārappārai* (i.e., fee on washerman's stones), *kuṣakkāṇam* (i.e., fee of one *kāṇam* paid by every potter), water-cess, *ilai-kūlam*, *taṇṇipudavai* (i.e., fee of one cloth on each loom), the fee on brokers, fee on goldsmiths, fee on shepherds, *āṭṭukkīrai* (i.e., fee for keeping flocks of sheep), good cow and good bull, *nāḍukāval* (i.e., fee for the watch of the district), *ūḍupōkku*, *viṇṇiḍi*, *vāḷamaṇḍāḍi*, *ulgu*, *ōḍakkūli* (i.e., fee on ferries), tolls, *maṇṇupāḍu* (i.e., fee raised for assembly), *māviṇai*, *ṭiyeri*, *īlampūṭchi*, *kūṭṭikāl* and such other fees, as the king could levy and enjoy, shall not henceforth be received by the king but shall be taken by the authorities of this *paḷḷi*.

(l. 198) For this land, inclusive of its *kārāṇmai* and *mīyāṭchi* (rights), with all excess and deficiency in measurements and including (such) lands as had ceased to be *paḷḷichchanda*, forming the village of Āṇaimaṅgalam (situated) in this district, which had been granted (subject to) the conditions and privileges (specified) above, as a tax-free *paḷḷichchanda* to the *paḷḷi* in the Chūḷāmaṇivarma-vihāra which is being built by the Kaḍāra king at Nāgapattāṇam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṇṇam, we, the *nāḷḷōm* (i.e., the members of the Divisional Assembly) of (the said) Paṭṭaṇa-kūṇṇam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanying the female elephant, circumambulated the hamlets, planted (boundary) stones and milk-bush, drew up and presented the gift deed (to have effect) from the twenty-first year (of the king's reign). I, Āṇaiyaṇ Tāḷikkūḷavaṇ, (a resident) of Kaḷḷikkūḍi (and) a *puravurari* (officer), being present with the representatives of the districts while accompanying the female elephant and circumambulating the hamlets, planting (boundary) stones and milk-bush, drew up and gave the deed of gift : and this is my signature.

(l. 207) When the *nāḷḷār* were accompanying the she-elephant and circumambulating the hamlets of this Āṇaimaṅgalam, I, Kōṇ Puttaṇ, a Vellāḷa, residing at this Āṇaimaṅgalam, mounted the elephant, was present with them and showed the boundaries clearly : and this is my signature.

(l. 210) In this manner, we, the members of the assembly of Kaḍambaṇūr, a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūṇṇam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At their bidding, I, Muppatṭiruvāṇ Yajñāṇ *alias* Kaṇṇagāḍittāṇ, the arbitrator of this village, (have signed this) : and this is my signature. At the bidding of the inhabitants of this Kaḍambaṇūr, I, Nārāyaṇaṇ Dāmōdaraṇ, a Vaikhāṇasa of this village, (have signed this) : and this is my signature.

(l. 215) In this manner, we, the members of the assembly of Nārāṇamaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūṇṇam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, circumambulated the hamlets accompanying the she-elephant, and drew up and gave the deed of gift. I, Irunūṇṇuvāṇ Uttamaṇ *alias* Brahmaṇaṅgalyaṇ, the arbitrator of this village, (have signed this) : and this is my signature.

(l. 218) In this manner, we, (the *ūrār* of *Vēlaṅguḍi* ?), accompanied the she-elephant and drew up and gave the deed of gift. I, Vēlaṅguḍaiyāṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ Orri of Vēlaṅguḍi in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṇṇam, (a sub-division) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu (have signed this) : and this is my signature.

(l. 221) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Mūṇḍiṇṇikūḍi, a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūṇṇam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. I, Kuṇava-Nandi *alias* Alaṅkārapriyaṇ, the arbitrator of this village, (have signed this) : and this is my signature.

(l. 224) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Narimaṇṇam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṇṇam, (a sub-division) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets

and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Aimbattiruvan Viḍelvi-
ḍugaṇ, the arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 228) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Śāttamaṅgalam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam, (*a sub-
division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the
hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, *Vēḷkōvaṇ* Ediraṇ
Śāttan *alias* Nānūrruvapperuṅgōvēlāṇ of this village have signed (*this*) : and this is my signa-
ture.

(l. 232) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Śannamaṅgalam, a *brah-
madēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant,
circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the
assembly, I, Durukkaṇ Kamudaṇ, the accountant-arbitrator of this village have signed (*this*):
and this is my signature.

(l. 236) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Koṭṭārakuḍi, a *brah-
madēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant,
circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. I, Ūraṇ Chandraśekharaṇ
alias Brahmanaṅgalyaṇ, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, (*have signed this*) : and this
is my signature.

(l. 239) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Kōvūr in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam, (*a sub-division*) of
Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and
drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Aiyyaṇ Aiyyaṇ, the account-
ant-arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 243) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Uttūr in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam, (*a sub-division*) of
Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and
drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Nakkaṇ Muḷli, the accountant-
arbitrator of this village have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 246) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Naṇṇimaṅgalam, a *brah-
madēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant,
circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the
assembly, I, Kaṇṇaṇ Alaṅkārapriyaṇ, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, (*have signed this*) :
and this is my signature.

(l. 249) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Poruvanūr, a *brahmadēya*
of Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circum-
ambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the assembly,
I, *Vēḷkōvaṇ* Mādēvaṇ Ūraṇ, the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my
signature.

(l. 253) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Ālaṅḍi in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam, (*a sub-division*)
of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets
and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Kāśyapaṇ Sūryyaṇ Araṅgaṇ,
the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 256) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Turaiyūr in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam, (*a sub-division*)
of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets
and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Tiritti Vaikundaṇ of the
Bhāradvāja-(*gōtra*), the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) : and (*this is my*) signature.

(l. 259) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Pirambil, a *brahmadēya*
of Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circum-
ambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. I, Kuṇavaṇ Nandi *alias* Alaṅkā-
rapriyaṇ, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, (*have signed this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 263) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Kaḍambaṅguḍi, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Kuṇavaṇ Nandi *alias* Alaṅkārapriyaṇ, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 265) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Sēndamaṅgalam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Ūrāṇ Aiyaṇ, the arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 268) In the said manner, we, (*the ūrār of Śiruchchēndamaṅgalam ?*), accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets, and drew up and gave the deed of the gift. I, Eṭṭi Valaṅjūliyaṇ Saṅgaṇ of Śiruchchēndamaṅgalam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, (*have signed this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 270) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Kuṇṛālam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Vēṭkōvaṇ Dēvaṇ Ūraṇ, the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 273) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Tirunāvūr in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Chaturmukhaṇ Araṅgaṇ, the arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 276) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Uvarkkuḍi, a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the assembly, I, Vēṭkōvaṇ Mānāgaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ, the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 280) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Muṇjikuḍi in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Vēṭkōvaṇ Mānāgaṇ Kaṇṇaṇ, the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 284) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Tirukkaṇṇaṅguḍi in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the assembly, I, Vēṭkōvaṇ Atirāmaṇ Irubattunālvaṇ *alias* Munṇūrṇuvaṇ, the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 288) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Kaḍambavalavāṭkai in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Ūrāṇ Ūrāṇ, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 292) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Pālaṅkorraṅguḍi in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Ūrāṇ Ūrāṇ, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 295) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Veṅkiḍaṅgil in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Ūrāṇ Nakkaṇ, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 298) In the said manner, we, (*the members of the assembly of Āṇaimaṅgalam* ?), accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. I, Āritaṇ Śīriyāṇ Kaḍambaṇ, (*a resident*) of this *brahmadēya* of Āṇaimaṅgalam, (*have signed this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 300) In the said manner, I, Tūrpil Śrīdhara-Bhaṭṭaṇ, (*a resident*) of Śrī-Tuṅgamaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Tirunaṇaiyūr-nāḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, (*in the capacity*) of a Bhaṭṭa, caused the she-elephant to circumambulate (*the hamlets*) and got the deed of gift to be drawn up. This is my signature.

(l. 303) In the said manner, I, Paṇṇābha-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Pārkkūḷam, (*residing*) at Tirunallūr in Vēḷā-nāḍu, (*in the capacity*) of a Bhaṭṭa, caused the she-elephant to circumambulate (*the hamlets*) and got the deed of gift to be drawn up and given. This is my signature.

(l. 306) In the said manner, I, Veṇṇaiya-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Pērēmapuram (*residing*) at Tirunallūr in Vēḷā-nāḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, (*in the capacity*) of a Bhaṭṭa, caused the she-elephant to circumambulate (*the hamlets*) and got the deed of gift to be drawn up and given. This is my signature.

(l. 308) In the said manner, I, Nandiśvara-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Dvēdaigōmapuram (*residing*) at Śrī-Vīraṇārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Rājēndrasimha-vaḷanāḍu, (*in the capacity*) of a Bhaṭṭa, caused the she-elephant to circumambulate (*the hamlets*) and got the deed of gift to be drawn up and given. This is my signature.

(l. 311) Our (*i.e.*, the Royal) Secretaries (*viz.*) Miṇavaṇ Mūvēndavēḷāṇ, Koṭṭamaṅgalamuḍaiyāṇ and Dēvaṇkuḍaiyāṇ; the arbitrators (*viz.*) Dāmōdara-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Kaḍalaṅguḍi and Pūvatta-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Koṭṭaiyūr; our Secretaries (*viz.*) Parākramaśōḷa-Mūvēndavēḷāṇ, Śēmbiyaṇ Mūvēndavēḷāṇ, Śōḷavēḷāṇ and Araśūruḍaiyāṇ, and the arbitrator Paramēśvara-Bhaṭṭa-Sarvakraṭuyājin of Puḷlamaṅgalam, having ordered that (*the necessary*) entries may be made in the Revenue Registers in accordance with the deed that was thus signed and issued; the *puravuvāri* (*officers*) (*viz.*) Kōḍaṇḍaṇ Śēṇaṇ of Āḷaṅguḍi, ḷavaḍigaḷ Naḷḷāraṇ residing at Pūḍamaṅgalam and Karpagaṇ Śōlai residing at Ālattūr, the *varippottagam* (*i.e.*, officer in charge of Revenue Registers) (*viz.*) Śiṅgaṇ Veṇkāḍaṇ, the headman of Paruttiyūr, the *mugaveṭṭi* (*officers*) (*viz.*) Kīḷvāy-Kaṇavadi, Muṇḍaṇ Araṅgaṇ, Śaiyadaṇ Amalaṇ, Tattaṇ Śikiṭṭaṇ (*i.e.*, Śrī-Kṛishṇa), the *varippottaga-kkaṇakku* (*i.e.*, the accountant in charge of the Revenue Registers) Mādēvaṇ Būmi, the *variṇḷiḷu* (*i.e.*, the officer who makes entries in Revenue Registers) Tāḷi Virāśōḷaṇ, a resident of Uruvūr, and the *paṭṭōlai* (keepers of Royal writs) (*viz.*) Perumaṇ Ambalattāḍi, Śikaṇḍaṇ (*i.e.*, Śrīkaṇṭha) Dēvaṇ, Mākāḷaṇ Ariṇṇji, and Nakkaṇ Maṇḍagavaṇ, being present, entries were made in the Revenue Registers and the deed was given (*to the donee*) on the **one hundred and sixty-third day** of the **twenty-third regnal year**.

(l. 323) This is the signature of Araiyaṇ Arumoli *alias* Rājēndraśōḷa-Pallavaraiyaṇ, the headman of Naḍār in Tiraimūr-nāḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Uyyakkonḍār-vaḷanāḍu.

(l. 325) (*This is*) approved by Kṛishṇaṇ Rāmaṇ *alias* Rājēndraśōḷa-Brahmamārāyaṇ of Kēraḷāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Veṇṇāḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Uyyakkonḍār-vaḷanāḍu.

(l. 327) (*This is*) approved by Īrāyiravaṇ Pallavayaṇ *alias* Uttamaśōḷa-Pallavaraiyaṇ, a resident of Araśūr in Pāmbuṇi-kūṛṅgam, (*a sub-division*) of Nittavinōḍa-vaḷanāḍu.

(l. 329) (*This is*) approved by Dāmōdara-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Dvēdaigōmapuram, (*a resident*) of Kaḍalaṅguḍi in Kuṟukkai-nāḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Rājēndrasimha-vaḷanāḍu.

(l. 330) (*This is*) approved by Araiyaṇ Śikaṇḍaṇ (Śrīkaṇṭha) *alias* Miṇavaṇ Mūvēndavēḷāṇ, the headman of Kuṟumbil in Ambar-nāḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Uyyakkonḍār-vaḷanāḍu.

No. 35.—THE SMALLER LEIDEN PLATES (OF KULOTTUNGA I).

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., COIMBATORE.

The inscription edited below is engraved on a set of **three copper-plates** now preserved in the Leiden University Museum in Holland. It was once published without plates in the *Archæological Survey of South India*, Volume IV, pp. 224 ff., by Burgess and Natesa Sastri as early as 1886. Though the text of the inscription had been fairly well made out, the translation given in the volume requires to be largely amended. It is also considered desirable to give facsimile plates of the inscription. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist for India, very kindly obtained from the Museum authorities in Leiden one set of excellent rubbings of the inscription and a photograph of the seal and placed them at my disposal for study and publication in the *Epigraphia Indica*.¹

The three plates—each of which measures 14·8 inches by 5·3 inches—that form this set, are held together by a strong ring bearing a large **seal** very similar to the one on the Larger Leiden Plates. The following is the reading of the **legend** on this seal by Burgess and Natesa Sastri :—

Śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷasya Rājakēsarivarmaṇaḥ

puṇyaṁ kshōṇīśvara-sabhā-chūḍā-ratnāyā(ya) śāsanam

The editors note : “ whether through mistake on the part of the engraver or from want of room to get the whole inscription into the one line round the circumference, is uncertain, but the syllables—*asya Rājakēsarivarmaṇaḥ* are inserted below *ṁga-Chō* and *puṇyaṁ kshōṇīśvara* between which they must be read, and this, together with the peculiar forms of some of the letters, makes the legend difficult to decipher”. The fact that the legend runs round the circular seal and has the syllables *asya*, etc., engraved below in a second line is a clear indication that what is written below forms the end of the legend. And since it is certain that *Śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chō* must precede the portion contained in the second line, the commencement, *i.e.*, the first half of the verse forming the legend is *Puṇyaṁ kshōṇīśvara-sabhā-chūḍā-ratnāyā śāsanam*. In this legend, the compound *kshōṇīśvara-sabhā-chūḍā-ratnāyā* has been translated as “to the crest jewel of the assembly of earth-rulers” by Messrs. Burgess and Natesa Sastri. There is no doubt that the engraver had made some mistake here as had been supposed by these scholars. It seems to me, however, that the compound must have specific reference to the *saṅgha* of the Buddhist church (*paḷḷi*) erected at Nāgapattanam by king Chūḍāmaṇivarman of Kaṭāha. *Sabhā* in the legend is no doubt a synonym of *saṅgha* : and the term *ratna*, which is often applied to the *Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Saṅgha*, the sole resorts of the Buddhists, is highly suggestive of and favourable to connecting *sabhā* with the Buddhist shrine and creed. There is yet another suggestion contained in the terms used in the same compound : *chūḍāratna* may be taken to stand for *chūḍāmaṇi*, perhaps a contracted form of *Chūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra*, which was the name of the Buddhist monument called after its royal founder Chūḍāmaṇivarman : but the intervening position of the word *sabhā* between *kshōṇīśvara* and *chūḍāratna* makes the interpretation difficult. Had the word *sabhā* with the appropriate termination been used at the end of the compound, it would have been quite easy to interpret the word into “to the *saṅgha* of (the *vihāra* erected by) king Chūḍāmaṇivarman ” which, it seems, was intended to be conveyed by the legend. In fact the inscription on the plates as will be pointed out in the sequel, tells us clearly that the ambassadors from the king of

¹ [The impressions of this inscription also were very kindly prepared by Lt. Col. Th. van Erp of Rijks-Ethnographisch Museum, Leiden, at the request of Prof. J. Ph. Vogel.—Ed.]

Kaṭāha requested king Kulōttuṅga-Chōla to have a copper-plate issued in favour of the *saṅgha* of the *paḷli* of Chūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra. We have instances of edicts with opening verses of this nature.¹

The inscription is written in the **Tamiḷ** language and alphabet throughout : but Grantha letters are used here and there where words of Sanskrit origin occur. For instance see *si* and *sa* in *siññāsa* (l. 3), *ja* and *nma* (l. 3), *śrī* (l. 4), *rāja* (l. 5), *Rājēnta* (l. 6), *Rājarāja* (l. 7), *śēshai* (l. 8), *tāmra-sūsaṇa* (l. 10), *Rājavidyādhara-śrī-sāmanta* and *Abhimānōttuṅga-śrī-sāmanta* (ll. 10-11), *Rājavallabha* (l. 12), *prasāda* (l. 13), *Rājarāja* (l. 14), *brahmadē* (l. 18), *brahma* (l. 28), *Vijayarājēnta* (l. 31), *śrī-Śailēndra-Chūḍāmaṇivarmma-vihāra* (ll. 39-40), *Mahādēva* (l. 42), *santuvigriha* and *Rāja°* (l. 49), and *Rājē°* (l. 50).

Unlike the plates of the Sanskrit and Tamiḷ portions of the Larger Leiden set, the plates of this set are not numbered. The only **orthographical peculiarities** worth noting are : (1) the use of the vowels in some rare places where consonants are needed, *e.g.*, *kāñiālarai* (ll. 9, 38) and (2) the formation of *ū* in cases of *tū*, *nū*, *nū*, *lū*, etc., by the addition of the length (vertical stroke) sign to their short. The inscription is not quite well worded and there are possibilities of engraver's mistakes.

The inscription which is dated in the **20th year** of the reign of the Chōla king **Rājakēśari-varman** *alias* **Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I**, commences with the historical introduction *pugaḷ-mādu vi-laṅga*, which refers in general terms to the king's conquest of the Chēra (*Villavar*), Pāṇḍya (*Mī-ṇavar*), Vikkalaṇ, *i.e.*, Vikramāditya VI and Siṅgaṇan, *i.e.*, Jayasimha. It records that, while the king was resting on the reclining seat (*paḷli-ppīḍam*) called Kāliṅgarājaṇ in the bathing hall of his palace at Āyirattaḷi *alias* Āhavamallakulakālapuram, two messengers (*dūtar*) of the king of Kaḍāram, named Rājavidyādhara-śrī-sāmanta and Abhimānōttuṅga-śrī-sāmanta, petitioned to him that the village granted free from the payment of taxes including *antarāya*, *vīraśēshai*, *paṇmai-panḍai-veṭṭi*, *kundāli* and *śuṅgamērā*, as *paḷlichchanda* for meeting the requirements of the shrines of Rājēndraśōḷapperumpalli and Rājarājapperumpalli which were constructed by the king of Kaḍāram at Śōlakulavallipattāṇam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṛram, a sub-division of Geyamānikka-vaṇaṇḍu, may be entered in a copper-plate document and issued in favour of the *Saṅgattār* of the *paḷli*. The messengers also prayed that the *Kāñiyālars* of the *paḷlichchanda* lands may be removed and the lands be left entirely in the charge of the *paḷli* and that this fact may also be noted in the same copper-plate deed. Accordingly, a royal order was issued to the *adhikārin* named Rājēndraśiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷḷāṇ that he, in conjunction with the *sandhivigrahin* Rājavallabha-Pallavaraiyaṇ, should draw up a copper-plate deed to that effect. After giving a list of the *paḷlichchandas* belonging to Rājarājapperumpalli, their situation, extent, *kāñikkadaṇ*, and *nichchayitta-nellu*, the inscription states that (1) the taxes or incomes in money and kind have been assigned to meet the requirements of the monastery and that (2) the previous owners who were holding the lands of these *paḷlichchanda* villages have now been removed and the same have been vested solely with the *Saṅgattār* of the monastery. The details furnished about the *paḷlichchanda* villages are given in a separate table. Further, the inscription furnishes the under-mentioned boundaries of the monastery and its surroundings (*paḷli-nilai* and *paḷli-viḷāgam*) and states that the total extent covered by them was 31½ *vēli*, 2 *mā* and 1 *mundirigai* :—

Eastern boundary—to the west of the sea-shore inclusive of the sand-hill in it ;

Southern boundary—to the north of the well called Pugaipunṇi-kiṇaru ; to the north of the land belonging to the temple of Tiruvirattānamuḍaiya-Mahādēva situated to the west of the said well ; and to the north of the line passing westwards from the north

¹ Nos. 435, 450, 764, 766-7 of the *S. I. I. (Texts)*, Vol. V.

bank of the channel dug by Paṇavaikkulattu-Mārāyaṇ and reaching the high road to Kāraikkāl ;

Western boundary—to the east of the said high road to Kāraikkāl ;

Northern boundary—to the south of the boundary of the lands in Vaḍa-Kāḍaṇpāḍi of Śōḷa-kulavallipattanam.

The inscription concludes by saying that the royal order had thus been carried out and that, on the direction of the *sandhivigrahin* Rājavallabha-Pallavaraiyaṇ and the *adhikārin* Rājendra-śiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷāṇ, this copper-plate charter was written by Nilaiyuḍaiya-Paṇaiyaṇ Nigariliśōḷaṇ Madhurāntakaṇ, one of the Vikkiramābaraṇatterinda-Valaṅgai-Vēḷaikkāras of Uṭkōḍi.

Serial No.	Village.	Division in which situated.	Extent in vēli, mā, kāpi and mundirigai.	Kānikkaḍaṇ in kalam, kuṟuni and nāḷi.	Nichchayittanellu kalam.
1	Āṇaimaṅgalam . . .	Pattāṇa-kūṟṟam in Geyamānikka-vaḷaṇāḍu.	97-2-1½	8,943-9-3	4,500
2	Brahmadēya in Āṇaimaṅgalam.	Do. . .	12½	400	560
3	Muṇjikuḍi . . .	Do. . .	27½-3½	2,779-4-4	1,800
4	Āmūr . . .	Tiruvārūr-kūṟṟam . .	106⅞	10,600-9-6	5,850
5	Vaḍakuḍi <i>alias</i> Nāṇalūr .	Āḷa-nāḍu. . . .	70½-4½	6,514-5-1	2,840
6	Kiḷ-Chandirappāḍi . .	Do. . . .	10-2-1½-1 kiḷ ¾.	1,012-5	} 1,500
7	Pālaiyūr brahmadēya .	....	60½	1,000	
8	Puttakuḍi . . .	Kuṟumbūr-nāḍu in Jayaṅgoṇḍa-śōḷa-vaḷaṇāḍu.	87½	8,720-4-4	6,107
9	Udayamārttāṇḍanallūr .	Iḍaikkāḷi-nāḍu. . .	3-3	135-3-3	78-5

Of the villages noted above, whose revenues had been assigned to the *paḷḷi* Āṇaimaṅgalam, Āmūr, Vaḍakuḍi and Pālaiyūr are in the list of villages of the Negapatam Taluk of the Tanjore District (Madras Presidency) and Muṇjikuḍi, which, according to the Larger Leiden plates, formed the South-western boundary of Āṇaimaṅgalam, must also be in the same Taluk.

The historical introduction of Kulōttuṅga's inscriptions commences in different ways. One of them found in his earlier epigraphs begins with the words *tirumaṇṇi viḷaṅgum* and records that with the sole aid of his arm and sword, he captured herds of elephants at Vayirāgaram (Wairagadh in the Chanda District of the Central Provinces), received tribute from Dhārāvarsha of the Chakkarakōṭṭa (country) and brought the earth under his parasol.¹ In these epigraphs, which are dated up to the 4th year of reign, the king is styled Rājakesarivarman *alias* Rājendra-Chōḷa-dēva. Another inscription dated in the 6th year of his reign commences with the words *pū-mēlarivai*.² The majority of his other records, dated between the 6th and 49th years, have either (1) the introduction *pugaḷ-śūḷṇḍa-puṇari*, which gives a detailed account of the king's achievements, or (2) *pugaḷ-mādu-viḷaṅga*, which refers in general terms to his victory of the Chēra, Pāṇḍya, and Vikramāditya VI and Simhaṇa, *i.e.*, Jayasimha.³ The late Dr. Hultzsch has dealt with the events of the reign of Kulōttuṅga as could be gathered from the *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* of Bilhaṇa,

¹ *S. I. I. (Texts)*, Vol. VII, No. 392.

² *Ibid.*, No. 137.

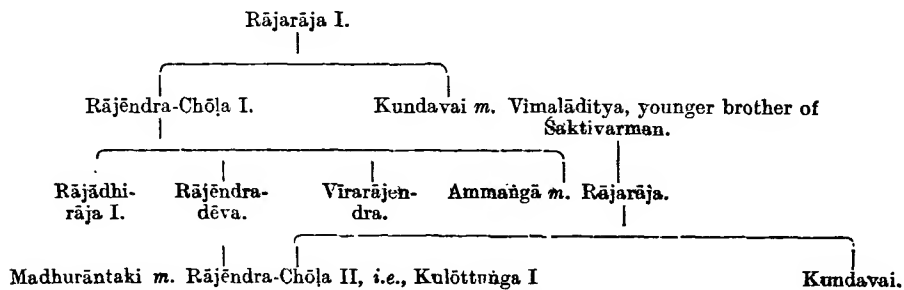
³ No. 813 of *S. I. I. (Texts)*, Vol. IV ; Nos. 874 and 785 of Vol. VII.

the *Kalingattupparani* of Jayanṅṇḍāṇ, the copper-plate grants of the later Eastern Chālukya kings and the inscriptions of his reign and has also attempted to reconcile the discrepancies found in them. The following are categorically the events of his reign :—

- (1) While heir-apparent, he captured herds of elephants at Vayirāgaram and defeated Dhāravarsha of the Chakkarakōṭṭa country.
- (2) In or before the 5th year, he defeated the king of Kuntala, crowned himself as the king of the Chōla country and decapitated an unnamed king of the south.¹
- (3) An eleventh year record adds that he drove Vikkalan from Naṅgili by way of Maṇalūr to the Tuṅgabhadrā river and conquered Gaṅgamaṇḍalam and Śiṅgaṇam.² Some inscriptions substitute Aḷatti for Maṇalūr and Koṅgaṇam for Śiṅgaṇam.
- (4) An inscription of the 14th year states that Kulōttuṅga put the five Pāṇḍyas to flight and subdued the western portion of their country including the gulf of Maṇṇār, the Podiya mountain, Cape Comorin and Kōṭṭāru.³ He is reported also to have limited the boundary of the Pāṇḍya country, to have placed garrisons in the strategically important places of the newly acquired territory, and to have conquered Kuḍamalai-nāḍu.
- (5) The conquest of the Kalinga country is noticed in the inscriptions of the 26th, 42nd and 45th years of the king's reign.⁴

As the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga I., unlike those of Rājārāja I., Rājēndrachōla I., and others, do not mention the conquests effected by the king in the order in which they occurred—the later inscriptions often omitting the earlier achievements—it is difficult to determine with their aid the actual date of occurrence of the events.

About Rājākēsarivarman Kulōttuṅga's acquisition of the Chōla dominions a word may now be said. It will be easy to follow the events if we have before us the pedigree of the Chōlas from Rājārāja I., and that of the Eastern Chālukyas from Śaktivarman downwards, for it was during the reigns of the kings that followed them, the two families were closely knit together by marriage ties. The following table represents the relationship between the various members of the two families :—



The earliest Chōla king that interfered in the politics of the Eastern Chālukya country was Rājārāja I. From his inscriptions it is seen that he conquered Vēṅgi in the 14th year of his reign (=A.D. 999-1000).⁵ That it resulted in placing Śaktivarman *alias* Chālukya-Chandra on the Eastern Chālukya throne is evident from the fact that the latter's accession took place in that

¹ See Kielhorn's *Southern List* No. 761.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 174.

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 144.

⁴ See Kielhorn's *Southern List* Nos. 777, 782; *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 72; and Madras Epigraphical collection for 1891, No. 44 (*S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. IV, No. 445), and the same for 1904, No. 608.

⁵ *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VII, No. 739.

very year.¹ This is known from the Raṇastipūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya, the son and successor of Śaktivarman, which places the coronation of that king on Thursday 10th May, A.D. 1011, and states that Śaktivarman ruled for 12 years before him.² Of Vimalāditya's son Rājarāja I. (of the Eastern Chālukya family), the Korumelli plates³ state that his coronation fell on Thursday, 16th August, A.D. 1022 and the Tēki plates⁴ add that he ruled for forty-one years. His younger brother was Vijayāditya VII. And since it is said that after Rājarāja I., Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya ruled for fifteen years, the latter has been assigned to the period A.D. 1063-1077 by Dr. Fleet.⁵ There are three inscriptions at Drākshārāma⁶ of a certain Viṣṇuvardhana ranging in date from the 3rd to the 13th year and furnishing Śaka equivalents which work out for the king's initial year A.D. 1061-2. These inscriptions may have to be attributed to Vijayāditya VII, as there was no other Viṣṇuvardhana at the time, Kulōttuṅga being distinctly styled *Saptama Viṣṇuvardhana*. It appears that Vijayāditya VII ruled till A.D. 1077. We have three copper-plate charters of the reign of Vijayāditya which state that he succeeded to the throne on the death of his elder brother Rājarāja.⁷ There is no room to suspect that Vijayāditya's succession was disputed. Further, a consideration of the facts, that Rājarāja was crowned in A.D. 1022 and reigned for 41 years, that Vijayāditya counted his regnal years, as shown above, from A.D. 1061-2, coupled with the fact that Rājendra *alias* Kulōttuṅga I., son of Rājarāja, actually assumed regal powers only from A.D. 1070, *i.e.*, several years after the demise of his father and reigned for the long period of nearly 50 years, *i.e.*, till A.D. 1119-20, leads to the irresistible conclusion that Rājendra must have been in his teens 60 years prior to the end of his reign; and establishes also the necessity for the succession of Vijayāditya after Rājarāja⁸ and his quiet succession to the throne of Vēṅgi, as reported in the plates, confirm this conclusion. The dissension between Vijayāditya and Rājendra, if any, must have arisen only subsequent to the death of Rājarāja, perhaps when Rājendra came of age.

From what has been said above, it will be seen that the Eastern Chālukya dominion was subject to the rule of the successive kings Śaktivarman, Vimalāditya, Rājarāja and Vijayāditya without any break from A.D. 999-1000 to A.D. 1077. For aught we know, Vijayāditya was not a powerful monarch and his rule was not peaceful. Ever since the Chōla king Rājarāja I. interfered in the politics of the Eastern Chālukyas and, putting an end to the interregnum, placed Śaktivarman on the throne of Vēṅgi, that country seems to have practically become a principality subject to the authority of the Chōlas; and the Chōla kings appear to have cemented their relationship with the Eastern Chālukyas by ties of marriages. The policy followed by Rājarāja I. and Rājendra-Chōla I. towards the newly acquired country of Vēṅgi, was neglected by the latter's sons Rājādhirāja I. and Rājendradēva, but was resumed by Virarājendra. This is referred to in the Kanyākumārī inscription in the following terms⁹ :—

“The Vēṅgi and Kalinga countries which had come in the family of the Chōlas for generations having been left uncared for by his (Virarājendra's) two brothers and having

¹ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 31.

² *Ibid.*, and Vol. VI, pp. 349-51.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 50.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI, p. 336.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 283.

⁶ *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. IV, Nos. 1011, 1012 and 1013.

⁷ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1925, p. 77 and the same for 1914, p. 86.

⁸ The pretty long reign of Rājarāja for 41 years and the actual longer reign of Rājendra for 50 years after an interval of several years making up a total of more than 91 years for the reigns of father and son are worth noting.

⁹ *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 57, v. 77.

been encroached upon by powerful enemies, the glorious king Vallabha-Vallabha, *i.e.*, Virarājendra, conquered these highly powerful foes, leaving only those that were frightened, and ruled over the country."

From the inscriptions of Virarājendra we further learn that he conferred the country of Vēṅgi on Vijayāditya and protected him. If these facts are borne in mind, it will be easy to see why, when Vikramāditya VI invaded the Eastern Chālukya dominion, Virarājendra marched against him and his brother and defeated them in many a battle in the Vēṅgi country. Even subsequently Vijayāditya's position in the Vēṅgi country was not secure for it is said that the Eastern Gaṅga king Rājarāja I., the refuge of the distressed, made Vijayāditya, when he was about to sink in the ocean of troubles caused by the Chōlas, to enjoy prosperity by the support which he afforded him.¹

Speaking of the support given by Virarājendra to Vijayāditya, Dr. Hultzsch correctly suggested that the relations between uncle and nephew, *i.e.*, Kulōttuṅga and Vijayāditya were not so entirely amicable as the panegyric account of the Chellūr grant would make us believe, but that Kulōttuṅga tried to oust his uncle.² This suggestion gains ground by the explicit statement of the plates that the troubles of Vijayāditya were caused by the Chōlas who, during the reign of the Eastern Gaṅga king Rājarāja (A.D. 1070-78), were ruled by none other than Kulōttuṅga I.

From the facts noticed above, it will be plain that Vijayāditya actually reigned over the Vēṅgi country from A.D. 1063 to A.D. 1077, his cause being supported by the Chōla king Virarājendra in the earlier years and by the Eastern Gaṅga king Rājarāja in later days. It is also certain that the disturbances in Vēṅgi during the rule of Vijayāditya were on the one hand caused by the invasion of the Western Chālukya Vikramāditya VI and on the other by the attempt of Kulōttuṅga to oust him.

We shall now see if Kulōttuṅga had any position in the Chōla country which he eventually succeeded in getting. The Tamil poem *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* indeed states that the queen of Gaṅgaikonda-Chōla, *i.e.*, Rājendra-Chōla I., taking up the child of her daughter and observing the marks on his body, exclaimed that he was fit to be her son and to protect the Solar race.³ From this a theory of adoption of Kulōttuṅga by the queen of Rājendra-Chōla I. had been started. That this theory has no foundation whatsoever on facts but had been newly invented to give a *locus standi* to Kulōttuṅga after he had actually obtained the Chōla throne, will be evident from the sequel. Even the panegyrists that wrote the accounts of the copper-plates issued during his reign, in referring to the accession of Vijayāditya which took place already in A.D. 1061-2, speak as if Kulōttuṅga had a claim in the Chōla dominions, when they say that Kulōttuṅga being desirous of the Chōla kingdom, suffered his uncle Vijayāditya to become the ruler of Vēṅgi, himself holding a second rank in the kingdom, *viz.*, that of the *yuvārāja* or the heir-apparentship.⁴ That this is a garbled version of facts will be evident to anyone. We fail to see how the acceptance of the overlordship of Vēṅgi would have interfered with his right, if any, of the Chōla dominion. On the other hand, had he been made the ruler of Vēṅgi in the first instance, he would have been in a better position subsequently to push his claim for the Chōla throne.

That there was no need for adoption by the queen of Rājendra-Chōla I. of her daughter's son is clear from the facts that Rājendra-Chōla I. had several sons. The Tiruvālaṅkāḍu plates say that this king appointed his son Chōla-Pāṇḍya to protect the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa countries.⁵ The Kanyākumāri inscription adds that "like unto a sacrifice having three fires, there were born

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 171.

² *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1892*, p. 5.

³ *Canto X*, vv. 3 to 6.

⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 59-60.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 423, vv. 93 and 99.

to Rājendra-Chōla I. three sons, of whom the first was Rājādhirāja I".¹ Rājēndradēva and Virarājendra are distinctly called Rājādhirāja's younger brothers;² and they succeeded to the Chōla throne one after another.³

A careful examination of the lowest and the highest regnal years of the inscriptions of the successive Chōla kings Rājendra-Chōla I., Rājādhirāja I., Rājēndradēva, and Virarājendra as well as the results of the calculation of the astronomical details furnished in many of them establishes :—

- (1) that Rājendra-Chōla I. counted his regnal years from A.D. 1011,⁴ though his actual rule began in A.D. 1014-15⁴ and lasted till A.D. 1044,⁵ and that he installed his eldest son Rājādhirāja I. heir-apparent in A.D. 1018 ;
- (2) that Rājādhirāja I. counted his regnal years from A.D. 1018⁶ though his rule actually began in A.D. 1044⁷ and lasted till A.D. 1053-4⁸ and that in his turn he installed his younger brother Rājēndradēva as his heir-apparent in A.D. 1052 ;
- (3) that Rājēndradēva counted his regnal years from A.D. 1052⁹ though his rule actually began in A.D. 1054 and lasted till A.D. 1065¹⁰ and that he installed his next younger brother Virarājendra as his heir-apparent in A.D. 1062 ; and
- (4) that Virarājendra counted his regnal years from A.D. 1062¹¹ though his rule actually began in A.D. 1064-5 and lasted till A.D. 1069.¹²

Besides the above named kings there were also two others who, as the inscriptions left by them prove, had actually ruled over the Chōla dominions, even though it be for short periods only. These are Rājakesarivarman Rājamahēndradēva and Parakesarivarman Adhirājendra. The inscriptions of the first so far found, are dated in the 2nd and 3rd years¹³ while those of the second, which are somewhat more numerous, are also dated in the 2nd and 3rd years.¹⁴

As Rājakesarivarman Rājamahendra claims to have defeated Āhavamalla at Mudarkāru and gained victory over Jayasimha who commanded his forces, it looks pretty certain that he must have reigned after Rājēndradēva.¹⁵ Since he and Virarājendra are both styled Rājakesarivarman, they may be considered to have ruled conjointly, for otherwise Virarājendra should have borne the title Parakesari and not Rājakesari as he is actually called in all his records. Since one of the

¹ *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 157, v. 73.

² *Ibid.*, vv. 74-76.

³ Above, Vol. VII, p. 7. It has been shown that the reign was counted from a date between the 26th November A.D. 1011 and the 7th July 1012.

⁴ The earliest year found in his inscriptions is the 3rd.

⁵ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1915-16, p. 118, para. 14.

⁶ Above, Vol. VII, p. 7. The reign is determined to count from a date between 15th March and 3rd December A.D. 1018.

⁷ The earliest year found for him in inscriptions is the 26th.

⁸ The latest known date is the 36th year. See No. 262 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1921, where the king is called Rājakesarivarman *alias* Vijayarājēndradēva which was another name for Rājādhirāja I.

⁹ Above, Vol. VII, p. 7. His reign is determined to have commenced approximately on the 28th May A.D. 1052.

¹⁰ Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1927-28, No. 63, which is dated in the 11th year of the king's reign. His earliest inscription is of the 2nd year.

¹¹ The commencement of his reign is determined to have fallen between the 11th September A.D. 1062 and the 10th September A.D. 1063.

¹² The earliest date known for him is the 2nd year and the latest 8th. See *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 976 and Vol. III, No. 57.

¹³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 56 and Vol. VII, No. 743.

¹⁴ No. 123 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926 and *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 57.

¹⁵ See text of No. 743 of *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VII.

inscriptions of Adhirājendra refers to some transactions made in the 8th year of Virarājendra, Dr. Hultsch has correctly placed him between Virarājendra and Kulōttuṅga I.¹ We may suppose that his actual rule over the Chōla dominion commenced in the later part of his 2nd year when perhaps Virarājendra died,— and this must have taken place in A.D. 1069. As his Tiruvallam inscription is dated in the 200th day of his 3rd regnal year, he must have had charge of the Chōla territory for very nearly a year. Another inscription of this king found at Kūhūr, dated in this very year, is also very interesting as it tells us that in the latter part of that year there was some concern about the king's health for the recovery of which provision was made for the recital of the sacred hymns (*tiruppadiḡam*) in the temple of Māmbalamuḡaiya-Mahādēva at the village.² Perhaps the disease could not be cured and proved fatal. Two other epigraphs of the king³ inform us that the village Śeṅgēṇi and Āḍaiyūr were under the rule of chiefs who bore the title Karikālachōla, which was one of the surnames of Adhirājendra's father Virarājendra who must have bestowed it on them. That the rule of the predecessor of Kulōttuṅga I. was recognised even in Ceylon, which was then a province of the Chōlas, is proved by the inscriptions found in the island. From what has been said above, it would be seen that there was absolutely no need for any adoption from A.D. 1044 till the demise of Virarājendra. It may also be added that there are no indications in Chōla inscriptions of the period A.D. 1040-1069 that Kulōttuṅga I. was ever adopted for succession to the Chōla throne.

Now as to the **contents** of the inscription. Lines 1-13 form the preamble, lines 13-38 the document proper, and lines 39-48 furnish the boundaries of the lands comprised in the *paḷḷinilai* and *paḷḷivḷāḡam*, while what follows is the concluding portion. In the preamble, two *paḷḷis*, named Rājendraśōḷapperumpalḷi and Rājarājapperumpalḷi, are mentioned as having been built by the king of Kaḍāram in Śōlakulavallipattāṇam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṅam, a subdivision of Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāḍu. It is stated that the ambassadors of the king of Kaḍāram made the request that the *Paḷḷichchanda* villages of these two may be entered in a copper-plate deed, the previous Kāṇiyāḷars removed and the lands vested with the Saṅgattār of the *paḷḷi*. The document proper enumerates only the *Paḷḷichchandas* of Rājarājapperumpalḷi; and there is no mention of Rājendraśōḷapperumpalḷi at all. We are not sure if the word *Rājendraśōḷapperumpalḷikkum* has been omitted after *eḍuppitta* in line 14. If it had been, the villages given must have belonged to both the *paḷḷis*. In lines 16 and 38, this copper-plate document is said to have been issued in favour of the Saṅgattār of the *paḷḷi* erected by the king of Kaḍāram and in line 39 Rājarājapperumpalḷi, which must have been a shrine in the *viḥāra*, figures as the surname of Śailendra-Chūḍāmaṇivarma-viḥāra itself. While this is the case here, the grant registered in the Tamil portion of the Larger Leiden Plates is said to have been made 'for the requirements of the *paḷḷi* in the Chūḍāmaṇivarma-viḥāra which was then being constructed at Nāgapattāṇam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṅam of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu by Chūḍāmaṇivarmaṇ, the king of Kaḍāram'— the Sanskrit portion, however, stating that "the *Viḥāra* was built by Māravijayōttuṅgavarman in the name of his father Chūḍāmaṇivarmaṇ". On account of the substitution of the names Śōlakulavallipattāṇam and Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāḍu in the Smaller set for Nāgapattāṇam and Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu of the Larger Leiden Plates, and also on account of the other differences noted above as regards the *paḷḷi* referred to in either set, a doubt may reasonably arise as to the identity of the donee in the two sets. But the fact that the village of Āṇaimaṅgalam with its total extent of 97 *vēḷi*, 2 *mā* and odd and *kāṇikkaḍaṇ* 8943 *kalam*, which is exactly the grant made in the

¹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III. No. 57.

² No. 280 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1917.

³ *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VII, Nos. 854 and 884. In the later history of the Chōlas the chiefs of the villages Śeṅgēṇi and Āḍaiyūr play an important part.

Larger Leiden Plates, figures as the first item of the *Paḷḷichchandas* belonging to Rājārājaperumpallī in the Smaller set, proves definitely the identity of the donees of the two sets. Therefore it must be regarded that Śōḷakulavallipattāṇam and Geyamāpikka-vaḷanāḍu are but the altered names of Nāgapattāṇam and Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu respectively.

Of the terms that occur in the inscription, *kāṇikkadaṇ*, *kāṇiyāḷaṇ*, *nichchayitta-nellu* and *Saṅgattār* deserve to be noticed. *Kāṇikkadaṇ* is made of *kāṇi*-lands and *kaḍaṇ*=duty, and may be taken to mean "the assessment payable on lands to the king". From the occurrence of this word in the Larger Leiden Plates in this very sense with respect to the total quantity of income from the entire extent of lands in the village of Āṇaimaṅgalam and the repetition of the term and the quantity in our plates, the meaning suggested above seems to be decisive. *Kāṇiyāḷar* means literally "the persons that manage lands" and may be taken to refer to the men employed by the State to lease its lands for purposes of cultivation, to afford facilities to farmers by way of irrigation, etc., and to see to the realisation of rents or assessments. The term *nichchayitta-nellu* is rarely met with in inscriptions. In this record, which relates to an application made to the king to terminate the functioning of the *kāṇiyāḷar* and to transfer the lands from their possession and management to the authorities of the Buddhist monasteries for being dealt with directly by them, there is evidently some further gain to be derived by the monasteries in the proposed change, to wit the rights and privileges which the *kāṇiyāḷar* might have had. Perhaps the term *nichchayitta-nellu* stands for the quantity of paddy settled to be paid by the cultivating tenants to the *kāṇiyāḷar* to meet the cost of affording facilities, etc., and for their remuneration for performing the function as middlemen between the State and the tenants.

It is not unlikely that the term *Saṅgattār* of the *paḷḷi* has the same significance as the *Paṇmāhēs-varas* (or *Māhēsvaras*) of Śiva temples and Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas of Viṣṇu temples. In many inscriptions we meet with the clauses "*idu Paṇmāhēsvarar rakshai*", "*idu Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar rakshai*". In the case of grants of Buddhist or Jaina shrines the above clauses would be altered into "*idu paḷḷichchattār rakshai*." The translation of these clauses into "This shall be under the protection of all the *Māhēsvaras* or *Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas* or the *Saṅgattār* or others of the monastery" may not make clear whether by the terms *Paṇmāhēsvaras*, *Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas* and *Saṅgattār* individuals belonging to the respective sects are meant or whether they have any particular reference to regularly constituted bodies of men drawn from the said sects in accordance with set rules as in the case of the *Sabhā* or other constituted bodies and having concern with the management of the properties of the temple or other institutions with which they are associated. Judging from the single fact that the objects of the grants had to be fulfilled daily or at specified occasions, not for a fixed number of years only, but perpetually "as long as the Moon and the Sun last" as the inscriptions put it, in the manner stipulated by the donors, it can be said that the recipients who undertook to effect them could not have been a chance collection of individuals but could only have been responsible members of regularly constituted bodies whose duties were to accept such gifts and to execute the will of the donors. In this connection a few more facts contained in some of the inscriptions are worth noting. It is stated that the donations made have to be maintained as a whole, undiminished for ever and that the expenses involved in fulfilling the objects of the grants have to be met only from the incomes. It is unnecessary to say that on the part of the recipients, the safe investments of the endowments and the timely realisation of interests and the utilising of the latter without default for the specified purposes involve a very high responsibility and considerable amount of work. Here again we are obliged to think that the recipients must only be members of regularly constituted committees wielding influence and authority and not mere chance collections of individuals. Unless this be the case, it is impossible to perceive how costly gifts of lands, villages and the

like intended to meet the cost of perpetual charities would have been left with them by kings and private individuals and how the donors would have been assured of the fulfilment of their objects. A few inscriptions insert a penal clause stating that in cases of default the Paṇmāhēśvaras shall levy or cause to be levied a fine on the defaulters, to be paid to the Dharmāsana or the king of the day. From this also the irresistible conclusion is that the Paṇmāhēśvaras in the case of the Śiva temples, Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in the case of Viṣṇu temples and the Saṅgattār in the case of the Buddhist and Jaina temples must have been regularly constituted bodies meant for or invested with the authority of keeping proper accounts of grants, enforcing the regular conduct of the objects and punishing or causing to be punished any one making infringements in the undertaking.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 ||| Puḡaḷ-mādu viḷaṅḡa Jaya-mādu virumba Nila-maḡaḷ nilava Malar-maḡaḷ pu[ṇa]ra urimaiyir-chiṇṇanda maṇi-muḡi śū-
- 2 ḡi Villavar kulai-tara Miṇavar nilai-keḡa Vikkalar Śiṅḡaṇar mēl-kaḡal pāya=ttikk-aṇaittuṇ¹=taṇ śakkara naḡāt-
- 3 ti ²virasiṇṇāsanattu=bBuvaṇamuḷududaiyāḷoḡum viṇṇirund=aruḷiya kōv-Irājakēśari-panmar-aṇa chakka-
- 4 ravarttiḡaḷ śrī-Kulōttuṅḡa-Chōḷadēvarkku yāṇḡu irupad-āvadu Āyirattaiy-aṇa Āhava-malla-
- 5 kulakālapurattu kōyiliṇ=uḷḷāl=ttirumaṇjaṇa-sālaiyil paḷḷi[p*]ḷiḡam Kāliṅgarājaṇil eḷund-aruḷi irukka Kiḡarat-
- 6 taraiyaṇ Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāṭtu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūrrattu Śōḷakulavalli-paṭṭaṇattu eḡuppitta ³Rājēntraśō-
- 7 la-pperum-paḷḷikkum Rājarāja-pperum-paḷḷikkum (p)paḷḷichchandaṇḡa⁴-aṇa ūḡaḷ paḷam-baḡiy=antarāyamum vira-
- 8 śēshaiyum paṇmai-paṇḡai-veṭṭiyum kundāl[i]yum⁵ śuṅḡa-mērāmum uḷḷiṭṭaṇav=ellām tavirn-
- 9 damaikkum muṇbu paḷḷichchandaṇḡaḷ kāṇiy-uḡaiya kāṇi-āḷarai⁶=ttavira i-ppaḷḷi-chchāṇḡattārkkē kāṇi-
- 10 yāḡa=pperṇamaikkum tāṇra-sāsaṇam paṇṇi-ttara vēṇḡum-eṇṇu Kiḡarattaraiyar dūtaṇ⁷ Rājavi-
- 11 dyādhara-śrī-sāmantaṇum⁸ Abhimānōttuṅḡa-śrī-sāmantaṇum viṇṇappam śeyya ippaḡi sandhivigrahi-

¹ Read *aṇaittuṇ*=

² Read *siṇhāsanattu*.

³ Read *Rājēndra*.

⁴ Read *chandaṇ*- as in ll. 9 and 15.

⁵ The *i*-sign of *li* merges in the bottom curve of *ku* of *paḷḷikkum* in the previous line.

⁶ Read *kāṇiyāḷarai*-

⁷ Here *dū* looks like *dura* as the sign of length is separated from *du*.

⁸ The letter *m* at the end of the word is entered in smaller character at the right bottom of *ṇu*.

THE SMALLER LEIDEN PLATES OF KULOTTUNGA I.

i.

2		2
4		4
6		6
8		8
10		10
12		12
14		14

ii,a.

16		16
18		18
20		20
22		22
24		24
26		26
28		28
30		30

ii,b.

32		32
34		34
36		36

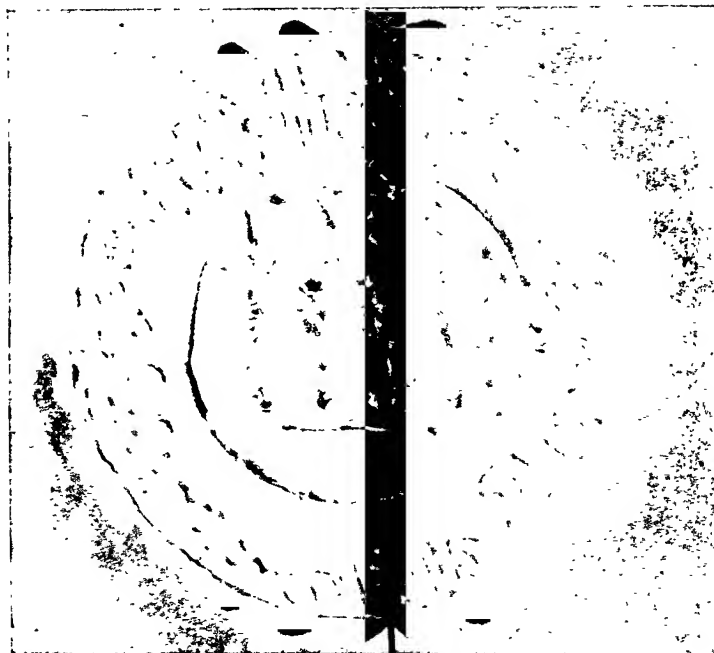
iii, a.

38 38
40 40
42 42
44 44

iii, b.

46 46
48 48
50 50
52 52

Seal.



Actual size.

From a photograph.

- 12 Rājavallabha-pPallavaraiyaṇōḍuṇ=kūḍa irundu tāmra-sāsanam paṇṇi-kkuḍukkav-
eṇṇu adikāri-
- 13 ga| ¹Rājētraśiṅga-Mūvēndavēlārkkū=ttirumugam prasādañ=cheyd-aruḷi vara=
ttāmra-sāsanañ=cheydapaḍi [i*] Kaḍāratta-
- 14 raiyaṇ Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāṭṭu Paṭṭaṇa-kkūrattu Śōlakulavalli-paṭṭaṇattu eḍup-
pitta Rājarāja-[p*]perum-pa[i*]li-
- 15 kku² paḷlichchendam Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūrattu Āṇaimaṅgalam
nilan=tonṇūr-ēlē³ iraṇ-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 16 ḍu-mā=kkāṇi arai=kkāṇiyum muṇbuḍaiya kāṇi-ālarai⁴=ttavira i-ppaḷli-chchaṇ-
gattārkkē kāṇiy-āgavum idu kāṇi-kkaḍaṇ nellu
- 17 eṇṇ-āyirattu=ttollāyirattu nārattu mu-kkalanē iru-tūṇi=kkuruṇi mu-ṇṇāliyiṇāl
nichchayitta nellu nāl-āyirat-
- 18 t=aiññūrru=kkalamum Āṇaimaṅgalattu brahmadēyam nilam paṇṇiraṇḍē muk-
kāliṇāl nellu nānūrru=kkala-
- 19 m nichchayitta nellu aiññūrru=aṇupadiṇ kalamum i-ṇṇāṭṭu Muṇṇikuḍi
nilam irubatt-ēlē mukkālē mukkāṇi a-
- 20 rai-kkāṇiyiṇāl kāṇi-kkaḍaṇ nellu iraṇḍ-āyiratt-eḷu-nūrr⁵=eḷubatt-oṇbadiṇ ka[la]n[ē]
tūṇi⁶
- 21 nā-nāli nichchayitta nellu āyiratt=eṇṇūrru⁷=kkalamum [i*] Tiruvārūr-kkūrattu
Āmūr nila-
- 22 m nūrr⁸=āṇē māgāṇiyil kāṇi-kkaḍaṇ nellu=⁹ppadināyiratt=aṇu-nūrru=kkalanē
iru-tūṇi=k-
- 23 kuṇṇi aṇu-nāli [ni]chchayitta nellu aiyy-āyiratt=eṇṇūrr-aiṇpadiṇ kalamum [i*]
Aḷa-nāt-
- 24 ṭu Vaḍakuḍiy-āna Nāṇalūr nilam eḷupadē mukkālē nāṇ-māv=araiyiṇāl
kāṇi-kkaḍaṇ ne-
- 25 llu ā-āyiratt=aiññūrr=orupattu nār-kalanē aiñ-kuṇṇi oru-nāli nichchayitta
nellu iraṇḍ-ā-
- 26 yiratt=eṇṇūrru ¹⁰nārppadiṇ-kalamum [i*] i-ṇṇāṭṭu=kKīlchchandirappāḍi nilam pattē
iraṇḍu-mā=kkāṇi
- 27 arai-kkāṇi mundirigai kīl-mukkāliṇāl kāṇi-kkaḍaṇ nellu āyiratt=orubatt-
iru-kalanē¹¹ aiñ-kuṇṇiyum [i*] i-ṇṇā-

¹ Read *Rājendra*.² The engraver seems to have, in the first instance, omitted the word *paḷli* and then inserted it in smaller characters (*paḷi* at the end of l. 14 and *kku* at the beginning of l. 15).³ The *re* of *rēlē* is entered below the line in small characters.⁴ Read *kāṇiyālarai*.⁵ The *r* of *re* has been inserted in small character between *e* and *u*.⁶ The length of *tū* is unconnected with *tu*.⁷ The length of *nū* is separated from *nu*.⁸ The length of *nū* is separated from *nu*.⁹ Cancel the first *p*.¹⁰ Read *nārppadiṇ*.¹¹ *lanē* seems to be a correction.

- 28 t̥tu=pPalaiyūr brahmadēyam nilam arupadē¹ mukkālīnāl nellu āyira-
kalam nichchayitta nellu āyiratt=ai-
29 n̄nūrru kalamum [*] Jayaṅḡoṇḡaśōla-vaḷanāttu=kKuṇumbūr-nāttu=pPuttakkuḍi nilam
enbatt-ēlē²
30 kālīnāl kāṇi-kkaḡaṇ nellu enṇ-āyiratt=eḷu-nūrr=irupadiṇ=kalanē tūṇi nā-nāli
nichchayitta nellu ā-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 31 āṇ-āyiratt=oru-nūrr=eḷu kalamum Vijayarājēntraśōla⁵-vaḷanāttu Iḡaikkaḷi-nāṭ-
32 tu Udaiyamā[r*]ttāṇḡanallūr nilam mūṇṇē mūṇṇu-māviṇāl nellu nūrru-
33 muppatt-aiṇ=kalanē mu-kkuṇi mu-ṇṇāli idu puṇṇēy variṣaiṇṇaḡi irai=
34 kkaṭtu=ttiruvāymolindaruḷiṇaḡaḡi nellu eḷupatt-eṇ=kalaṇ(n)ēy aiṇ=kuṇi
35 idil i-ppaḷḷikku=ppāḡiyum ivv-ūṇḡaḷil pala pāṭṭaṇḡaḷ uḷḷitta antarāya-
36 mum paṇmai-paṇḡa-veṭṭiyum uṭpaḡa=kkaḡava kāsūm nellum i-ppaḷḷik-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 37 ku vēṇḡum nivantaṇḡaḷukku iruppād-āḡa iraiy-ili iṭṭamaikkum [*] i-ppaḷḷi-
chchandaṇḡaḷ muṇ-
38 buḡaiya⁶ kāṇi-āḷarai⁷=ttavira=kkuḡi nikki i-ppaḷḷi-chchaṇḡattārkkē kāṇiy-
āḡa kuḡuttōm=enṇum
39 Geyamāṇikka⁸-vaḷanāttu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṇṇrattu=chChōḷakulavallipattāṇattu śrī-Śailēndra-
Chūḡāmaṇiva-
40 rmma-vihāram-āṇa Rājarājapperumpaḷḷikku=ppaḷḷi-nilaiyum paḷḷi-viḷāgamum uṭpa[t̥]ṭa
ellai kīḷ-
41 pāṇk-ellai kaḡar-karaiyil maṇar-kunṇ=uṭpaḡa mēṇkum [*] teṇpārkk-ellai Pugai-
42 uṇi⁹-kkaṇṇarukku vaḡakkum idaṇ mēṇkku Tiruvirattāṇamuḡaiya-Mahādēvar
nilattu-
43 kku vaḡakkum idaṇ mēṇku=pParavaikkuḷattu-Mārāyaṇ kalluvitta kuḷattil
vaḡakarai mēṇku nō-
44 kki Kāraikkāṇ-pperuvaliy=ura vaḡakkum [*] mēlpārkk-ellai Kāraikkāṇ-pperuvalikku=
kkilakkum [*]
45 vaḡapārkk-ellai Śōḷakulavallipattāṇattu nilam Vaḡa-Kāḡaṇṇaḡi ellaikku=tteṇkum [*]
āḡa i-ṇ-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 46 ṇāṅg-ellaikk=uṭppaṭṭa¹⁰ nilam muppatt-ṇṇē mukkālē iraṇḡu-mā mundiri-
gai idu an-

¹ The letter *t* is inserted below *pa*.² *Enpatalē* had been entered first and *t* and *e* inserted after in small characters.³ The initial letter *ā* had also been entered at the end of the previous line. Cancel one of the *ā*'s.⁴ The letter *ka* is a correction from some other letter.⁵ Read *Vijayarājendra*.⁶ The syllables *buḡaiya* have been read as *paḡaiy* in *A. S. of S. I.*⁷ Read *kāṇiyāḷarai*.⁸ The letter *kka* is written as a group, perhaps as an after thought, by raising the top stroke of *ka*.⁹ Read *yūṇi*.¹⁰ Read *uṭpaṭṭa*.

- 47 tarāyamum paṇmai-panḍa-veṭṭiyum maṇṇum eppērppaṭṭidum uṭpaḍa i.
ppaḷḷikkē iraiy-i
- 48 li kuḍuttōm [*] ippaḍi śeydu kuḍukkav-enṇu tiruvāymoḷindaruḷi=ttiru-mugam
prasādaṇ=cheydaru-
- 49 ḷi vandadu [*] tāmra-śāsaṇam paṇṇi=kkuḍukkav=enṇu santuvigrihagaḷ¹ Rāja-
vallava-pPallavaraiyarum a-
- 50 dikāriḡaḷ Rājēndiraśiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷārum śolla i-ttāmra-śāsaṇam eḷuḍi-
- 51 ṇēṇ Uṭṭkōḍi Vikkiramābaraṇa-tterinda-(vala) Valaṅgai²vēḷaikkāraḷ Nilai-
uḍaiya-Pa[ṇai]³-
- 52 yāṇ Nigariliśōḷaṇ Madurāṭṭakaṇēṇ ivai eṇ eḷuttu |||-

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 13) In the 20th year of (*the reign of*) king Rājakēśarivarman *alias* the emperor Śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, who was pleased to be seated along with (*his queen*) Bhuvana-muḷuduḍaiyāḷ on his lion throne, wearing the excellent crown of gems belonging to (*the family*), his disc of authority (*i.e.*, sway) extending in all directions, the goddess of fame (*growing in*) excellence, the goddess of victory becoming desirous, the goddess of the earth (*becoming*) bright and the goddess on the (*lotus*) flower (*i.e.*, Lakshmi) espousing (*him*), the Villavar (*i.e.*, the Chēra) becoming shattered, the *Miṇavar* (*i.e.*, the Pāṇḍya) becoming disestablished, and Vikkalaṇ (*i.e.*, Vikramāditya VI) and Śiṅgaṇaṇ (*i.e.*, Jayasimha) plunging into the Western ocean,

when he was pleased to rest on the reclining couch (*paḷḷippīḍam*) called Kāliṅgarājaṇ in the bathing hall within the palace at Āyirattaḷi *alias* Āhavamallakulakālapuram, the ambassadors of the king of Kaḍāram named Rājavidyādhara-Śrī-Sāmanta and Abhimānōttuṅga-Śrī-Sāmanta having made the request that,

for having been exempted from the payment of (*the customary taxes*) inclusive of *antarāyam*, *vīrasēshai*, *paṇmai-panḍai-veṭṭi*, *kundāli*, and *śuṅgamērā*, (*all*) the villages which were the *paḷḷichchandas* of Rājēndraśōḷapperumpalḷi and Rājarājapperumpalḷi constructed by the king of Kaḍāram at Śōḷakulavallippaṭṭaṇam in Paṭṭaṇa-kkūṇṇam (*a sub-division*) of Geyamānikka-vaḷaṇāḍu, for removing the old *kāṇiyālars* who were holding the *kāṇis* of the *paḷḷichchandas* and for investing the *Saṅgattār* of the *paḷḷi* with these lands,

a copper-plate charter may be made and given,

a royal order having been issued (*with the approval of the king*) to the *adhiakārin* Rājēndra-śiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷār that (*he*) in conjunction with the *sandhivigrahin* Rājavallabha-Pallavaraiyaṇ should draw up a copper-plate charter to this effect,

the following is the copper-plate charter drawn up in pursuance of this order :—

(Ll. 13-35) Ninety-seven (*vēḷi*), two *mā* and one *kāṇi* and a half of land comprising Āṇai-maṅgalam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṇṇam, a subdivision of Geyamānikka-vaḷaṇāḍu, which formed the *paḷḷichchanda* of Rājarājapperumpalḷi, erected at Śōḷakulavallippaṭṭaṇam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṇṇam, a subdivision of Geyamānikka-vaḷaṇāḍu, have been removed from the possession of its old tenants and made the *kāṇi* of the *Saṅgattār* of the said *paḷḷi*. The *kāṇikkaḍaṇ* on this land is eight thousand nine hundred and forty-three *kalam*, two *tūṇi*, one *kuṇṇi* and three *nāḷi* of paddy : and the *nichchayitta-nellu* on it is four thousand and five hundred *kalam* of paddy ;

¹ Read *sandhivigrahiḡaḷ*. The *i*-sign has been inserted on *gr* instead of on *h*. The *A. S. of S. I.* adopts the correct reading in the text itself.

² The reading given in the *A. S. of S. I.* is *pala pala vagai* which gives no sense.

³ The letters *l Nilai-uḍaiya-Paṇai-* at the end of this line are in smaller characters, the last letter being faintly engraved in the margin. The *A. S. of S. I.* has *nalai*.

On the direction of the *sandhivigrahin* Rājavallabha Pallavaraiyaṇ and the *adhikārin* Rājēndra-siṅga-Mūvēndavēlāṇ, this copper-(plate) edict was written by the *Nilaiyudaiya-Paṇaiyān*¹ Nigariliśōlāṇ Madhurāntakaṇ, one of the Vikramābharāṇa-terinda-Valaṅgai-Vēlāikkāras of Uṭṭkōḍi: this is my signature.

No. 36.—NOTE ON THE ŚAILENDRA KINGS² MENTIONED IN THE LEIDEN PLATES.

BY PROFESSOR R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., Ph.D., DACCA.

The Larger Leiden Plates of Rājarāja I contain references to two Śailēndra kings, viz., Chū-lāmaṇivarman and his son Śrī-Māravijayōttuṅgavarman. The Śailēndra dynasty is known to have ruled over Malay Peninsula and Java towards the close of the eighth century A.D. An inscription found at Ligor³ in Malay Peninsula refers to a Śailēndra king named Śrī-Mahārāja, and he had, perhaps, also the personal name Viṣṇu. There is internal evidence to show that this inscription is somewhat later than A.D. 775. An inscription found at Kalasan,⁴ in Java, dated A.D. 778, refers to the building of a temple of Tārā by *Mahārāja* Panamkaraṇa, the ornament of the Śailēndra dynasty. The temple is undoubtedly the famous Chaṇḍi Kalasan, one of the finest temples in Java. Another inscription found at Kelurak⁵, in the neighbourhood of the same locality, mentions a Śailēndra king Śrī-Saṅgrāma-Dhanamjaya and refers to the setting up of an image of Mañjuśrī by the royal preceptor Kumāraghōsha, a resident of Gauḍa (*Gauḍi-dvīpa-guru*).

Arab writers, from the ninth century onwards, refer to the empire of Zābag or Zābaj, ruled over by the Mahārāja. There is no doubt that under this name they refer to the empire of the Śailēndras, which now extended over nearly the whole of Malayasia (Malay Archipelago and Malay Peninsula), including the famous kingdom of Śrī-Vijaya in Sumatra. There are reasons to believe that for some time this empire also exercised some sort of suzerainty over Kāmbōja (Cambodia) and Champā (Annam).

There can be hardly any doubt that the empire of the Śailēndras, referred to as Zābag by Arab writers, is the same as the kingdom of San-fo-ts'i, referred to in the Chinese Annals from the tenth century onwards.⁶

The Chinese annals refer to no less than twelve embassies sent from San-fo-ts'i to China during the tenth century A.D. The first two embassies during the eleventh century A.D. are

¹ The expression *Nilaiyudaiya-Paṇaiyān* might indicate a "profession, office or calling". Its exact meaning is not clear to me and it is therefore left untranslated.

² Much has been recently written in French and Dutch journals and books about the Śailēndras. The following note is intended merely to give a very brief outline of their history so far as it is necessary to elucidate the Leiden Plates. For fuller discussion of their history and reference to recent authorities the reader may consult the following articles of mine:—(1) *Les Rois Śailēndra de Suvarṇadvīpa*, *B.E.F.E.O.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 121-141. (2) *The Śailēndra Empire*, *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. I, pp. 11-27. (3) *The struggle between the Śailēndras and the Chōlas*, *Ibid.*, pp. 71-91. (4) *Decline and Fall of the Śailēndra Empire*, *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 12-24. Reference may also be made to the following article by Dr. G. Coedès:—(5) *On the origin of the Śailēndras of Indonesia*, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 61-70.

³ *B.E.F.E.O.*, Vol. XVIII, 6, App. 1, pp. 29ff.; *J.A.S.B.*, *Letters*, Vol. I (1935), pp. 20ff.

⁴ *T. B. G.*, Vol. 68 (1928), pp. 57ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 1ff.

⁶ The Arab and Chinese accounts are collected by Ferrand, *J. A.*, 11-XX, pp. 1ff. They are also quoted in articles Nos. 1-4 mentioned in f. n. 2 above.

of special interest from the point of view of this inscription, and we therefore give short details of them on the authority of the *History of the Sung Dynasty*.

"In the year 1003 A.D., the king Sseu-li-chu-la-wu-ni-fo-ma-tiao-hua sent two envoys to bring tribute."

"In the year 1008 A.D., the king Sseu-li-ma-lo-p'i sent three envoys to present tribute."

Dr. Coedès was the first to point out¹ that the first royal name is a Chinese rendering of Śrī-Chūlāmaṇivarman, and the second is equivalent to Śrī-Māravi....., the first part of the name of his successor Śrī-Māraviyāyōttuṅgavarman, referred to in the Larger Leiden Plates. This identification has been universally accepted, and has served to clear up the history of the Śailēndras in many respects.

The Larger Plates refer to the Śailēndra kings as follows :—

- (1) *Śailēndra-varṇśa-sambhūtēna Śrīvishay-ādhipatinā Kaṭāh-ādhipatyam=ātanvatā.....*
(Sanskrit portion ll. 80-81).
- (2-3) *Kaṭāh-ādhipati* (*Ibid.*, ll. 90, 100).
- (4) *Kiḍāratt-araiyaṇ* (Tamil portion l. 6).
- (5-6) *Kaḍāratt-araiyaṇ* (*Ibid.*, ll. 13, 200).

It would thus appear that the Śailēndra kings are referred to as kings of Kaṭāha, Kaḍāra, or Kiḍāra, these three being variants of the same place-name. This place has been identified with Keddah in the Malay Peninsula.

Now, in the first passage the king is also called lord of Śrī-Vishaya, which is no doubt the same as Śrī-Vijaya, a kingdom in Sumatra² which, as we have noted above, was included in the empire of the Śailēndras. The expression immediately following *viz.*, *Kaṭāh-ādhipatyam=ātanvatā* means, in my opinion, 'who extended the suzerainty (*i.e.*, the kingdom) of Kaṭāha'. The learned Editor of the Plates has translated the passage as "who was conducting the rule of Kaṭāha". But the primary meaning of the Sanskrit root 'tan' is to 'spread', 'extend' etc., and I see no reason to reject it in this case.

If we accept the normal meaning of the expression, and remember that in all other cases, five in number, the king is simply referred to as king of Kaṭāha (*var.* Kaḍāra, Kiḍāra), no doubt remains that the Śailēndras, according at least to the writers of this inscription, were originally rulers of Kaṭāha, and then extended their suzerainty over Śrī-Vijaya.

The great importance of this point will be obvious to any one who is familiar with the current controversy about the original home-land of the Śailēndras. Dr. Coedès first suggested that the Śailēndras were originally rulers of Śrī-Vijaya, and this view was subsequently regarded as an established fact. Some time ago I demonstrated the weakness of the reasoning on which this theory was based, and Dr. Coedès has now freely accepted my view. He states that 'it is impossible, according to sound methods, to affirm that before the 11th century the kings of Śrī-Vijaya belonged to the Śailēndra dynasty or that they reigned at Śrī-Vijaya'.³

¹ *B. E. F. E. O.*, Vol. XVIII, 6, p. 7.

² This is the general view. Recently Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales has suggested that Śrī-Vijaya might be the name of a kingdom in Malay Peninsula itself. He has drawn attention to the fact that "one of the most important ancient sites in the northern part of the Malay Peninsula is still called C'aiya (*i.e.*, Jaya, a shortened form of Vijaya; and not far to the south is situated Śrī-Vijaya Hill)". *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. IX, p. 4.

³ See articles mentioned in p. 281. n. 2. That the Śailēndras ruled over Śrī-Vijaya as early as the tenth century A.D. is proved by Arab records, if we regard Zābag as denoting the Śailēndra empire. To this extent, Dr. Coedès' statement requires modification.

As noted above, the evidence of the Leiden Plates fully supports the view that the Śailēndra kings were rulers of Kaṭāha or Kaḍāra (*var.* Kiḍāra) and subsequently extended their suzerainty over Śrī-Vijaya.

The Chinese references to the two embassies from San-fo-ts'i quoted above, taken along with the data supplied by the Plates, leave no doubt that king Chūlāmaṇivarman died sometime between A.D. 1005 and 1008. The fact that although the formal grant in the Tamil portion was drawn up in the 23rd year of Rājārāja I, yet mention is only made of Chūlāmaṇivarman and not his son, might be taken to indicate that the former died in A.D. 1007-8. But this is somewhat problematical. In any case Chūlāmaṇivarman died shortly after A.D. 1005 and this explains the discrepancy noted by the Editor on pp. 228-29 above. It is obvious that soon after the Grant was made in A.D. 1005 by Rājārāja I, and while the construction of the Vihāra was still in progress, king Chūlāmaṇivarman died, and the work begun by him was completed by his son and successor.

The learned Editor has discussed at length the problem 'how the ruler of Kaṭāha came to erect a Buddhist Vihāra at Negapatam in the heart of the distant Chōḷa dominion, and how the powerful Chōḷa king came to grant the entire revenues of a village for the upkeep of a *paḷḷi* in it' (p. 230 above).

The early history of the Śailēndras and the Nālandā Charter of Dēvapāla of the year 391 offer an easy solution to this problem.

It is most likely that the Śailēndra dynasty originally migrated from India; there is at least no doubt that they kept up an intimate intercourse with India and received their religious inspiration from this country. We learn from Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing that even as early as the seventh century A.D. there was a regular religious intercourse between India and Malayasia. The Kelurak inscription, mentioned above, shows that the *guru* or preceptor of the Śailēndra kings in A.D. 778, was a resident of Gauḍa (Bengal). About the middle of the ninth century A.D. the Śailēndra king established a Vihāra at Nālandā, and at his request king Dēvapāla of Bengal granted five villages for its upkeep. The Leiden Plates obviously describe a transaction which is exactly similar to what we find in the Nālandā Charter of Dēvapāla, and, as in this charter, the villages must have been granted by Rājārāja at the request of the Śailēndra king. In the Smaller Leiden Plates also, we find that at the express request of the king of Kiḍāra, communicated by his envoys, the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga exempted these villages from taxes. In the Larger Leiden Plates there is no express mention of this request, but such a request must be presumed, not only on the above analogies, but also from verse 38 of the Sanskrit portion which may be rendered into English as follows: "This lord of Kaṭāha thus prays to all future kings :—'protect (*ye*) for ever this my charity'". The reference to the grant as 'my charity' can only be taken to mean that it was at his request, and on his behalf, that the village was granted by the Chōḷa king. The two persons who composed and executed the edict are mentioned in vv. 39-42, and it is not clear whether their master (*tasya rājānō* i.e., 'of that king'), mentioned in v. 40, refers to the Chōḷa king or king of Kaṭāha. But the verses 43-44 definitely say that 'on the direction of that lord of Kaṭāha, Tuvavūravāṇa Aṇukkaṇ caused to be made (*this*)

¹ Above Vol. XVII, p. 310. The Editor of this inscription has added some notes on "the evasive race of the Śailēndras" (p. 312). But they are neither adequate nor accurate. His statement that the Śailēndras ruled over Sūmatra and Java in the seventh century A.D. (p. 313) is not warranted by any evidence known to me. His other remarks need not be discussed here in detail, but the readers are referred to the articles mentioned in p. 281 n. 2 for a general review of the subject. I may note that he pointed out the resemblance between the Nālandā Charter and the Leiden Plates, and took the word '*ātuvātā*' in this inscription in the sense in which I have taken it.

lasting edict'. As the composers and engravers are separately mentioned by name, it is not clear what exact part this person played. But it proves that the lord of Kaṭāha was an interested party in the transaction.

The learned Editor has discussed at length various possible relations, friendly or hostile, between the Chōḷa king and the ruler of Kaṭāha at the time of the grant (p. 230 above). There can be no doubt that the relation of the Śailēndras and Chōḷas was friendly, not only at the time when the grant was first made, but also when the deed was actually executed, early in the reign of Rājēndra Chōḷa. But soon hostility broke out, and there was a prolonged warfare between the two. The first reference to this hostility is contained in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates dated in the sixth year of Rājēndra Chōḷa. From these we learn that the Chōḷa army crossed the seas and conquered Kaṭāha.¹ The Malur inscription of Rājēndra Chōḷa, dated in the thirteenth year, gives a detailed account of his conquest of Kaḍāra and various dominions included in the Śailēndra empire. These details are repeated in other charters of Rājēndra Chōḷa dated in the 19th, 22nd, 23rd, and 27th years of his reign, and some other inscriptions represent him as burning Kaṭāha and ruling over Kaḍāra. There is thus clear evidence that Rājēndra Chōḷa conquered the Śailēndra empire in or before his 13th regnal year, and that hostilities had probably begun as early as the sixth year. The views of the learned Editor of the Plates that the conquest of Kaṭāha is described in detail in the records of the 16th year onwards (p. 230) does not appear to be accurate.

The war between the two kingdoms continued during the reigns of Vīra-Rājēndra and Kulōttuṅga. The former is said to have conquered the kingdom of Kaḍāra, but he gave it back to its king who worshipped his feet.²

But the Smaller Leiden Plates show that peace and amity were again established between the two powers by A.D. 1089-90. As already stated above, these Plates inform us that at the request of the king of Kiḍāra, communicated by his envoys Rājavidyādhara Sāmanta and Abhimānōttuṅga Sāmanta, Kulōttuṅga exempted from taxes the village granted by the Larger Leiden Plates. Thus diplomatic relations were again established, and friendly feelings revived, after a struggle of more than half a century during the interval between the two Leiden Charters.

In conclusion, we may refer to a point on which these Plates throw interesting light. Line 81 of the Sanskrit portion refers to the king of Kaṭāha as 'Makara-dhvaja'. Makara, which is a conventional representation of an animal with the body of a fish and the head of an elephant, forms one of the most well-known decorative ornaments in Javanese architecture. The adoption of Makara as the emblem of royal banner by the Śailēndras may explain its frequent occurrence in Javanese architecture.

¹ The reliability of the inscription, in this respect, has been doubted. I have fully discussed this point in the article No. 3 mentioned in p. 281 n. 2.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, Part II, p. 202. This inscription, among others, disproves the statement of the Editor of the Nālandā Charter that "in the documents, known at present, these Śailēndras or the rulers of Śrī-Vijaya are nowhere mentioned as the feudatories of the Chōḷas". (Above, Vol. XVII, p. 313).

No. 37.—CHIRAVA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SAMARASIMHA OF MEWAR;
[VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1330.

BY R. R. HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER.

This inscription was first edited in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. XXI, pp. 155 ff. without any notes on historical persons and places mentioned therein. In order to bring out the importance of the inscription historically, I re-edit it in English from an ink-impression kindly placed at my disposal by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha of Ajmer.

The stone containing this inscription is now fixed outside the door of a new temple at **Chiravā**, a village situated about eight miles to the north of Udaipur in Mewār.

The record consists of thirty-six lines of writing, which cover a space of about 1' 9" × 1' 8". The **characters** are Nāgarī of the fourteenth century A.D., common in Rājputāna during that period.

The **language** is Sanskrit and excepting a few words in the beginning and the date at the end, the whole inscription is in verse.

The inscription commences with the usual eulogy of the god Yōgēśvara and the goddess Yōgēśvarī (Vv. 1—2). Verse 3 says that in ancient times there was the king **Bappaka** in the family of the sons of Guhila (*i.e.*, Guhilot clan). After many kings came **Padmasimha**, who was like a jewel among men (V. 4). Verse 5 speaks of his son **Jaitrasimha**, who was like the wind of destruction to other great kings. In verse 6, we are informed that neither the kings of Mālava (Mālwa), Gurjara (Gujarāt), Mārava (Mārwar) and Jāṅgala, nor the ruler of the *mlēchchhas* (Muhammadans) could humble his pride. His (Jaitrasimha's) son was **Tējahsimha**, a devotee of Śiva, whose son was **Samarasimha**, an exceedingly brave and dutiful king then living (Vv. 7-9). The text then turns to another family, which rendered conspicuous services to the kings of Mewār. Verses 9-12 state that in the Tāmṭaraḍa family, there was a man named Uddharaṇa who being able to protect the good and punish the wicked was made the *Talāraksha* of **Nāgadrahapura** (Nāgdā) by the king **Mathanasimha**, and who had eight sons, the eldest of whom was Yōgarāja who in turn was made the *Talāra* in the same city by the king Padmasimha. His (Yōgarāja's) younger brother was Ratabhū, whose son was Kēlhaṇa. Kēlhaṇa's son was Udayī, whose son was Karmaṇa (Vv. 13-14). Yōgarāja had four sons, namely, Pamarāja, Mahēndra, Champaka and Kshēma, of whom Pamarāja was killed fighting with the army of **Suratrāṇa** (Sultān) near **Bhūtālā**, while **Nāgadrahapura** was destroyed (Vv. 15-16). Verse 17 speaks of Mahēndra having three sons named Bālā (Bālāka), Āhlādana and Vayaja. Bālāka's son was Pēthāka, whose son was Sāmanta, a worshipper of Viṣṇu (V. 18). In verse 19 we are told that while **Kōṭṭaḍaka** was being taken and a battle with **Rāpā Tribhuvana** was being fought, Bālāka was killed fighting in front of the king **Jaitrasimha**. His clever wife Bhōlī, being unable to bear the pains of separation of her husband, became *satī* (V. 20). Champaka had a son named Rājasimha who had a son called Rāmasimha whose son was Bhachumḍa (V. 21). Verse 22 informs us that, through the favour of the king Jaitrasimha, Kshēma secured the post of *Talāraksha* of **Chitrakūṭa** (Chitor). From his guileless wife Hīrū he had a son named Ratna, who was killed along with **Bhīmasimha** in a battle fought at the foot of the fortress of Chitor. Ratna's son was Lālā and brother was Madana. The latter proved his valour in the battlefield of **Utthūṇaka**, while fighting with *Pamchalaguḍika* **Jaitramalla** in the cause of the king **Jēsala** (Vv. 23-28). Verse 29 says that Bhīmasimha's son Rājasimha on being made a minister, paid him (Madana) much respect. Through the favour of the king **Samarasimha**, he (Madana) succeeded his father in the post of *Talāraksha* of Chitor, where he worshipped Śiva in the temple of **Tribhuvananārāyaṇa** built by the king **Bhōja** (Vv. 30-31). Madana's son was Mōhana (V. 32). The

text of the record again changes here and describes the village **Chīrakūpa** (i.e., Chīravā where the inscription is found). Verses 24-40 tell us that, surrounded by hills and beautiful sights, the village Chīrakūpa is situated near Nāgharada and was given as a gift by the king Padmasimha to Yōgarāja serving in his army. The latter built there the temples of *Yōgēśvara* and *Yōgēśvarī*, which were restored later on by Madana, who granted some land near the lake **Kālēlāya** (Kālēlā) for the maintenance of those temples. Another beautiful temple of Vishṇu called Uddharaṇasvāmī had formerly been built there by Uddharaṇa (V. 37). In verses 41-42, Vayarāka, Pātāka, Muṇḍa, Bhuvana, Tēja, Sāmanta, Ariyāputra, Madana and their descendants are urged to preserve the grant fully. Then follows the description of the Jain *Āchāryas*, who flourished at that place (Chitor). Verse 44 says that there was at the head of the Pāśupata sect Śivarāśi, who possessed many good qualities and worshipped the (god) Ēkalīṅga. After him Bhadrēśvarasūri of the Chaitra-gachchha, Dēvabhadrasūri, Siddhasēnasūri, Jinēśvarasūri, his pupil Vijayasimhasūri, Bhuvanachandrasūri, his pupil Ratnaprabhasūri, then living, followed in succession (Vv. 45-47). The last-named was highly honoured by Viśvaladēva and Tējahsimha, and composed this *praśasti* at Chitor (V. 48). The name of the writer of this record is given as **Pārśvachandra**, who was the pupil of Ratnaprabhasūri, while that of the engraver was **Kēlisimha**, son of Padmasimha. **Dēlhaṇa** was the artisan, who did other things connected with it (Vv. 49-50). At the end, the date is given as [Friday], the first day of the bright half of *Kārttika*, Samvat 1330, corresponding to Friday, the 13th October 1273 A.D.

As regards the persons mentioned in the inscription, the name **Bappaka** (V. 3), which seems to be a personal title and not an individual name, refers to the Guhila ruler of Mewār, also known as Bappa,¹ Vappaka,² Bāshpa,³ Bappāka,⁴ Bāppa,⁵ Bāpā,⁶ etc. In the inscription⁷ of Naravāhana, dated V. S. 1028 (A.D. 971) he is said to be like a moon among the kings of the Guhila family and a jewel on this earth. He is said to have ruled for some time at Nāgdā, the old capital of Mewār and then taken the fortress of Chitor from the Mori king Māna.⁸ The inscription⁹ dated V. S. 770 (A.D. 713) shows that Chitor was in the possession of the Mori dynasty till that year, so that Bappaka (Bāpā) must have taken it after that date. According to the *Ēkalīṅga Māhātmya*, also called *Ēkalīṅga Purāṇa* of the time of Rāṇā Rāyamala, he is said to have abdicated in favour of his son in V. S. 810 (A.D. 753).¹⁰ This shows that he was the master of Chitor for about 40 years from V. S. 770 to 810 (A.D. 713-753). The accession of Bāpā, according to Col. Tod, also falls within this period.¹¹

This date of Bāpā helps in his identification. In the inscriptions of Rānapur,¹² Ābu¹³ and Chitor,¹⁴ dated Samvat 1496, 1342 and 1331 respectively (in which the genealogy of the Mewār

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 347, verse 10.

² *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 166.

³ *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, p. 118, verse 17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 141. Inscription, dated V. S. 1557 of the time of Mahārāṇā Rāyamala of Mewār.

⁵ श्रीमदपाटवमुधामपालयद्वाप्यष्टौः ॥१८॥ *Ēkalīṅga Māhātmya* (Manuscript, dated V. S. 1738) of the time of Mahārāṇā Kumbhakarṇa of Mewār.

⁶ *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, p. 123.

⁷ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 166.

⁸ Tod's *Rajasthan* (Ed. Crooke), Vol. I, p. 266. *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, 1917-18*, p. 3.

⁹ Tod's *Rajasthan*, Vol. II, p. 919, Appendix No. 3.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 190.

¹¹ Tod's *Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 269.

¹² *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1907-8, p. 214.

¹³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 347.

¹⁴ *Cunningham A. S. R.*, Vol. XXIII, plate XX, v. 3.

rulers is not complete) he is designated as father of Guhila which is evidently wrong. In the Kumbhalgarh¹ inscription, dated V. S. 1517 he is placed fifth from Guhila which seems also to be wrong, for in the Āṭapur² inscription, dated Samvat 1034 which is earlier than the Kumbhalgarh inscription and in which the genealogy of the early rulers of Mewār is complete and correct, this (fifth) place is occupied by Śīla, although there is no mention of the name of Bāpā in it. Thus Śīla of the Āṭapur inscription is Bappa of the Kumbhalgarh inscription, so that Bappa or Bāpā may be identified with Śīla (Śīlāditya). But, the discovery of Śīlāditya's inscription,³ dated V. S. 703, and of his son⁴ Aparājita, dated V. S. 718, annuls this identification of Bāpā with Śīla; there being a difference of about 70 years between this date of Śīla and that of Bāpā specified above. In the Āṭapur inscription, after Aparājita, come the names of Mahendra, Kālabhōja and Khumāna in succession. In Rājputānā Khumāna is said to be the son of Bāpā,⁵ i.e., Bāpā was the father of Khumāna and hence he is to be identified with Kālabhōja, who is mentioned in all the above-named inscriptions.⁶ The date of Bāpā according to this assumption will not differ much from that of Kālabhōja, if an average rule of 25 years be assigned to each of the preceding rulers Aparājita and Mahendra (II).

Jaitrasimha (V. 5) was one of the most powerful kings of Mewār. He is also known by the names Jayatala,⁷ Jayasimha,⁸ Jayatasimha⁹ and Jaitsi.¹⁰ His name is not mentioned by Col. Tod in his *Rajasthan*. He was the grand-father of Samarasimha, to whose time the present record belongs. He fought many battles with the Sultāns of Delhi, Gujarāt, Mālwā and the rulers of Mārwār, Jāngala and Sind.¹¹ The inscriptions of his time show that he ruled at least for 39 years. **Tējaḥsimha** (V. 7) was the son and successor of Jaitrasimha and ascended the throne between Samvat 1309¹² and 1317¹³ (A.D. 1253 and 1261). During his time Mewār seems to have been attacked by Visaladēva, the Bāghēla Rāṇā of Dhōlkā, who afterwards became the ruler of Gujarāt.¹⁴ He died between Samvat 1324 and 1330 (A.D. 1267 and 1273). Much is already known about **Samarasimha** (V. 8), who succeeded his father Tējaḥsimha about Samvat 1330 (A.D. 1273). He seems to have protected Gujarāt when it was attacked by the Muhammadans¹⁵ (Sultān of Delhi, most probably Ghyāsuddīn Balban, A.D. 1265-1287).¹⁶ He also protected the Mewār country when Ulugh Khān, the younger brother of 'Alāuddīn, started from Delhi for Gujarāt.¹⁷ The inscriptions of his time range from Samvat 1330 to 1358¹⁸ (A.D. 1274 to 1301). There is nothing worth mentioning about **Padmasimha** (V. 4) and **Mathanasimha** (V. 10) except that they followed in succession on the throne of Mewār and were the father and grand-father respectively of Rāval

¹ Noted in *PRAS, WC*, 1905-06, p. 61, No. 2214.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 187.

³ Above, Vol. XX, p. 97.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 31.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIX, p. 165, notes 26 and 27. Also Tod's *Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 250, n. 2.

⁶ He has been identified with Khōmāna I (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 190).

⁷ *Hammīramadamardana* of Jayasimhasūri, p. 27.

⁸ *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, 1924-25, p. 2, No. III.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 2, No. II.

¹⁰ In bardic chronicles.

¹¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVII, pp. 31-33.

¹² This is the date of the last manuscript of Jaitrasimha's time.

¹³ This is the date of the first manuscript of Tējaḥsimha's time.

¹⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 210, plate I, l. 4 and Vol. LIX, p. 166.

¹⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 350, V. 46.

¹⁶ Edward Thomas, *The Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 7.

¹⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 194-95.

¹⁸ *An. Rep. Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, 1920-21, p. 4, No. VIII.

Jaitrasimha of Mewār, who is mentioned in verse 5 of this record, and who is called Jēsala in v. 28 of the same.

Rāṇā Tribhuvana (V. 19) was the king of Gujarāt after Bhīmadēva II and was the contemporary of *Rāval* Jaitrasimha of Mewār.¹

Bhīmasimha (V. 26) appears to have been the minister² of Jaitrasimha and was killed in the fight, most probably fought between Tējahsimha of Mewār and Visaladēva of Gujarāt.³

Suratrāṇa (V. 16) refers to the Sultān Shamsu'ddīn Altamsh of Delhi, who had attacked Mewār and destroyed Nāgdā, its old capital.⁴

Jaitramalla (V. 28) was the Paramāra king Jayatūṅgidēva of Mālwa.⁵

Bhōjarāja (V. 31) was evidently the Paramāra king Bhōjadēva of Mālwa. He lived for sometime at Chitor and built there a temple of Śiva, which is now called Advadji or Mōkalji's temple.⁶

Tribhuvanānārāyaṇa (V. 31) was the name of the temple as well as the title of the king Bhōja who built it. It was also called **Bhōjasvāmījagati**.⁷

Viśvaladēva (V. 48) was evidently Visaladēva, the younger son of Viradhavala, the Bāghēla ruler of Dhōlkā. He became the *Rāṇā* after the death of his father in Samvat 1294 (A.D. 1238) and in Samvat 1300 (A.D. 1243) usurped the throne of Gujarāt after deposing its ruler Tribhuvana (Tribhuvanapāla) referred to in v. 19 of this inscription.⁸

As to the places mentioned in this record, **Chīrakūpa** (V. 24) is the present village of Chīravā, about 8 miles north of Udaipur. **Nāgadrāha** or **Nāgahrada** (Vv. 10 and 12 respectively) is now called Nāgdā and was the old Capital of Mewār. **Bhūtālā** (V. 16) is a village about twelve miles from Nāgdā. **Kōṭṭadaka** (V. 19) is the village of Kōṭṭrā, one of the military stations in Mewār. **Utthūpaka** (V. 28) is the village of Arthūnā in the Bānswārā State in Rājputāna.

TEXT.

Metres :—Vv. 10, 11, 16, 17, 19, 20, 23, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 42, 44, 45, 47 and 48 *Āryā*; vv. 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 22, 25, 32, 37, 49, 50 and 51 *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 1, 4, 5, 6, 26, 34 and 36 *Upajāti*; vv. 7, 38, 39, 40 and 43 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 41 and 46 *Gūti*; v. 2 *Indravajrā*; v. 3 *Vaitālīya*; v. 8 *Mālīnī*; v. 21 *Rathōddhatā*; v. 24 *Vasantatilakā* and v. 35 *Indravamśā*.

- 1 सिद्धम्⁹ ॥ श्रीं नमः श्रीमहादेवाय ॥ श्रीयोगराजेश्वरनामधेयो देवो वृषांकः स शिवाय वोस्तु । स्तुतः सदा यः प्रमदाद्यसन्नः किं किं प्रभुत्वं न ददाति सद्यः ॥
- 2 १ योगेश्वरी वो भवतु प्रसन्ना देवी स्वभावानवमप्रभावा । षट्संसाधनलीनचित्तर्योगीन्द्रहृदैरभिवन्दिताङ्घ्रिः ॥२॥ गुहिलांगजवंशजः पुरा क्षितिपा-
- 3 लोच बभूव वप्पकः । प्रथमः परिपंथिपार्थिवध्वजिनीध्वंसनलालसाश्रयः ॥३॥ व(ब)हु-
ष्ठीतिषु महीश्वरेषु श्रीपद्मसिंहः पुरुषोत्तमोभूत् । सर्व्यांगहृद्यं यमवाप्य ल-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVII, p. 33.

² His son Rājasimha was also made a minister, as is clear from v. 29 of this record.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIX, p. 166.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. LVII, p. 32.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. LVII, p. 33.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. LIX, p. 163-4.

⁷ *An. Rep. Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, 1920-21, p. 4.

⁸ *Duff's Chronology*, p. 189.

⁹ Expressed by a symbol.

- 4 ल्मीस्तस्थौ विहायास्थिरतां सहोत्थां ॥४ श्रीजैत्रसिंहस्तनुजोस्य जातोभिजातिभूभृत्प्र-
लयानिलाभः । सर्वत्र येन स्फुरता न केषां चित्तानि कंपं गमितानि
- 5 सद्यः ॥५ न मालवीयेन न गौर्जरेण न भारवेशेन न जांगलेन । स्नेच्छाधि-
नाथेन कदापि मानो म्लानिं न निन्देवनिपस्य यस्य ॥६ तेजःसिंह
इलापतिः
- 6 समभवत्तस्यात्मजन्मा नयी चातुर्योच्छ्रयवंचिताच्युतवधूवंचप्रपंचोच्चयः । चंचचंद्रमरी-
चिचक्ररुचिराचारो विचारांचितं चित्तं न्यंचितचापलं च रचयन् श्रीचंद्र-
चूडार्चने ॥
- 7 ७ तदनु च तनुजन्मा तस्य कल्याणजन्मा जयति समरसिंहः शत्रुसंहारसिंहः ।
क्षितिपतिरतिशूरश्वंद्रुक्कीर्त्तिपूरः स्वहितविहितकर्मा वु(वु)डसद्वर्म्ममर्म्मा ॥८ इतश्च ॥
जात-
- 8 ष्टांटरडज्ञातौ पूर्वमुद्धरणाभिधः । पुमानुमाप्रियोपास्त्रिसंपन्नशुभवैभवः ॥९ यं दुष्ट-
शिष्टशिष्टणरक्षणादक्षत्वतस्तलारक्षं । श्रीमथनसिंहनृपतिश्चकार नागद्रहदंगे ॥१०
- 9 अष्टावस्य विशिष्टाः पुत्रा अभवन्विवेकसुपवित्राः । तेषु व(व)भूव प्रथमः प्रथितयशा
योगराज इति ॥११ श्रीपद्मसिंहभूपालाद्योगराजस्तलारतां । नागद्रहपुरे प्राप
पौरप्री-
- 10 तिप्रदायकः ॥१२ बभूवावरजस्तस्य रतभूरिति विश्रुतः । केल्हणस्तनयोमुख्य मुख्यः
पौरुषशालिनां ॥१३ उदयीत्याख्यया ख्यातस्तत्सुतो विततोदयी । अभूज्जातस्तु
तत्पुत्रः कर्मणः
- 11 सद्यः शर्मणः ॥१४ योगराजस्य चत्वारश्चतुरा जज्ञिरेगजाः । पमराजो महेंद्रोद्य
चंपकः क्षेम इत्यमी ॥१५ नागद्रहपुरभंगे समं सुरत्राणसेनिकैर्युद्धा । भूता-
लाहटकूटे
- 12 पमराजः पंचतां प्राप ॥१६ वा(वा)लाल्लादनवयजा महेंद्रतनुजास्त्रयस्त्वजायंत ।
नयविनयपरपराजयजातलया विहितदीनदयाः ॥१७ बालाकस्यांगजो जातः
पेयाको वि-
- 13 लस[ड]लः । सुतोभूतस्य सामंतोऽनंतोपास्तौ कृतोद्यमः ॥१८ बालाकः कीट[ड]क-
ग्रहणे श्रीजैत्रसिंहनृपपुरतः । त्रिभुवनराणकयुद्धे जगाम युद्धा परं लोकं ॥१९
तद्धि-

- 14 रहमसहमाना भोव्यपि नाम्नादिमा विदग्धानां । दग्ध्वा दहने देहं तद्गार्यार्या
तमन्वगमत् ॥२० चंपकस्य सुरभिः स्वभावतो राजसिंह इति नंदनोभवत् ।
रामसिंहमथ स प्रसूत-
- 15 वान् सोजनिष्ट च भचुंडमंगजं ॥२१ क्षेमस्तु निर्मितक्षेमस्त्रिकूटे तलारतां । रात्रः
श्रीजैत्रसिंहस्य प्रसादादापदुत्तमात् ॥२२ होरुरिति प्रसिद्धा प्रतिषिद्धार्त्तार्त्तिदुर्म-
तिरभूच्च ।
- 16 जाया तस्यामायाजायत तनुजस्तयो रत्नः ॥२३ रत्नानि संति सगुणानि बह्वन्यपीह
ख्यातानि यस्तदधिको विदधे तु धात्रा । पुंस्त्वाधिरोपणगुणेन गरीयसोच्चै
रत्नः स के-
- 17 न समतां समुपैति शुद्धः ॥२४ रत्नस्य सूनुरन्यूनप्राप्तमानोस्ति मानिषु । लाला-
नामा घनस्थामा प्रवराचारशीचवान् ॥२५ विक्रांतरत्नं समरेथ रत्नः सपत्नसंहार-
- 18 कृतप्रयत्नः । श्रीचित्रकूटस्य तलाट्टिकायां श्रीभीमसिंहेन समं ममार ॥२६ रत्ना-
नुजोस्ति रुचिराचरप्रख्यातधीरसुविचारः । मदनः प्रसन्नवदनः सततं कृतदुष्टज-
- 19 नकदमः(नः) ॥२७ यः श्रीजैसलकार्येभवदुल्लूखकरणांगणे प्रहरन् । पंचलगुडिकेन^१
समं प्रकटबलो जैत्रमल्लेन ॥२८ श्रीभीमसिंहपुत्रः प्राधान्यं प्राप्य राजसिं-
- 20 हो यं । बहुमेने नैकध्वं प्राक्प्रतिपन्नं दधदृदये ॥२९ श्रीचित्रकूटदुर्गे
तलारतां यः पितृक्रमायातां । श्रीसमरसिंहराजप्रसादतः प्राप निःपापः^२ ॥३०
श्रीभोज-
- 21 राजरचितत्रिभुवननारायणस्थदेवगृहे । यो विरचयति स्म सदा शिवपरिचर्यां स्व-
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पापि-
- 22 कर्मभ्यः साशंकः शूकम(व)त्तया ॥३२ सविकारः शिववैरी यदस्ति विदितः पुरातनो
मदनः । निर्द्व(र्वि)कृतेः शिवभक्तेरमुष्य तेनोपमा नातः ॥३३ इतश्च नागङ्गदसं-

^१ Seems to be the title of Jaitramalla.^२ Read निष्पापः.

- 23 निधाने पदे पदे प्राज्यलसन्निधाने । ग्रामः सुभूमीभूति चौरकूपनामास्त्वदी-
ग्रामलनीरकूपः ॥३४ तस्याधिपत्येन धनामिशालिना प्राप प्रसादं गुहिलात्म-
जन्मनः । श्रीप-
- 24 अस्मिंहस्तिपादुपासिताग्राम्योगराजः किल विप्रवेषभृत् ॥३५ स योगराजः प्रथमं
पृथुश्रीरकारयत्तत्र पवित्रचित्तः । श्रीयोगराजेश्वरदेवगिहं योगेश्वरीदेव-
- 25 गृहेण युक्तं ॥३६ पूर्वमुद्धरणेनोद्धरणस्वामिशार्ङ्गि(शार्ङ्गि)णः । हर्म्यं विधापितं रम्यं
पूर्वजोद्धरणार्थिना ॥३७ ज्ञात्वा मत्वरगतवरं जगदिदं सर्वं गच्छेयः सतां
पर्यालोच्य वि-
- 26 शेषतश्च विषमं पापं तलारत्वजं । धर्मे धूर्जटिपूजनप्रभृतिके नित्यं मनो न्यस्त-
वानात्मानं मदनश्चकीर्षुरमलं जन्मन्यमुष्मिन्नपि ॥३८ अस्मद्वीचमहत्तमेन शिथ(व)-
- 27 योर्यस्मादसू कारितौ प्रासादौ ननु योगराज इति विख्यातेन पुण्यात्मना । मातु-
र्वसुरथात्मनश्च मदनी वंहीयसे अयसे लक्ष्यालंकृत उद्धार तदिमावाजन्म-
- 28 शुद्धाशयः ॥३९ कालेलायसरोवरस्य रुचरे पञ्चाङ्गवे गोचरे केदारौ मदनी ददौ
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- 29 सुतो नैवेद्यार्थमवद्यमोचनमना देवाय देव्यायपि ॥४० वयराकः पाताको मंडो
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- 30 ४१ भाविभिरतदंश्यैरन्यैरपि रक्ष्यमात्मपुण्याय । विश्वं विनश्यदंतदमस्थानादिकं
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- 32 गुणराशिः । आराधितैकलिङ्गोधिष्ठाताचास्ति निष्ठावान् ॥४४ श्रीचैत्रगच्छगगने
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- 33 श्रीदेवभद्रसूरिस्तदनु श्रीमिहसेनसूरिरथ । अजनि जिनेश्वरसूरिस्तच्छिष्यो विजयसिंह-
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BY B. CH. CHHABRA, M.A., M.O.L., PH.D.

[The figures refer to pages; *n.* after a figure to footnotes and *add.* to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used :—*ca.*=capital; *ch.*=chief; *ci.*=city; *co.*=country; *com.*=composer; *di.*=district or division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *enr.*=engraver; *ep.*=epithet; *f.*=female; *k.*=king; *l.*=locality; *m.*=male; *mo.*=mountain; *myth.*=mythic or mythological; *n.*=name; *N.*=Northern; *off.*=office; *q.*=queen; *ri.*=river; *S.*=Southern; *s.a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple; *tit.*=title; *vi.*=village; *W.*=Western.]

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